

Modern Review

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CHITRANGADA
ARTIST—SRIMATI PRATIMA DEBI

[By the courtesy of the artist

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STEPS TOWARDS A WORLD FEDERATION

BY SYAMACHARAN GANGULI, B.A.,

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A CESSATION of war among the States of the world would necessarily be the first step towards a federation of all the States of the world into a World-State. War has played a necessary part in the work of human evolution. At first, wars were wars of extermination or extermination with partial enslavement. They gradually became less and less cruel, and led to conquest of one people by another and amalgamation of conqueror and conquered. Thus large States came to be formed, within whose limits peace reigned normally. But the warlike spirit continued, and wars continued to be carried on between States, territorial aggrandisement and military glory being the main inducements.

War fosters certain virtues, notably courage and the spirit of self-sacrifice, and for this it has counted among its advocates and admirers even so great a philosopher as Hegel. But war has always had its terribly evil side and has nourished certain savage instincts. This could not fail to impress and horrify the human mind. As interdependence between different States increased, humane feeling advanced, and war came to be less and less liked.

In India, so long ago as the 3rd century B. C., Emperor Asoka, after his conversion to Buddhism, regretted the conquest he had made of the Kalingas, as is recorded in Edicts inscribed on rocks and pillars. In Europe, where glorification of war has had a long and vigorous life, the first public cry for

perpetual peace came out in the year A. C. in the Abbé de St. Pierre's *Perpetuelle*, which pleaded for perpetual peace among Christian nations, Russia, ever, being excluded for reasons not clear. In 1795 Kant put forth his famous essay on Perpetual Peace for the world as an ideal to be cherished and pursued, however distant its realisation might be. Kant's second Article of Perpetual Peace is this: "The law of nations shall be founded on a federation of free states." A federation of the world was thus an idea of Kant's.

The Napoleonic Wars were a sad commentary on Kant's advocacy of Perpetual Peace. Other wars took place in Europe since Napoleon's time, of which the chief were the Franco-German War of 1870-71, and the Great World War of 1914-1918. This war caused slaughter, suffering and devastation beyond all precedent; and it has roused all over the world a strong hatred of war. Though there are still advocates of war in the world, their opinion is of but small account against the vast body of public opinion now against war.

To Czar Nicholas II of Russia belongs the credit of initiating the first practical step for minimising the chances of war, and the Hague Court of Arbitration, started in 1907, is a noble memorial of the Czar.

President Wilson of the United States of America, who took a leading part in concluding the Treaty of Versailles, tacked on to the Treaty a Convention for the establishment of

League of Nations, with the object of securing international peace and promoting international co-operation. But the Convention has its faults, and Wilson's own country, the United States, did not accept it. It is not an effective institution yet. It cannot at any rate bar out such national wars as the late one between Turkey and Greece and civil wars such as the one now going on in China or the one that lately went on in Mexico. It may be hoped, however, that the League of Nations may hereafter so transform itself as to be acceptable to all the world, and become the instrument for putting an end to all fighting in the world.

Other factors besides the cessation of fighting among States are necessary to make the world one State. One of these factors must be the removal of the barrier of customs duties among States. Customs duties act as bars for parting nations, and the removal of these bars may well begin with the British Empire. The British Empire or the British Commonwealth of Nations, as it is otherwise called, is the one political agglomerate in the world which approaches nearest to the model of the World Federation of the future. It extends over all parts of the world, and covers in round numbers, an area of 14,000,000 square miles out of the world's entire land surface of 55,500,000 square miles.* It contains a vast population, mostly non-British, consisting of men in all stages of civilisation. Its mercantile marine is the largest in the world, being a good deal larger than that of the next maritime power in the world, the United States, and vastly larger than that of any other maritime power. The work before it is the noble and heavy one of bringing up all the parts of the Empire to a civilised self-governing stage. To extremely backward races within the Empire, such as the Andaman Islanders, the fate awaits of extinction, such as has overtaken the Tasmanian race.

The British Empire labours, however, under the disadvantage of not being, wholly or mainly, a compact territory, like the other big States of the world, measuring more than a million square miles each, namely the United States, Russia, China, Brazil and Argentina. This disadvantage is irremediable. But unification, so far as is possible under this disadvantage, may legitimately be wished for and attempted.

The present bond of the British Empire

is the Crown. But the Crown is not universally considered to be a permanent institution, for it stands on the philosophically untenable principle of transmissibility by inheritance of the highest political function in a State. Crowns have been disappearing in Europe, and in Asia, which has long been held to be the stronghold of monarchy, China and Turkey have cast off their sovereigns. In the United States of America, which is now the chief English-speaking country in the world, the monarchical feeling is dead. Can this feeling exist for ever in other English-speaking lands? The current of public feeling against monarchy cannot fail to reach even monarchs themselves, and induce them to give up their inherited positions out of noble impulses. Monarchy is therefore likely to disappear from Britain, however distant may be the date of this disappearance.

One universally recognised function of a State is that it allows trade to go on freely throughout its entire extent without the levy of customs duties, while it imposes, with a few exceptions, customs duties on merchandise coming into it from foreign countries, and on merchandise going out of it to foreign countries. The British Empire, as a whole, does not exercise this function, and is therefore not a *State* in the usual sense of the term, but a 'Confederacy' of States. Would it be too bold a proposal that a Customs Union should be made a bond of union for the whole British Empire?

Customs duties are a bad institution which tends to disunite mankind—to disunite even peoples who are united by the bond of a common language, and which gives a vast advantage to big States over small ones. Goods passing over such long distances as that between New York and San Francisco are not burdened with the obligation to pay any customs duties, but goods passing over such small distances as that between Paris and Liege, both French in language, are burdened with the obligation. In a federated world, there can be no customs barrier between one State and another. For the comfort of those who regard protective duties as a good device for nourishing manufacturing industries in backward countries, it may here be pointed out that the granting of bounties by Governments is an equally efficacious and a more equitable device for encouraging infant industries. Bounties are contributions from entire communities, while protective duties gain their ends only by imposing burdens on consumers of the particular commodities; the

* Whitaker's Almanack, 1923, p. 112.

manufacturing of which is sought to be encouraged.

In forming a Customs Union, the British Empire would only draw nearer to the ideal of a federated world, and would at the same time present a more united front to other States than it does now. The fiscal independence of the different units of the Empire is a strong obstacle in the way of a Customs Union of the Empire being established. But the principle of Imperial Preference, which is now making some way in the Empire, requires only to be pushed a little further to give full freedom of trade between the different parts of the Empire. Would such pushing further be an impossibility in the face of the great good it might do to the Empire and the world?

The abolition of all customs duties would be so promotive of the sense of human brotherhood throughout the world that a natural impulse in favour of the abolition may well be assumed to exist everywhere. But there is a practical difficulty in the way. Customs duties are a mode of indirect taxation which brings in large revenues to States. If they are abolished, States will be hard put to it to devise some other mode of taxation to raise revenues equal to part of the value of those lost by the abolition and to educate public opinion to accept that other mode. Universal disarmament must make vast reductions in national revenues possible.

For the unification of the British Empire, in addition to a Customs Union, it would also be necessary to provide an organisation for the control of all foreign relations of the Empire by the entire Empire and not solely or mainly by Britain. With the least departure from existing institutions, such organisation may be effected by the formation of a Foreign Relations Committee, consisting of the Premier of Britain, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Britain and the High Commissioners in London of the several Dominions—Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and India. This would give to Britain two members, and to each of the Dominions one member. This would not be out of harmony with Britain's position as the metropolitan part of the Empire and its sovereignty over the many British Dependencies. The Foreign Relations Committee could hold consultations, whenever necessary, with the cabinets of Britain and the Dominions.

In a federated world, there would be no room for a British Commonwealth of Nations, consisting of territories scattered all over the world. The Commonwealth or Empire

should break up when a World Federation is formed, and its several historical parts should become members of the federation. Only such small territories as could not form States by themselves for representations in the world's Federal Council, would remain as dependencies of Britain. But the World Federation would take a long time to form itself, and so the breaking up of the British Empire would take a long time to come about. So long as the Empire remains, it should be as firmly knit together as possible, and, working in close concert with the great American Republic, which comes within the limits of Greater Britain, it should exercise a controlling power over the rest of the world, particularly in putting a stop to fighting among human beings. Britain now detests war, and America too now detests war. If they go hand in hand together in the matter of ending war in the world, there would be hardly any chance of war breaking out anywhere in the world. The united strength of the British Empire and the United States, standing in declared readiness to prevent fighting among the human race, by force of arms, if necessary, would overpower the fighting propensity all over the world.

Besides the cessation of fighting among the human race and the removal of customs barriers that now hamper free commercial intercourse among nations, another vital requirement for a world federation is the removal of the restrictions that now exist in some countries to the free immigration of people from other countries. It is quite justifiable to prevent the immigration of undesirables. But the test of undesirability should be physical, mental or moral deficiencies, and not difference of colour or racial descent. Unfortunately for the world, the greatest offenders in this matter are members of the present dominant English race in the world now spread over Greater Britain. The worst offenders are the Americans, whose illiberal policy of the past towards immigrants of non-European origin has become still more illiberal under the new Immigration Law. The British kinsmen of the Americans in British Columbia and Australasia are also averse to admit among them non-European immigrants. Whites in South Africa, British and Dutch, are also intolerant towards non-Europeans. Till the colour and race prejudice abates much in English-speaking lands there can be no World Federation. But the prejudices are bound to abate and ultimately to disappear. The French are a

people of the same grade of civilisation as the English. In certain matters they have been the leaders of progress. Race and colour prejudice has grown very weak in

France, and it can fairly be inferred that other civilised countries shall in this matter follow the lead of France.

TO THE PEOPLE OF JAPAN

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

MY friends: The warmth of your welcome deeply touches my heart. I feel extremely glad that I have been able to meet you once again, and I offer you on behalf of my country our sympathy for the disaster with which you met only lately, and I must tell you how deep was our sorrow when we heard of it. We felt this sorrow because in the present age it was Japan which had aroused the consciousness of itself all through Asia, and for that we are thankful to Japan, and for that we all accept this disaster as our own. This was the only reason which brought me to Japan this time. I had no desire to speak to you or to prolong my stay in this country for any special purpose of my own.

I always feel it unfortunate, my friends, that you should know me as a speaker, which I am not. My mind only speaks through silence and in solitude. I have not the training to speak before crowds of men, but I always have lived the life of a recluse in order to dive deep into the depth of my being and to seek for the voice that lies hidden there. But it has been my fate to be known as a speaker when I travel outside my own country. I know that some of you will go away with the impression that you have seen me, that you have known the poet who has some reputation, because you have come before me, you have been in direct contact with me through the visits which I have paid to your country, but nothing can be farther from the truth. Very likely when I shall be away, or when I shall no longer be on this earth you may know me more truly than you can possibly know when I stand before you and speak to you.

NO INSTITUTION-BUILDER.

There are men strong of arm and with strength of purpose who build institutions,

stone over stone, brick upon brick, every day, and they finish their building before the eyes of the public, but I do not belong to their class. I am like a seed-sower who just scatters a few seeds on the soil and then does not have the time to see if they germinate, and I may go away with misgivings in my heart that such seeds will never come into their fulfilment. But still this is my mission, and when I have come in your midst, I have come with this purpose. I cannot help you in building up some solid organisation—something which will be visible and tangible to you, but I shall walk among you, and very many of you will not know that I have done anything which is of any practical value, because it is not obvious. This act is not obvious, and its effect also may not be seen for some time to come. And I have to be content with this mission of mine.

THE FOLLY OF PUBLIC SPEAKING.

You may think me very old-fashioned when I confess to you that I myself do not believe in this Western method of speech-making. It is convenient when I have to say something to a big crowd of people, but, like most things that are convenient, it is very superficial in its effect and it misses the human element, it is sure to become somewhat formal and mechanical. It is very difficult to follow the inner inspiration when one has to lecture before a big audience in this manner of a long continuous monologue, which I consider to be an act of tyranny to which no rational being should submit. It is not natural. I do not know about the custom which was prevalent in your country, but I know that in India and very likely in most of the Oriental countries we never have had this form of lecture, not even in classes in educational institutions. Our lectures—if they could be called lectures were more in the

nature of conversation, questions and answers. That is to say, they were the product of the minds of the listeners as well as of the speakers, and because they were not one-sided they were living. And these products of two minds had something which was a sort of creation, which was a surprise even to the speaker. It was not some set speech, some idealist phrases, but constant surprises of new growth of ideals, and I believe that it is the natural and the rational thing which we should be able to expect.

TEACHER AND DISCIPLE

In former times in our country our *gurus*, our masters, our teachers, would keep to their own seats and those who wanted to listen to them had to come around them and, through questioning them, would find out what they sought. Now our speaker of the present day goes out hawking his fruit from meeting to meeting without knowing what the audience needs, whether their attention is fixed on his words, whether they had come out of mere curiosity, not prepared to accept any lesson whatever, and yet having to go on talking at interminable length and then be assailed by the newspaper reporters, and to have the satisfaction that these thoughts and phrases had been distributed to a number of people at their tea-table in the morning. It is very superficial, and to my mind it is sadly unreal, and it is wasteful. I have never felt any satisfaction in talking to a big meeting on the subjects which are dear to me, for which I have deep reverence—in throwing them about in a very cheap and almost vulgar manner before the respectable people who come to while away their time and most of whom are not serious in their attention. I think the best thing is to keep one's best thoughts in the seclusion of silence till they are besieged, they are stormed—taken by storm by the people who must have them, who clamour for them; and then to yield. It terrifies me—this vast silence of the meeting. It is a difficult silence across which my thoughts have to pass unaided, without any compass, without any tracks. I do not know what is in the minds of my listeners and I feel nervous because I am not a born speaker. I have always thought my thoughts in the corner of my silence and solitude, but is it necessary, my friends, that you should banish me away from your living mind upon a platform, and do you want me to be pouring down my words in the void, without knowing whom I am

addressing? The best thing would have been for me to go down among you and—not all of you but some few could ask me questions and draw out the answers from my heart. That would have been more satisfactory, and that would have suited me. But I know that in the modern time we are hurried in all our efforts. We have not much time to spare—the time, the leisure which is needed for the growth of life to loving hearts. Rain-clouds take their own time to pour down their rains. To pack them up in neat baskets—as you do beautifully your luncheon—and to send them to different parts of the country—that cannot be done. The rainy season cannot be packed into convenient packages. The clouds wait for questions and answers. The thirsty earth sends her questions, her warm breath up above into the air, and then the answer comes in the form of the shower, and it is the creation of the thirst which rises from below and the heart which overflows above, and this combination is necessary for this function of irrigation upon which depends the fertility of the soil. And the irrigation of hearts with ideas is like this shower of rain which comes on the thirsty earth.

But I do want to speak. My heart is full. But does it depend on me? Am I able to say what I must say? Though I wish to speak to you the deepest thoughts that I have in my mind, is it in my power to do so? I have often gone through my engagements—I have spoken, and I have gone away surprised at finding that what I had come to say had remained unspoken, and the same thing may happen even now in Japan. Have I spoken that which I ought to have said when I was in China? But was I alone there? Was not there a multitude of others who had their other thoughts and who possibly were not ready to listen, and could I, unaided and alone, speak against inattention, against misunderstanding? It is not possible for any mortal to do so. And though my heart is full, my friends, I may go away like the rain clouds that often gather on the horizon and take their departure without disburdening the rain which they have brought with them. The same thing happens over and over again, and so it may be that I shall make speeches and lectures and you will applaud me and they will be reported in the newspapers—and nothing will be spoken!

APPRECIATION OF THE JAPANESE

I shall take this opportunity to-night only to speak to you a few words—not a thing

which is my own or yours, but yet which is the only thing I can say in this meeting. I am not flattering you, my friends. I have a deep admiration for your people. You are a stout-hearted people. You are brave, you are undaunted in the face of danger and disaster. I feel that your country has come out from the shock of volcanic fire from the bottom of the sea, and in your character you have combined the brilliance of the fire and the fluidity of the water—the bravery, the determination and the brilliance of mind and with it the suavity and—what I felt when I was in Japan last time and I feel it now—the poetry of life. You have tried to make life beautiful. You have not merely made it useful. Though you have wonderful power of efficiency, yet you take an infinite deal of trouble to make your everyday life full of ceremonies and civilities. This bravery with its richness and variety, which is moulded and tempered by the poetry of life—it is a great gift which you have, my friends, and I have felt at home in your midst because of this. You have the power, you have the tact to make your guests happy—not merely comfortable but happy—which is a great gift, and for that I must offer you my thanks. And when I had your invitation, I was certain that I should meet that heart-felt love and sympathy and your respect, which is genuine, for a poet, would be offered to me and I should go back home satisfied in my heart. And I want to thank you to-night not only for the present visit, which has met with such a welcome, but when I came last time and met with friends whom I shall never forget. I have been welcomed into the homes of many of you. Not all people can do it. I have met with admiration and friendship and comradeship in other lands, but in your land—possibly not the same depth of admiration, not the same depth of understanding, but something which is deeply human. I have been able to come close to you. This acceptance of your guests close to your hearts is not an easy thing in the present age, and I felt apprehensive that the callousness bred of the touch of the rude utilitarianism of the modern time might perhaps have dissipated the poetry from your life and reduced you to the same monotonous respectability of the modern civilisation from which I hope you will be saved.

THE BEAUTY OF DIGNITY

This profit-making age is vulgar. It sneers, but it does not know how to smile. It can

make you comfortable as an hotelkeeper can, but it cannot make for you a place in the hearth of its home. It can be facetious, not humorous. And I ask my friends in the East: Let us at any cost keep our dignity, which is beautifully tender, simply human and which does not raise up barriers between man and man. Offer your generous hospitality not in a grudging manner, but in the beautiful spirit of exuberant generosity, which you always have done, and let you remain, like your beautiful island in the surging sea of utilitarianism of the present civilisation; like your beautiful scenery, which is hospitable; and like your dignified peak of Fujiyama raising its brow in the cloudlands, keep your dignity of the Oriental mind, the beauty of sentiment and beauty of behaviour, and do not mingle yourself in the hustling crowd of money-mongers.

Do you not think that God would be ashamed if his beautiful world all of a sudden lost its tender grass, its beautiful flowers and the soil became full only of stone roads and iron bridges and viaducts and the foundations for all sorts of office buildings and nothing else? He would feel ashamed of such a world which loses its colour, its tenderness, its invitation to love and beauty, which becomes merely useful. He would be ashamed. And God would be ashamed of humanity when it loses its power of sympathy and love and hospitality and becomes unscrupulously self-seeking and egoistic and nationalistic, with what these people call the Nordic quality of those fit to become rulers of men. Rulers of men, this they are—only rulers of men and not human beings meek and simple, only rulers of men with cruel purpose and unscrupulousness.

WHAT JAPAN GIVES TO THE WORLD

I hope you will not be disappointed because at this meeting I have not spoken to you anything about any practical problem of the present day. I hope you did not expect any such discussion from me. I crave your pardon if any of you did think that I had come to give you any good advice about present-day problems of politics or commerce or anything of that kind. I don't want to do it because to my mind these things however great they may seem, will pass off like shadows. Great empires arise and vanish and so does great wealth like that of Greece,—they are reduced to dust, but the products of life and spirit, which have the immortal value of beauty and tenderness, they never die. They

are for all time and for all people. That which you create from your spirit will be claimed by all humanity and for all time. But that which you merely produce as materials of use and convenience—your own wealth, your own arms and armaments, your own political power—they belong exclusively to you. Humanity has no claim upon them, and therefore God's blessing, which gives immortality to all things, is withheld from them. They are sure to perish, sure to vanish some day or other. But if you light your lamp of truth, the flame will burn across the darkness of time like stars in the depth of night. And that you have done. Your people have produced something from their heart which is still burning in your society, giving out the bloom of beauty, and your works of art bear testi-

mony of your power of spirit, and they are claimed by all men. And I, who come from a distant part of the world—I know that your people have given birth to these works of beauty for me—for the individual me. And all the individuals in this world can claim these works which you have done from the exuberance of your generous creative spirit. And these you cannot keep only to yourselves, but they belong to all the world. And for these you can be proud—not for death-dealing weapons, nor for wealth which is sure to vanish some day or other, but for the immortal creations of spirit. I have come to claim these for all humanity. I have come to praise them for all the world. And this is the message of the poet who has come to you from India.

A MEMOIR OF OLD DELHI

By C. F. ANDREWS

CHAPTER II.

ZAKA ULLAH'S FAMILY

MUNSHI Zaka Ullah, the subject of this memoir, was born in a house situated between the Great Mosque and the Delhi Palace on April 20th, 1832. The family, into which he was born, had been for many generations the trusted teachers of the royal house of Timur. Originally, its descent was traced to Abu Bakr, the first successor of the Prophet. The name Sheikh is given to those who are thus descended.

In early Moghul times, this ancient family had its home at Ghazni; but at a later date, Hafiz Muhammad Ali came through the Khaibar Pass into India and settled at Lahore. Afterwards, he was appointed, by royal command, chief tutor to the Prince, who in later life occupied the imperial throne at Delhi, as Akbar Shah II. From that time forward, the family became permanently resident in Delhi, as tutors to the Emperor's children.

On Hafiz Muhammad Ali's death, his son Muhammad Ibrahim, who was also a Hafiz*

* *i. e.* one who could recite the whole Quran by heart.

succeeded to his father's rank as teacher of the royal princes and princesses. Then later, the eldest son, Hafiz Muhammad Baqa Ullah, succeeded to his father's post as Teacher of the Royal Family. In turn, his own son Hafiz Muhammad Sana Ullah became Teacher. Muhammad Zaka Ullah was the second child of Hafiz Muhammad Sana Ullah. The first-born child, a daughter, had died in infancy; and Zaka Ullah, the eldest son, became marked out from the first for the succession to the post of Teacher in the Imperial Palace. All his early education was based on that assumption.

The grandfather of Zaka Ullah, Hafiz Muhammad Baqa Ullah, lived beyond the age of ninety. He was a wonderful old man very well known and highly respected by the Muhammadans in Delhi. It was the joy of his old age to teach his little grandchild Zaka Ullah. The child, from the very first began to show brilliant intellectual powers. There is a story current in the family that the mother of the little boy once asked the old grandfather to administer punishment to his grandson for some offence. But the old man replied: "No, no. The boy is so clever and has done his lessons so well, that I can-

not punish him for any fault which he may have committed to-day."

The two of them, the old grandfather and the child, spent a great part of each day together; and it was from him that the boy inherited that deep religious nature which ran through his whole personality, making him essentially, when he grew up, a man of religion. The father and mother, who were both deeply religious also, added their own spiritual influence and moulded his character in other directions. But Zaka Ullah used always to relate that his grandfather made upon him the first and deepest spiritual impression, and taught him to realise the Presence of God, so that prayer became a reality to him. His religious faith was thus a direct inheritance from his grandfather.

Hafiz Baqa Ullah was known throughout the whole city of Delhi for his strong religious character and complete devotion to God. For seventy-two years he never missed saying the five daily prayers of his religion in the Great Mosque at Delhi. He was kneeling in the Great Mosque at prayer at the last, when he sank down and died. People regarded him as a saint and his memory was preserved after his death.

Hafiz Sana Ullah, the father of the boy, was equally devout. There are people still living in Delhi who can remember his saintly life. They recall how he was never known to have acted falsely, or to have told a lie throughout his long life. I have often spoken myself with those who knew him well. They have told me how he used to retire for meditation and how he would sit for hours repeating verses from the Sacred Quran. Once, when he was in great poverty and his friends had asked him to go to a celebrated Darwesh, and ask for his intercessions, in order that he might be relieved from his poverty, he had replied: "No, no, if God gives me poverty I am quite content. If I need anything, I shall seek it direct from God and not from man." This was his attitude all through his life. He waited upon God to supply every need.

Sana Ullah was more decisive in his actions than either Baqa Ullah, or his own son Zaka Ullah. He had an extraordinary power of faith, which carried him through the most difficult times. His courage was equal to his faith, or rather was an essential part of it. He was the Tutor of Mirza Kichak Sultan, the youngest son of the Emperor Bahadur Shah. When the city was on the point of being captured and the young

Prince's life was in great danger, Sana Ullah offered to make his own house into a harbour of refuge for the Prince, though to do so might place the whole of his own family in imminent peril of death. But the young Mirza, who had a deep love for his old tutor, nobly refused to take advantage of his offer and thus bring upon his tutor and his family almost inevitable disaster. The Prince escaped by himself to Jaipur, whence he was taken as a prisoner to Rangoon.

During the days that followed, Sana Ullah's family had to suffer terrible hardships. Their own house which was near to the Fort was demolished, and they had to wander homeless and often shelterless while the whole countryside was ravaged by robbers and by looting soldiers. Throughout the whole of this period, Sana Ullah wherever he happened to be, would keep openly and fearlessly the five hours of prayer each day which his Muhammadan religion appointed. On Friday, he could bathe washing his linen with his own hand and waiting till it dried. Then he would say the public prayer appointed for Friday, in complete disregard of anything that happened to be going on around him. His son, Zaka Ullah would be very anxious at such times and would keep guard. When bands of looters drew near, he would come up to his father and urge him to fly. But Sana Ullah would take no notice whatever until his prayers were all completed.

On one occasion at this critical time, the whole family was brought forward, under a strong guard of soldiers, before a British officer named Captain Wilson. Martial Law was then in force. Sana Ullah and his son Zaka Ullah were called upon to give explanation as to their antecedents. When it was shown, to Captain Wilson's own satisfaction, that they were pious and peaceable citizens, he released them and gave them an escort of soldiers to a place of safety.

Munshi Zaka Ullah used to relate to me that he really owed his life to the care and kindness of that British officer; because very often, in those critical times, when passion and greed of plunder were let loose, even those who were acquitted were not seldom killed by soldiers or robbers as soon as they got outside the camp. In the very place where Captain Wilson had met them, there had been many murders of this kind, and it was the Captain's order and escort, which had stood them in good stead and brought them into safety.

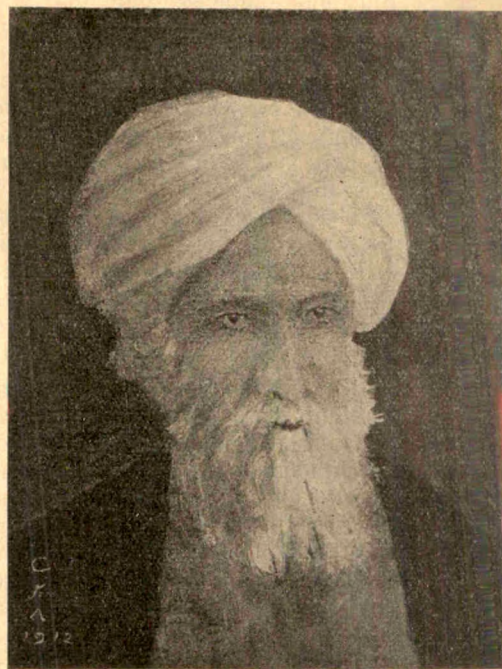
Sana Ullah, after a long and eventful life,

during which he had bestowed every possible care on the education of his son, passed away peacefully at the age of seventy-two. His prayers were said daily in the Great Mosque up to the time of his last illness; and sentences from the Quran were the last words that were on his lips when he died. Though the influence of his father and his grandfather on moulding Zaka Ullah's life was great, especially on the religious side, the greatest influence on his character and his daily conduct, as he told me himself many times, came undoubtedly from his mother. He was one of those many leading Indians of the Nineteenth Century, who owe their commanding power of inward purity to a mother's love. From his very earliest childhood, Zaka Ullah, clung to his mother with a child's ardent and impetuous affection. She was a woman of very strong will, and she ruled her children as well as loved them. She would never allow a fault to be passed over, and her displeasure was greatly feared. But she had the gift also of so winning her children's affection, that they would do anything to please their mother.

Zaka Ullah would relate the incident, how some years before the Mutiny the family had been in straitened circumstances and it was very hard indeed for his father to support his six young children. But his mother sold her ornaments and household things and purchased with the money which she obtained from them the books that were needed for her children's education. Zaka Ullah could never tell this story without deep emotion. When he himself, as a child of twelve, received his first prize-books at the Delhi Schools, he ran all the way home in great excitement and stopped only when he came to his mother's lap and laid them there with mingled joy and triumph. This was the attitude of all the young children towards their mother; to please her became their greatest joy in life.

The son of Munshi Zaka Ullah has told me the following interesting recollection about his father, which reveals the depth of his feeling where the memory of his mother was concerned. "Some eight years ago", he said to me, "my father came to my house one evening. He was talking in his usual way about ordinary things, when, all of a sudden, he became silent and thoughtful. At last he said to me with strong emotion: 'This very day, seventy years ago, my mother brought me forth into the world'; and then he cried and sobbed like a child. I was myself quite startled and surprised to see him

in that state of mind which continued for some time till the memory passed away. What affected him so much is still a mystery to me even to this day. But there can be no doubt whatever that it was of his mother that his thoughts were filled at that time. Perhaps it was the recollection of all that she had borne and suffered for him that overwhelmed him at that moment. Perhaps it was the fond memory of all her goodness and affection that moved him. Perhaps it was the sudden hope of seeing her after his



Munshi Zaka Ullah

own death, which could not then be far off, since he had already reached seventy years of age. Whatever it was, I record the scene just as I had witnessed it with my own eyes. To me it gave a very remarkable impression of the depth of my father's love for his mother and the devotion that filled his heart. I can myself remember her in her old age; for I was nine years old when she died. She was very greatly respected and feared by all, and in the household, her word was always strictly obeyed. I can never forget seeing my father treating her as if he had still been her young child and my mother treating him in a similar way, and the terms of endearment he used to employ. She was never so happy as when she had him by

her side, and he was never so happy as when he was with her.

"He used to tell me that when he was a young lad, he and his brothers would come home together and one of them would say: 'Father, I have caught such a nice pigeon.' And another would say: 'Father, I have learnt so much Persian', and another would say: 'Father, I have read so many passages from the Quran.' His father, in his fondness for his young children, would embrace them all equally and be pleased with all their answers. But his mother would only be pleased with those who had studied well and learnt their lessons, and she would scold the one who had wasted his time in catching the pigeon. Herself, she was never idle even for a moment. From morning to night she was caring for the household or else attending to her religious duties.

"My father used to say that all he was in character he owed to her, and that his ingrained habits of regular work and industry, which stood him in such good stead all through his life, he obtained from seeing, when he was young, her punctual and orderly ways."

It is not difficult with such material as this ready to hand to frame a picture of Zaka Ullah's childhood and early days. The laws of heredity seem to gain a special validity in the East in families where the whole current of life moves evenly forward in the same direction, and the same occupation is engaged in by grandfather, father and son.

That even current of life, which had run so smoothly at first was to be broken and to become a whirling torrent in the days of

the Mutiny; but during the earlier period, with which this chapter deals, the course of events went on very much as it had done in the past. The British protection, which had begun in the year 1803, had not disturbed the slowly decaying grandeur of the imperial Moghul Court. Rather, for the time being, it seemed to have arrested its complete decay.

The Emperor still ruled within the Palace inside the Fort. The city of Delhi itself enjoyed a peace and calm such as it had not known before for many years. As one of the old inhabitants of Delhi, whose memory went back to those times, graphically expressed it to me: "The 'English Peace' became a phrase which passed into the language of the common people". He added: "A man could go out to pray, to the tomb of Nizam-ud-Din, and ask for the intercessions of the saint without any fear of robbery or murder." Another who is the oldest survivor still retaining a vivid memory of those times, said to me: "The city did not know what order was, till the 'English Peace' began." His own father used to tell him, how looting and robbery used to go on in the open streets within the city-walls and no one could go outside the city-boundaries without having an armed escort of from thirty to forty men; even these would sometimes turn and rob the persons who hired them, and there was no remedy. It was during those later days of peace which had succeeded the days of violence, that Zaka Ullah was born and his whole childhood was spent. He too used often to refer to those days as a time of peace before the storm of the Mutiny came which wrecked his father's house and very nearly ruined his own life.

(To be continued)

THE HISTORICAL NOVEL

BY PROF. NIRMAL KUMAR SIDHANTA, M. A.

DISCOURSING on the function of history, Croce says: "History is never constructed out of narratives, but always from documents or from narratives reduced to documents and treated as such, so that if contemporary history leaps forth from life itself, the history we are accustomed to call non-

contemporaneous also springs directly from life, for nothing but a present living interest can move us to seek knowledge of a past fact, which fact, therefore, inasmuch as it is drawn forth by a present living interest, responds to a present and not to a past interest."

If however we grant that there is a philo-

sophy of history, that there is a tendency in the events of the past which, if properly understood, may be a guide for the present and the future, the question for the historian is, how he is to bring out this tendency. He may try to unfold it either through full-length portraits of the great individuals whom he takes as the representative men of the age; or he may investigate hundreds of records about the ordinary men of the time and try to reconstruct from them the national life of the age. In the former case, the great men, the heroes or geniuses, are supposed to be the nation in little, for they sum up in themselves all that is best as well as most typical in their age; in the latter, we are asked not to trouble so much about the best, but to understand more fully what the ordinary man was, and for that we have to study hundreds of detached incidents instead of the connected events of a few lives.

We cannot here trace the growth of this latter idea from Adam Smith to Buckle and Green. It will suffice if we try to understand its implication—that history is called upon to account for “the vast mass unknown to your bland records of kings and nobles”. This shifting of the focus of history from kings and nobles to the people, from the “great” to the ordinary men, means the substitution of individualities by generalities.

The task of the older school of historians was to marshal before us the noble array of leaders of men, of warriors, rulers, reformers. Great actions and great thoughts were the theme, the individual representing the ideal of the age. The method of such a historian is, if we may so term it, deductive. We start from the general conception of the greatness of the individuals, and their actions are studied only against the background of this conception. Then again he starts with the *ideal* of the past age and what was best in it and he places that before the ordinary man, expecting him to draw deductions from that ideal, deductions about his own actions.

The historian of the type of Green or Buckle proceeds the other way. He follows what may be called the inductive method. He places before the average man the picture of the average life of another day. The latter is reconstructed from hundreds of instances of ordinary folk; and from a study of these examples we may infer the line of action and conduct of the everyday life of this age. It is an inference from one set of particular instances to another set, a general

principle called a *historical law* is interposed between the two sets, but it is not the starting point of investigation.

This substitution of the inductive method for the deductive is seen in imaginative literature too. Here we have the movement towards what is known as *realism*, for this seems to be the cardinal difference between the methods of the realist and the romanticist that the method of the former is inductive, that of the latter deductive. This analogy of imaginative literature, however, should not mislead us. We cannot assign any superiority to realistic fiction over the romantic, or to romantic over realistic; some may prefer the one and some the other; and a great work of art may be either.

But the works of history which employ the inductive method labour under an inherent defect if we judge them as literature. In drama or fiction, the aim of the inductive method is to create an individual, a creature of flesh and blood; but inductive history aims mainly at a general principle, an abstract principle, an abstract theory; if does not attempt to portray an individual as the older historians did. The disconnected facts utilised by the inductive historian are events in the lives of men: but the author does not attempt to visualise these figures, they remain vague shadows. The result is a loss of dramatic interest.

In one respect, however, this attitude of the historian brings him into closer touch with works of imagination. When a historian tries to present a picture of the society of a particular age, he cannot neglect the imaginative works of the period. The pictures of men and women in these works may supply more valuable data than records of business transactions, or of legal doctrines. Thus we may attempt to build up the society of Homer's time from a study of the *Iliad* or of the *Odyssey*, that of fourteenth century England from Chaucer and Langland, of Elizabethan times from Shakespeare and his fellow-dramatists, of the eighteenth century from Fielding and Jane Austen. For the writer of social history all such works are valuable and although the historian may not try to make his own work literary, he looks on literature with kindly eyes as here he sees part of the raw materials for his work.

The attitude of the literary artist to historical works is something different. Every one of us has come across some striking natural scene which is vaguely and indefinitely

stive. As Stevenson puts it in his *p on Romance* :

ome places speak distinctly. Certain dark s cry aloud for a murder ; certain old houses d to be haunted ; certain coasts are set apart pwreck. The inn at Burford Bridge, with ours and green garden and silent, eddying still seems to wait the coming of the approp- legend. Within these ivied walls, behind old green shutters, some further business lers, waiting for its hour. The old Hawes the Queen's Ferry makes a similar call upon icy. There it stands, apart from the town, the pier, in a climate of its own, half inland, arine—in front, the ferry bubbling with the id the guardship swinging to her anchor ; the old garden with the trees.....The r the hour had not yet come ; but some day, a, a boat shall put off from the Queen's Ferry, t with a dear cargo, and some frosty night eman, on a tragic errand, rattle with his upon the green shutters of the inn at d."

seems to me that the literary artist has the same feeling while reading works istory. The philosophy of history, the ct tendency of things may not attract But some concrete episode, some indi- l figure has a special suggestiveness for While studying Gibbon, for example, ll be attracted not so much by Gibbon's ct hero, *The Roman Empire*, as by the of a Julian or a Marcus Aurelius, by nth of Hypatia, or the fall of Palmyra. ill feel that there is something more what the historian says, something of a full record is lacking.

le sets out to remedy this and completes s imagination what has been left incom- by documents. He cannot look on is merely as an indulgent father, a ing husband and a tired defender of the re ; he cannot think of Julian's German igh as the crisis of his life ; he cannot d Hypatia simply as the spiritual anta- of Cyril, nor Zenobia as the only indi- l affected by Aurelian's conquest of yra. He must body forth the suggestions i history does not fill out. Hence "Marius Epicurean", "Emperor and Galilean", atia" and "The Last Days of Palmyra." e the historical novel.

at what is the historical novel ? ofessor Ker, while speaking about the l, refuses to give us a cut-and-dried de- on and says : "A ballad is the *Milldams innorie* and *Sir Patrick Spens* and the *las Tragedy* and *Lord Randal* and *Child rice* and things of that sort." So may void an abstract definition by saying that we mean by a historical novel is *Waver-* id *Quentin Durward*, *The Three Musk-*

eteers and *Ninety-Three*, *The Cloister and the Hearth* and *The Last Days of Pompeii*, *Sal-lambo* and *Quo Vadis*.

Yet we have to explain why these and such like novels should be called historical, and this may be attempted simply by pointing out that in these works historical figures are introduced side by side with crea- tions of pure imagination. But this will not be true of all so-called historical novel ; and we may think of the *Tale of Two Cities* and *The Last Days of Pompeii* or even *The Cloister and the Hearth** and search in vain for historical characters.

Nor would it solve the difficulty to say that here historical events are treated along with imaginary ones, that they describe hap- penings which affected the fate of nations as well as that of the individuals created by the author. This may be true of the *Tale of Two Cities* and *The Last Days of Pompeii* but we look in vain for such a momentous event in the *Cloister*, which does not base its claims to be called *historical* merely on its introduction of historical characters or events. Or, to take it the other way round, a historic- al event may decide the fate of the charac- ters of the novel, and yet it may not be called historical. Thus, for example, the battle of Waterloo has certainly an influence on the destiny of some characters of *Vanity Fair*, which nevertheless would hardly be called historical.

Yet, again, an attempt may be made to describe a historical novel as dealing with the past and the distant, whereas other nov- els deal mainly with things of to-day. But this will bring in the question of the so-called *romances* which also deal with the past and the distant. *Lorna Doone* has been called a historical novel and probably one may extend the term to the *Master of Ballantrae*, but one feels shy of including in the class some stories of Stanley Weyman, not to mention certain things of Rider Haggard.

It will not do, either, to make a distinc- tion between *bad* and *good* historical novels, and to dismiss the *romances* as just bad ones. On the other hand, it is equally diffi- cult to place the *Bride of Lammermoor* or *Guy Mannering* among novels of contem- porary life. Nor, for the matter of that, do we know what is meant by dealing with the "past". What is the downward limit of the past ? Is it a matter of sixty years ago,

* The historical figures introduced are not, properly speaking, characters in the novel ; Gerard can- not be called a historical figure.

or of the last generation, or can we bring it nearer still? Can we call Disraeli's *Coningsby* or *Endymion* a historical novel, or apply the epithet to Mr. Walpole's *Secret City*?

Then there is the question of a group of works which, for the sake of convenience, we may call *biographical novels*. These are works like Gjellerup's *Pilgrim Kamanita* or Moore's *Brook Kerith* or Sir Arthur Quiller-Jouch's *Hetty Wesley*. Here we have an imaginative rendering of the lives of people, who have affected the destinies of the human race in spheres other than politics or war. They may be leaders of spiritual movements as in the three works just mentioned, or they may be men who have made their mark in literature or art. We have an instance of the latter variety in Jokai's *Green Book* where he introduces Poushkin as a prominent character; and we would have had such works if Thackeray had confined his historical figures in *Esmond* to Steele and Addison, and in *Virginians* to Johnson, Chesterfield and Horace Walpole. We may also think of *John Inglesant* which not only introduces Charles and Cromwell, but men like Nicholas Ferrars and Vaughan.

We understand, of course, that the historical figures must be introduced under their real names and not disguised under pseudonyms. In introducing figures from contemporary public life, the author has to put a thin veil over the man, though he can be easily recognised by all interested in his doings. But this method of historical allegory is not that of the historical novel. Thus Kimpole of *Bleak House* may represent Leigh Hunt and Boythorn, Landor; the General in *Lothair* may be a real leader of the Italian independence and the Cardinal, that of the Catholic Revival in England; Gushy and St. Barbe in *Endymion* may stand for Dickens and Thackeray. But this method of disguising historical characters is employed more often by the critic of contemporary society than by the exponent of the historical novel; the latter, introducing, as he does, undisguised figures from real life, has to tackle men dead and decently buried, if not ossilised.

So far then we have not been able to find out any essential characteristic of a historical novel. Some novels are called historical because they introduce figures or events we meet in the pages of historical works. Such are most of the novels of Scott and Dumas. Thackeray's *Esmond*, Lytton's *Harold*, *The*

Last of the Barons and *Rienzi*, Ainsworth's *Windsor Castle*, most of G. P. R. James's works, and Kingsley's *Westward Ho* are historical novels in this sense. But the historic interest of the *Cloister and the Hearth* and *The Last Days of Pompeii*, of *Hypatia* and *Romola* is different. It is not centred so much in illustrious individuals, or political convulsions, or deeds of might, that have changed the destinies of nations. Here is more of an attempt to portray the atmosphere of a past generation, to paint the life of an everyday world that is gone. Here humbler individuals have as much of prominence as an illustrious Monseigneur, the labourer's life is as much a part of history as the life of the chivalrous hero, and the keeper of the wayside inn rivals the leader of an army in interest.

Of course, in literature it is never possible to form water-tight compartments in which to put particular works of art. So we cannot say here that there are two types of the historical novel, one dealing with the illustrious figures and the great events of history, and the other describing the atmosphere of an age,—the normal life of the average man as distinct from the abnormal one of the hero and the noble. We cannot have individuals without an atmosphere, nor atmosphere without individuals. *Esmond* gives us some idea of the normal life of the days of Queen Anne, while the atmosphere of *Hypatia* is partly produced by figures who may be called historical, by Cyril the Patriarch, and Hypatia herself. Nonetheless, the distinction remains that in some novels the author is more interested in heroic deeds and aristocratic men, while in others he tries to come more into touch with the life of the man in the street; and, as we said in the beginning, this distinction reflects a change in the conception of the historian's duties.

The novels we have termed *biographical* have points in common with both the classes we have noticed. They are interested in individuals exceptional in point of intellect. Yet these men by their birth and position in society are brought into close touch with the man in the street. Thus we have at least a side-glance at the everyday life of the day. *Brook Kerith* is as good an instance of this as any other work. Jesus and his disciples, Joseph and Pontius Pilate, supply the historical colour of the story. But the story of Joseph's childhood, the picture of his father and the people round about him, is an

attempt to bring out the atmosphere of the time. The life of the Essenes, either in their original home, or as depicted by Brook Kerith, may be abnormal; yet even here the life of the shepherd on the hills may be taken as a true picture, while Joseph's trading expeditions across the desert, his life in Alexandria, his connection with the Pharisees and Pilate,—all these give us the colour of the times.

There is nothing much to be gained by a discussion whether these novels may be called *historical*, or not. The number of biographical novels worth mentioning is not large; and even the good specimens rarely keep the balance between fact and imagination. There is so much of real fact in *Hetty Wesley* that one is inclined to doubt if it is a novel at all; while in *Pilgrim Kamanita* the author has been led away by his imagination to picture a state of things which never existed in the country he describes.

The reason why the biographical novel has been less attempted than the historical novel proper, is easy to explain. One reason is, that here it is more difficult to keep the main historical figures in the background, and centre the interest on an imaginary creature. A King like James I or Louis XI may be easily subordinated to a figure endowed with the proper head or heart or muscle,* but with a figure like Jesus or Buddha in the background, it is almost impossible to attract the reader to a creation of pure imagination; and there is an essential difficulty in making a historical figure the hero of a work of fiction in that it unduly cramps the imagination of the author. Another difficulty, which the biographical novel shares in common with works like the *Cloister*, is connected with the problem of giving an accurate picture of the life of the average man; and this brings us back to the distinction we have noticed between such novels and those like *Ivanhoe* or *The Talisman*.

It must be repeated that no attempt is being made to place the novels in two watertight compartments; and the introduction of historic individuals without any picture of the life of the nation at the time, is as difficult as the creation of the atmosphere of the corporate life of a past age without bringing in any of its historic figures.

Scott imagined that the historical colour

* The main defect of the *Fortunes of Nigel* is that the hero has no such attractiveness about him.

of his novels was adequately supplied by the introduction of kings and their courtiers, of chivalric knights and aristocratic villains. Figures from everyday life are introduced; but the interest is centred in the deeds of the illustrious. Even if the times represented are near to his own day, he cannot think of depicting the humdrum life of the average man, but must choose an atmosphere of unrest and trouble, involving the association of imaginary heroes with figures of history.

Reade proceeds in a different fashion. He takes an ordinary traveller forced to leave home through the stress of circumstances and to journey from Holland to Italy through the Rhine-land. He goes on describing experiences which probably fell to the lot of many a Gerard of the late 15th century. We have a record of wayfaring life for Germany, and of everyday life for Holland or Italy. Practically nothing is removed from the normal and we have a vivid picture of the life of the age.

Perhaps one may make the point clearer by taking an analogy from the drama. Shakespeare's History-plays have been termed Chronicle-plays by critics endowed with the modern idea of history. They have their justification in this that Shakespeare was content to make his history deal only with kings and nobles, their wars and their troubles. I think there are individual scenes which may satisfy the present-day ideal of history. The Bates-Williams scene in *Henry V* brings out as much of corporate life as any historical critic would probably want. But, for historical plays satisfying his ideal, he has to go to the works of Goethe and Schiller, to *Goetz* and *Don Carlos* and the prologue to *Wallenstein*. Unkind critics suggest that these German writers were incapable of drawing individuals and their colourless creations may be taken by us as representations of corporate life, or whatever else we may term it. But it is there, and it satisfies the modern historian, whatever its literary value may be.

This analogy holds good only partially for the novel. We cannot call Scott's works Chronicle-novels, though his conception of history is not the modern one. That Scott's novels are not a closer parallel to Shakespeare's historical plays, is due to the difference between the two media. In a drama the number of characters has necessarily to be limited; and when the author's intention is to bring out a few well-carved figures, he is careful not to distract the readers' or

actors' attention by adding too many minor characters. *Henry V* admits of it as it is a one-man play; Goethe and Schiller could do it in works which suffer in dramatic excellence, through the lack of vitality in the leading characters,* in proportion as the historic ideal is carried out.

Scott, on the other hand, could introduce as many characters as he liked. Thus in *Old Mortality*, the historical interest is in the deeds of Claverhouse and Burley; yet we have a picture of the times so far as the warlike and unsettled atmosphere of the story will allow it. We see the behaviour of some normal Scotchmen, but under abnormal conditions. So again the *Fortunes of Nigel*

* One may take as an example Posa of *Don Carlos*.

opens with an admirable picture of the London street-life of the day, but we soon leave normal surroundings and are taken to "ordinaries" (*not* taverns) and Alsain quarters, if not to the royal presence. The point is that the atmosphere has to be induced by a number of minor characters; if the author tries to embody it in a single individual, he is likely to produce a colourless abstraction like John Inglesant, or Pater's Marius.

The novelist has the advantage of having a wider net than the dramatist; and, though he may care more for the royal and aristocratic catch, he can drag in numerous smaller fry to bear them company. The question of the *normal* and the *abnormal* brings us back, however, to the vital issue of the literature of recent times—the issue of *realism* and *romance*.

ARTIFICIAL GEMS AND THEIR MANUFACTURE

By S. R. M. NAIDU, F.R.S. (SC.), F.R.A., M.S.P., S.I.E.E., etc.

AS early as 1837 Gaudin made artificial rubies by heating ammonia, alumina, and potash by means of an oxy-hydrogen blowpipe; the intense heat volatilised the potash and alumina afterwards producing crystals in rhombohedral (figures of four equal sides with unequal angles) forms identical with those of the natural stone, and having the same specific gravity and hardness. Methods of producing crystals of corundum, ruby, sapphire, etc., were discovered about 1858, but both these and Gaudin's processes had but little commercial value, the great expense precluding their adoption. Until quite recently, the only artificial gems known to commerce were coloured glass, and in some cases wax-preparations backed with silver or a mercury amalgam. Now however, the chemist can produce imitations that, in hardness and lustre, equal the real gems. Here the word "imitation" perhaps is not the correct word, as the composition of both manufactured and natural stones is the same. Sometimes it is quite impossible to distinguish between the two kinds of gems, although, generally, examination under the microscope reveals some difference. When seen through a microscope,

natural rubies contain minute cracks which show the lines of cleavage; the artificial gem shows very minute bubbles or gas holes. Analysis has proved that the sapphire is pure alumina, that is oxide of aluminium (Al_2O_3). This is found in the form of a white powder fusible at high temperature only. The colour of a sapphire is supposed to be due to the presence of chrome, and is dichroitic, that is, it varies with the point of observation; thus it is successfully imitated only with difficulty. M. Sidot, the French Chemist, accidentally discovered a method of producing gems that possessed dichroitic properties. His method is to heat an iron-pot to dark red colour and to place in it 4 oz. of superphosphate of lime; this is brought to the same heat and stirred with an iron rod it becomes converted to crystallised pyrophosphate, which on being further heated becomes a fluid resembling molten glass. It is supposed that in this state a part of the phosphoric acid is changed to a tribasic phosphate. The fused mass is stirred continuously until it is quite transparent and free from bubbles, when it is transferred to another pot, and kept at a white heat for two hours, the stirring being

kept up all the time. After standing for an hour, it is poured on to a metallic surface and allowed to cool slowly until it is as soft as putty, when it is put on plate glass. When cold, a number of stones almost equal to the genuine sapphire may be cut from the plate. Another formula is :—Smelt a mixture of 4 oz. of oxide of aluminium and 4 oz. of red lead (Pb_3O_4), and stir in 10 gr. of bichromate of potassium ($K_2Cr_2O_7$) and 17 gr. of oxide of cobaltum (CoO). When cold, stones may be cut that are as hard, if not quite so brilliant, as the genuine ones. The ruby also is oxide of aluminium coloured with chrome. Crystals of the rose-coloured ruby may be produced by melting together aluminium oxide and powdered silica, with the addition of fluoride of barium to form a flux, and then adding a trace of bichromate of potassium ; 100 lbs. of these ingredients after perhaps a week's fusion, will produce rubies of 5 or 6 carats which may vary much in colour, running through all the shades of bluish sapphire and rose to the deep colour of the so-called pigeon-blood ruby. Ordinary borax fused with a little chromium oxide for a week or so produces large ruby crystals ; but 200 lbs. of ingredients may be required to obtain even two or three gems of any marketable value. One method of making artificial rubies is to smelt a mixture of 4 oz. of oxide of aluminium and 4 oz. of red lead, and add from 7 gr. to 16 gr. of bichromate of potassium. Natural emeralds are a combination of the rare element of beryllium or glucinum

with silicon ; chrome gives the colour. Beryllium is too expensive for use in producing imitations, so oxide of aluminium is used, 4 oz. of this being smelted with 4 oz. of red lead, to which from 8 gr. to 12 gr. of uranate of sodium ($Na_2U_2O_7$) have been added. Perry and Hautefeuille, the French chemists produced beautiful emerald crystals by fusing silica, alumina, glucina, and a trace of chromium oxide with acid molybdate of lithia. After a fusion of 15 days some very small crystals, having all the mineralogical and physical characters of the natural emerald, may be obtained. The longer the fusion the larger are the crystals. Emeralds and other gems have been produced from gas retort refuse by a method discovered by Mr. Greville Williams, F.R.S., who modelled an emerald composed of from 67 to 68% of silica, 15 to 18% of alumina, 12 to 14% of glucina, and traces of magnesia, carbon, and carbonate of lime. The colour was an intense green, due, it is believed, to the presence of sesquioxide of chromium. Imitations of the amethyst, topaz, etc., have been made very successfully by Donault Wieland, of Paris, whose method of preparing "Parisian Diamonds", or "Alaska Diamonds," is to smelt a mixture of 65% of pulverised crystal quartz, 20% of red lead, 8% of pure carbonate of potash, 5% of boric acid, and 2% of white arsenic. The brilliancy of the resultant stone depends principally on the purity of the red lead and the carbonate of potash.

NEGRO EDUCATION IN AMERICA

NO people in the world has made progress with such strides as have the Negroes in America since their emancipation. At the close of the Civil War (1864) only 2 per cent. of the Negroes could read and write. The Negroes were handicapped in every way economically, culturally and socially. Today after sixty years of hard struggle more than 65 per cent. of the Negroes can read and write and Negro achievement in arts, Science, Music and the professions is a remarkable thing. In fact when one considers the history of the American Negro was

slavery for more than three hundred years, one must admit this people has made the most remarkable advance and progress possible for any nation in a given time.

To some of us who have been carefully watching Negro progress it is clear that the self-assertion of the Negroes in America will move on faster than ever before, because the younger generation of the Negro people are most anxious to secure education and they realize that it is essential to better their condition. The Rockefeller Foundation has lately promised to contribute one million

dollars, or more than thirty lakhs of Rupees, for Negro education provided a similar amount be raised by private subscription. The following news item will be of great interest to the Indian statesmen and educators:

GIFT OF \$1,000,000 TO NEGRO SCHOOLS

Hamptone-Tuskegee Endowment Fund Announces Donation by Rockefeller Board.

DR. MOTON ENTHUSIASTIC.

Leader Declares Period since 1919 Has Seen the Greatest Advance in History of Race.

40,000 NEGRO TEACHERS

2,000,000 Children Now Enjoying the Advantages of the Public Schools, Educator Reports.

The Hampton-Tuskegee Endowment Fund announced yesterday a gift by the Rockefeller General Education Board of \$1,000,000, which was called one of the largest sums ever subscribed to the cause of negro education. The gift will become effective as soon as the trustees of the two schools for negro education raise an equal amount.

In announcing the gift, the Hampton-Tuskegee Endowment Fund, the offices of which are at 5 Maiden Lane, hailed the action as insuring the "continuance of the progress the American negro has made since 1919."

"The period of the greatest advance in history for the negro has been since 1919," said Dr. Robert R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee and a trustee at Hampton, who is in New York in the interest of the endowment fund. A statement he gave out in connection with the announcement of the gift, read in part as follows:

The most liberal appropriations ever made by the Southern states have been made since then and at no time since their emancipation have the negroes made greater strides in education, agriculture, religious work and business development.

"In North Carolina, for example, the amount raised by taxes alone and spent for negro education increased from \$250,000 in 1913 to \$4,000,000 in 1923, while the value of school property rose from \$500,000 to \$5,000,000. Other Southern States are following North Carolina's lead.

"There are now 500 normal schools and colleges for negroes in the United States, with an enrollment of 100,000. There are 40,000 negro school teachers and 2,000,000 negro children in the public schools.

"No institutions in the country have accomplished so much to bring about a wholesome co-operation, between the white and colored races as have Hampton and Tuskegee. The former was founded in 1868 by Brig. Gen. S. C. Armstrong for the purpose of instructing negro youth of both sexes in industry, thrift and practical Christianity. The school today has more than 2,000 students, with 250 teachers and a modern plant comprising 1,000 acres and more than 150 buildings.

"From its foundation Hampton Institute has been maintained by the joint efforts of members of the white and colored races. Men and women of national prominence have always associated themselves with the institute. The present President of the Board of Trustees, is William Howard Taft, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court."

The Executive Committee of the Hampton-Tuskegee Endowment Fund, which was organized to meet the conditions of the General Education Board's \$1,000,000 gift offer, consists of Clarence H. Kelsey, Chairman; Chellis A. Austin, Vice-Chairman; J. Henry Scattergood, Vice Chairman, Homer L. Ferguson, W. Cameron Forbes, Dr. James E. Gregg, Charles E. Mason, Dr. Robert R. Moton, George Foster Peabody, Julius Rosenwald, Dr. William Jay Schieffelin, Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, Poul M. Warburg and Charles A. Wickersham.

We are quite sure that the Negroes, and the American friends of the Negro will raise the amount in a short time so that the handsome donation promised by the Rockefeller Foundation may be secured.

In the MODERN REVIEW we read that the Science College of Calcutta University needs ten lakhs of rupees. We also note that the Viswa-Bharati lacks support of the people of India, particularly Bengal. We wonder how it is that the people of India, not to speak of the Government of India, do not attach primary importance to the educational progress of the country. We know that the people of Great Britain annually receive hundreds of millions from India. We know that the American Missionaries take greater interest in the education of India than the British who make profit from keeping India in subjection. The British during the course of their occupation of India have literally taken billions of dollars from the Indian people. Is it not time that they did something to aid the Indian educational movement, particularly the Science College of the Calcutta University and the Viswa-Bharati founded by your great poet Tagore?

What the Negroes are doing to promote their national welfare, and what is being done by the American people to aid them in securing education, can be done in India. If it is not done, it is the fault of the people of India and their Government. This is the view-point of an American, one who wishes to see that no child of any land be denied the opportunity of education.

New York, Oct. 8, 1924.

"KAMAL"

THE IRRIGATION MOVEMENT IN BANKURA

THE District of Bankura in Bengal is clearly associated with the idea of poverty and recurring famine; but the problem has never been carefully studied and no systematic effort has been made to find out a solution. Chapter VI of the District Gazetteer of Bankura by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley deals with Bankura's chronic liability to famines and gives a short account of the famines which occurred in the district in the years 1866, 1874, 1885 and 1897. In the census report for 1921 it has been stated that serious crop-failure "happened twice within the last decade (1911-21) and on both occasions famine conditions had to be relieved by gratuitous distribution of both private and public charity."*

The magnitude of the last two famines, which occurred in 1915-16 and 1919 may to some extent be realised from the fact that the expenditure incurred by Government on these two occasions, on gratuitous relief and relief works, amounted to about 14 lacs of rupees. The relief given by Government was supplemented by considerable sums of money raised by public subscription from all parts of India and, in some cases, from places outside India. In addition to gratuitous relief, the Government had to advance, as loans to agriculturists, a sum of Rs. 8,41,878 in 1915-16 and of Rs. 5,33,413 in 1919 to enable them to tide over the difficulties and to live until the next harvest of paddy.

It can well be imagined that such widespread disasters must have had a marked effect on the population of the district and this supposition is borne out by the census figures, which show that in the decade 1911-21 Bankura suffered a loss in population to the extent of one lac and nineteen thousand souls. This decrease, which works out at 10.4 p.c. is the heaviest among all the districts of Bengal. Although during the time when the district was actually in the grip of famine, the efforts made by Government Officers and the public tended to reduce to a minimum the number of deaths resulting from want of food, there can be no doubt that the loss of vitality due to the famines accounts mainly for this appalling decrease

in population, which threatens, unless it is checked, to end in absolute depopulation of the district.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to set forth the real causes that lead to repeated crop-failures in Bankura and to give a brief but self-contained account of the movement recently set on foot for rendering famines normally impossible in the district. In dealing with this subject, the writer has borrowed freely from (1) "A Bengal District's Choice between Life and Death; the Story and its Lesson" by Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., formerly Collector of Bankura, published by the Bengal Co-operative Organisation Society, and (2) The Report of the Bankura District Agricultural and Welfare Association for the period ending on the 30th September, 1923. The writer has no hesitation in commending these publications to the notice of all men interested in the welfare and material advancement of the district and other areas similarly circumstanced.

To people not perfectly acquainted with the condition and physical characteristics of the district, it may appear that the soil of Bankura is barren and not naturally suitable for cultivation. But this is not so in fact, and the liability of the district to repeated crop-failures is not due to any such inherent and irremediable causes. It is true that Bankura differs widely from the rest of Bengal.

"Bankura may be described as a connecting link between the plains of Bengal on the East and the Chota Nagpur plateau to the West. To the East and the North-East the land is a low-lying alluvial tract, presenting the appearance of the ordinary rice-field of Bengal. Towards the West the surface gradually rises and the level plain gives place to an undulating country interspersed with rocky hillocks and broken up into low ridges and valleys. Taken as a whole the district consists of a wide expanse of gently undulating ground, intersected by rivers and streams flowing from North-West to the South-East which divide it into a number of parallel strips."

This peculiarity of the country has made cultivation more difficult than in other parts of the province; in the first place, the rain water is speedily drained off by innumerable streamlets into the larger streams and rivers and within a short time after rain has ceased

* Census of India : Bengal, Part 1, page 46.

* Bengal District Gazetteer. Bankura, p. 2.



Water overflowing A Lock-gate in a *Bandh* in Bankura (Bengal)

little trace is left of the moisture: secondly, there is no annual inundation bearing a rich and fertile deposit of silt. The intelligence and sagacity of the pioneers in cultivation in Bankura, however, found in this very drawback an easy and effective remedy for the problem, and provided the district with a veritable network of irrigation tanks, or, as they are locally known, *bandhs*.

"For the benefit of those who are strangers to Western Bengal it might be explained here that an irrigation *bandh* is a reservoir constructed by throwing up an embankment in sloping ground for the catchment of water, flowing down from the higher levels. In the undulating country of Western Bengal this serves as an easy, inexpensive and effective method of storage of water for the purpose of irrigation and drinking. Nowhere was the system of irrigation tanks and *bandhs* constructed with such systematic thoroughness and far-seeing wisdom as was done in Bankura and other parts of Western Bengal covered by the old land of Mallabhum, by its old benevolent landlords and by the Rajas of Vishnupur who ruled over it. Nowhere again have the narrow selfishness, folly and suicidal blindness of subsequent generations conspired to bring this elaborate system of tanks and *bandhs* on which the health, prosperity and the very life of the population depends, into such utter decay and destruction. Upon the heights of the ridges, and in rows and tiers along the slopes of the undulating ground, in and around the village sites and out among the fields, these tanks and *bandhs* were constructed with a thoroughness and an almost scientific precision which even in their present ruined and mutilated condition excite the admiration and wonder of the beholder."*

Mr. Dutt estimates the total number of

these reservoirs to be between 30,000 and 40,000.

"Some were almost as large as lakes, each irrigating several thousand bighas of land, which they rendered immune from drought throughout the year, while others, though smaller and of a more modest description, were equally effective in serving the land for the protection of which they were designed. The larger *bandhs* were supplied with inlet channels for the reception of the water of their catchment areas and with an elaborate and carefully worked out system of distributaries for serving the water to the lands protected by them. These tanks and *bandhs* not only supplied water to the field but furnished a sure and adequate supply of drinking water to men and cattle."*

"Bankura to-day is a district of dead tanks, of tanks and large *bandhs* which have either completely vanished out of recognition or of which only a fragment of an embankment here and there remains to indicate the evidence of their previous existence, or of their shrunk and mutilated remains in the form of shallow silted up pools of water."†

The inevitable consequence of this state of things is that paddy and other crops which could formerly be irrigated from these reservoirs are now dependent entirely on the caprices of the weather and if it does not rain, when rain is wanted, the unfortunate cultivator sees the crops die and blank starvation stares him in the face.

The irrigation movement in Bankura aims at restoring these reservoirs to their former state of efficiency and thus making famines normally impossible in the district. The problem is by no means a simple one, but

* A Bengal District's Choice between Life and Death, p. 4.

* A Bengal District's Choice between Life and Death, p. 12.

† Do. p. 12.

all the same the difficulties with which it is beset must be faced and overcome if the district is to be saved, from depopulation.

The first question naturally is that of finance. Where is all the money to come from that is required for the re-excavation and repair of these 30,000 tanks? If the modest sum of Rs. 100 be spent on each tank, the total expenditure would be about 30 lacs of rupees. But in most of the tanks, a hundred rupees would be absolutely inadequate. It is clear therefore that such an enormous expenditure cannot be met from the funds of Government, much less from those of the Bankura District Board. Under the present system of land settlement and the sub-infeudation of tenures, it would be idle to expect the zamindars or tenure-holders to take any interest in the matter. We have therefore to fall back upon the cultivators living in the villages of Bankura as the only party by whom this great task is to be shouldered, for it is they and they alone that suffer most when crops fail. But these men are poor, ignorant and disunited. Ignorance and want of unity are met with in other parts of the province. But the degree of poverty prevailing in the famine-stricken villages of Bankura can be imagined by few people not intimately acquainted with the condition of this unhappy district. How can such people find the money that is necessary for the re-excavation and repair of their tanks? The answer lies in one word, Co-operation,—Co-operation which gives to the proverbial straw the strength to restrain the elephant.

The irrigation movement in Bankura furnishes yet another example of the protean shapes which the principle of Co-operation is capable of assuming for the relief of suffering humanity. The system which is being followed in Bankura is to organise the persons, whose lands will be benefited by any irrigation project to form themselves into a co-operative irrigation society, for the provision of necessary funds and for the execution of work. For the sake of illustration, let us take the case of a *bandh* which is capable of irrigating 200 bighas of land if properly re-excavated. The cost of re-excavation and repair is estimated to be a thousand rupees, so that the cost per bigha works out at Rs 5. The villagers holding land to be irrigated from the tank are called together and the project is explained to them. The natural and inevitable reply to the proposal is that they are poor and unable

to pay the money. It is thereupon explained to them that if they raise a sum of Rs. 200 at one rupee per bigha, and organise themselves into a society, registered under the Co-operative Societies Act of 1912, they can borrow the rest of the money, i.e., Rs. 800 from a Central Bank, and later on they can repay the loan, together with its interest, if they go on paying one rupee per bigha for another five or six years. The payment of the first instalment is difficult, because few people have any money to pay from. But once the first instalment is paid, and the society is organised and registered, the rest is all, comparatively, plain sailing. With the loan, which the Central Bank is willing to advance to the society, the entire money is found with which the tank can be properly repaired, and restored to its original condition of efficiency. From the next year the paddy crop on these 200 bighas of land is insured against drought and when the cultivator has a good harvest, he feels no difficulty in paying the subsequent instalments on the loan.

But the protection of the paddy crop is by no means the only advantage which results from the re-excavation of the tanks. Go to any village in this poverty-stricken district and you will hear stories of the good old days when the tanks were full of water and the lands produced wheat and mustard and sugarcane "so stout that it had to be split into four pieces before being put into the press." With the provision of water, it has been possible to cultivate the valuable *soona* crops (winter crops) on a larger portion of the lands. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor of the *Modern Review* and *Prabasi*, visiting certain irrigation works in winter 1923-24, actually found wheat and potatoes growing on lands which had never, in former years, yielded a good harvest of paddy. After the completion of the irrigation work at Panchmura, the cultivators have been able to grow melons of a size hitherto unknown in that part of the country.

The re-excavation of the irrigation tanks has also a very important effect on rural water supply, because most of the tanks are so situated that they serve the dual purpose of irrigation and water supply.

Scarcity of water for drinking and domestic purposes is more or less acute throughout this once "well-watered" province, and although the question has engaged the serious attention of many, it has not yet been found possible to arrive at a satisfactory solution.



A Lock-gate in a *Bandh* in Bankura (Bengal)

The peculiar conditions of Bankura enable us to solve this difficult problem with comparative ease, through the combined and voluntary action of the villagers themselves.

In addition to the improvement of Agriculture and water supply, the people are benefited in other ways by the re-excavation of the tanks. The deterioration of these tanks has led of recent years to remarkable scarcity of fish, which is the only animal food comprised in the dietary of the ordinary Bengalee household. The re-excavation of tanks has resulted in a marked increase in the growth of fish. Then again, on the embankments, renewed with fertile soil from the bed of the tanks, vegetables of all kinds grow abundantly for two or three years. I have laid some stress on these points, because these are collateral advantages which are apt to be lost sight of, when our attention is fixed upon the more important aspects of the question. The increase in the produce of fish and vegetables, however, is a substantial addition to the food-supply of the villagers concerned and is often of great assistance to

them in paying off their loans. We learn, for example, from the report of the Bankura District Agricultural and Welfare Association, referred to above, that several societies had obtained, from fish and vegetables alone, a sufficient amount required to pay off the first instalment on the loans taken by them.

The right of fishery leads us to the question of the conflict of interests between the several parties having rights in the same tank. To understand this difficulty, it must be realised that the tanks in Bankura District were, most of them, originally constructed with a view to facilitate irrigation and to protect the crops against destruction by drought. The catchment, the tank as well as the cultivated lands (arranged below the tank in the form of terraces), all belonged to one and the same proprietor and formed parts of what may be described as an agricultural unit. These units came into existence when the woodlands of the district were gradually brought under cultivation. Even today instances are not wanting where people on taking settlement, or purchasing a mouja, hitherto

uncultivated and covered with jungle, begin by selecting a suitable site for the irrigation tank and then gradually prepare plots of land for cultivation, below the tank, and capable of being irrigated from it. Now, so long as the mouja, with the tank and the lands it irrigates, retains its integrity and remains the property of one person, everything goes on well and the tank is maintained in efficient condition by its proprietor. In course of time, disintegration sets in, and probably after fifty or a hundred years, we find the tank in the possession of a single individual or a body of co-sharers who enjoy the fish grown in the tank, while the lands below it have passed into the possession of a different set of persons, by inheritance, sale and otherwise. Some of these persons may not cultivate the lands themselves and they are seldom bound together by any common tie of relationship or domicile. In the circumstances the gradual deterioration in the efficiency of the tank is inevitable.

But through all the changes in the ownership of the lands and the consequent subinfeudation, the relationship between each plot of land and the tank remains intact and is all along claimed and recognised. In the recent settlement operations in Bankura the plots of lands having the right of irrigation from each tank have been ascertained and specifically recorded with tolerable accuracy. In many cases, of course, the right has long ceased to be exercised and exists only in name. Sometimes in years of drought the right of irrigation leads to serious quarrels between cultivators seeking to irrigate their lands from the same tank which does not contain sufficient water for them, or between cultivators and the owner of the tank who apprehend that the fish will suffer if the water is drained out, these quarrels are sometimes dragged into court and end in ruinous litigation. It is needless to say that the obvious remedy for these quarrels is re-excavation of the tanks so that it may contain sufficient water to satisfy the needs of all.

It may, appear at first sight, that this conflict of interests between the owner of the fishery in any particular tank and the cultivators having the right to irrigate their lands from it may become an insurmountable barrier in the way of organisation of co-operative societies and that the attempt at such organisation may not infrequently result in a tension of feeling between the parties. But the objection is more theoretical than real. In the first place, the re-excavation of a tank necessarily means

an enlargement of the reservoir of water and a consequent increase in the fish production. In the second place, the organisation of the societies, under the system at present followed in the district, does not confer on any individual or body of individuals any right which he or they did not previously possess, or deprive any body of any right which he has hitherto been enjoying.

When, as is very often the case, the right of fishery belongs, not to the cultivators but to the owner or owners of the tank, the former often objects to re-excavate the tank on the ground that the other party would derive a pecuniary benefit without making any contribution to the cost of re-excavation. It has been found that the best course under the circumstances is to induce the owner to settle fishery right with the societies, either in perpetuity or for a sufficiently long term of years.

A passing reference has already been made to the question of financing but any account of the irrigation movement would not be complete without a somewhat detailed examination of these arrangements. It is well known that co-operative societies are financed by co-operative Central Banks.

Accordingly, at the very outset of the movement, two Co-operative Central Banks have been established, one at Bankura and the other at Bishnupur, with authorised capitals of 5 lacs and 25 thousand rupees respectively. Capital in our country is proverbially shy, and it is more so in the backward district of Bankura, where moreover the number of rich men is very small. When these facts are taken into consideration, the response which has hitherto been made for subscriptions to these Banks must be regarded as satisfactory. The money that has been collected by means of share capital and deposits has been sufficient for the very small number of societies which the Banks have till now been called upon to finance. But as the movement progresses and if we want to make any appreciable effect on Bankura's liability to crop-failure and famine, we must have more money in the Banks. For this we depend on the local public as well as on the Government.

During the recent years a very large number of Central Banks have been established all over Bengal, and generally speaking they have received sufficient financial support from the people. Their working has, on the whole, been satisfactory and conducted on sound business lines, satisfactory alike to the investors and the borrowers. The Central Banks

ganised in this district for the irrigation movement are, to say the least, quite as safe as other organisations of a similar nature, cause the advances made by these banks to be directly spent in increasing the productive capacity of the soil and consequently the ability of the borrowers to repay their loans.

It would be a truism to state that the probability of a man's repaying a loan advanced to him depends not so much on his honesty as on his ability to pay and judged by this standard the Irrigation Central Banks offer extremely safe means for investment.

The experience of the last 2 years had demonstrated that, although the co-operative irrigation societies are of limited liability, there is practically no risk of non-realisation or bad debts.

The banks charge an interest of $9\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per annum on the advances made by them and it is satisfactory to find that the Bankura Central Bank has been able to declare a dividend of 4 per cent. at the close of the first year of its existence. It is confidently hoped that it would be quite easy to pay a dividend of between 7 and 8 per cent. per annum when the banks are properly established and working.

If the paramount need of this unfortunate district can be expressed in one word "Irrigation," the means required for achieving our object may likewise be expressed by the one word "Organisation." The movement has long passed the stage of experiment and investigation. The activities of the Bankura District Agricultural and Welfare Association during the last two years have demonstrated beyond doubt that it is possible, by organising a co-operative society, to arrange for the re-excavation of an existing irrigation tank as well as to construct a new reservoir where none existed before. It will appear from the report of the association referred to above that by the 30th September, 1923 as many as 54 Co-operative Irrigation Societies, large and small, had been organised and registered and that in many of them the work was complete or had been nearing completion. It will further appear from the same report that the operation of these societies covered an area of over 26000 bighas of land, the annual outturn on paddy from which may be estimated at over 5 lacs of rupees.

The irrigation tanks which it is necessary to re-excavate are spread all over the district and the people who have to be organised into corporate bodies are, for the most part, ignorant, backward and poor beyond all description. These inherent difficulties apart,

the field for the co-operative movement is practically unlimited and there is no doubt as to its potentiality to transform the district of Bankura from a land of recurring famines into one of unusual prosperity and happiness. It was in consideration of these facts that Mr. Dutt said in his paper to which reference has been made above that "the rate of progress that can be attained is limited by nothing but the organising staff, official and non-official, available for the purpose, the staff for drawing up plans and estimates for the larger schemes and the financing resources available from the Central Bank and Government."

In this remark, Mr. Dutt has put in a nutshell the whole situation about the material advancement of Bankura and the experience gained by the working of nearly two years which have elapsed since the paper was read has only lent confirmation to the truth and sagacity of his observation. We can do no better than take up, one by one, the several points mentioned by Mr. Dutt.

We want in the first place a *sufficient staff for organisation*. At present there are two Inspectors of co-operative societies working in connection with the irrigation movement. Their efforts have been supplemented by a few Honorary Organisers specially appointed by Government, and by the Sub-Deputy Collectors, who are posted in the district as Circle Officers. If this staff was found by Mr. Dutt to be inadequate in 1922, it must be more so today when after the lapse of two years the people even in the remotest villages have realised the necessity for irrigation and are willing to organise themselves. In a district where there are nearly 30,000 irrigation projects, large and small, to be taken up, the services of one or two Inspectors are nearly a drop in the ocean, and unless the Government takes up the work in right earnest and puts on it a sufficient staff of trained organisers, the difficulty will not be really solved.

It must not, however, be supposed that we are entirely dependent on Government help, and that the people have nothing to do. In the relentless war which we have to declare against poverty and famine, every man will have to do his bit and the duty of advising, organising and guiding the others will naturally fall on the educated classes. With utter annihilation staring us in the face, it might well be urged that a time has come when we should all suspend our normal activities and devote our combined and

organised efforts to this great task of self-preservation until the entire 30,000 tanks and *bandhs* of Bankura are restored to their original efficient condition and famine, poverty and water-scarcity have for ever become things of the past. This may be taken as asking too much, but if we consider that agriculture is our basic industry, that the ceaseless struggle for existence which goes on in the market-place and in the law-courts become a meaningless tragedy if the crops die every year on the fields of the cultivators, we can grasp the inwardness of the situation. But unfortunately, it is not yet necessary, to resort to any such revolutionary measures and much may be done and the progress can be immensely accelerated if the educated classes of Bankura take an active interest in the movement.

Next to the organisers and, in addition to them, we want a staff of supervisors. Their duties are thus described in the report of the association.

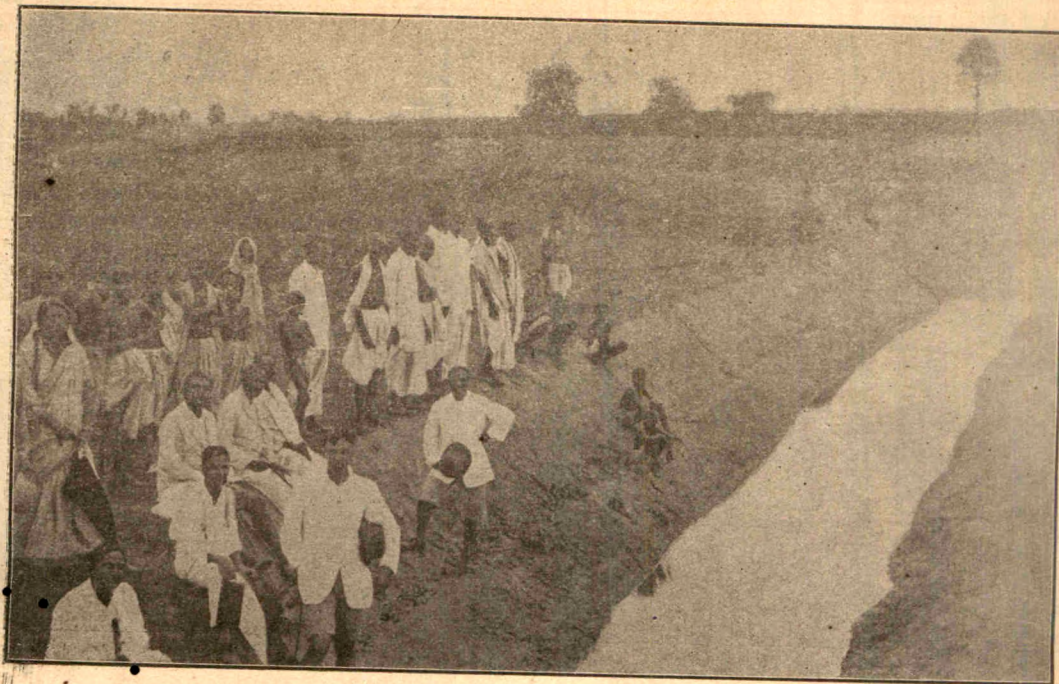
"Their main duty is to see that the land lists are prepared correctly and in accordance with settlement records and that the accounts and other books are properly kept."

It will be clear from this description, that supervisors, though lower in rank, are of great importance to the movement and that without their assistance it is not possible for the organisers, officials and honorary, to perform their work. Later on, when the Central Banks have a large working capital, it will be possible for them to entertain from the margin of the profit, a staff of supervisors to look after the societies affiliated to the Bank. But even then, it will be necessary to have a separate body of supervisors for helping the organising of new societies. At present when the banks are in their infancy, it is not possible for them to pay for any supervisor. Accordingly such supervisors as have hitherto been employed here have been paid by Government or out of the funds of the District Agricultural and Welfare Association which are mostly collected by public subscription. Up to September, 1923 the Association had already spent a sum of about Rs. 1400 on this, but the want of sufficient funds has stood in the way of the employment of a larger number of supervisors, with the result that the progress of the movement has been greatly retarded.

The next thing mentioned by Mr. Dutt is an adequate staff for preparing plans and estimates of the large schemes. In the foregoing pages mention has been made only

of schemes for the re-excavation and repair of irrigation tanks. In addition to this, it has been found possible to arrange for the irrigation of large areas, from 1000 to 10,000 bighas or more, by utilising the water of the perennial streams which are fed by the flow of subsoil water and of which there is a large number in the district. There is sufficient evidence to show that the pioneers in cultivation did not fail to tap this very important source of water-supply, but they were handicapped by want of engineering skill and the ability for a large number of people to act in unison. In spite of these drawbacks the remains of large irrigation works which are still to be seen in various parts of Bankura, "even in their present ruined and mutilated condition." to use the words of Mr. Dutt, "excite the admiration and wonder of the beholder." Unlike the projects for re-excavation of existing tanks, the schemes for the utilisation of perennial streams are beset with great difficulties. In the first place, the stream and its neighbourhood have to be accurately surveyed and a plan and estimate have to be prepared of the project. This requires money for payment of surveyors and surveying expenses. In the beginning the schemes were prepared by the District Engineer of Bankura but latterly the Government have appointed a special Engineer for irrigation projects. The Government have also sanctioned a staff of surveyors but no provision has been made for the expenses of survey. Unless this expense is paid by Government the progress of survey must necessarily be retarded.

When the plan and estimate of project are prepared and sanctioned the proper authority (who is ordinarily the Superintending Engineer of the Circle) we come to the stage of organisation. A scheme which comprises about 5000 bighas of land would probably have 500 individual members living in 4, 5 or more villages. If it is difficult to get ten persons to agree to act together, the difficulty of organising a co-operative society with 500 or more individual members can be easily imagined. And the progress in the organisation of such societies must necessarily be very slow. Within the last four years, four such big societies have been organised in this district. The Salbund Society in Vishnupur sub-division is designed for the irrigation of 5000 bighas of land from the water of the Harinmuri Khal. The work is nearing completion. The Gurusaday Society have completed the construction of a masonry weir at a cost of rupees 17,000 for the irrigation of over



The Taldangra Rukni Canal, Bankura (Bengal)

2000 bighas of land. The Rukni Khal Society has been formed with the object of irrigating about 1000 bighas of land from the Khal after which it is named. The water is held up by an earthen dam and taken to the village by means of a canal constructed at a cost of Rs. 300. The last is the Brajadurlav Society, which intends to construct a masonry weir across the Kukra Khal at a cost of Rs. 28,000 for irrigation of about 4500 bighas of land.

The last point mentioned by Mr. Dutt, is the provision of money for financing the societies. Experience of the two years indicates that the utmost that we can expect is that the Central Banks, if properly supported by the public of the District, will be able to cope with a normal growth in the number of co-operative societies for the re-excavation of tanks. It may, with the help of deposits from local people and loans from the Provincial Federation, be able to finance larger societies (those relating to construction of weirs across streams) if they are organised at the present rate. But it has already been stated that in order to remove, to an appreciable degree, the famine condition now prevailing in the District the progress of the work must be considerably accelerated and *pari passu* there must be an increase in the ability of the Banks to finance the societies. We therefore

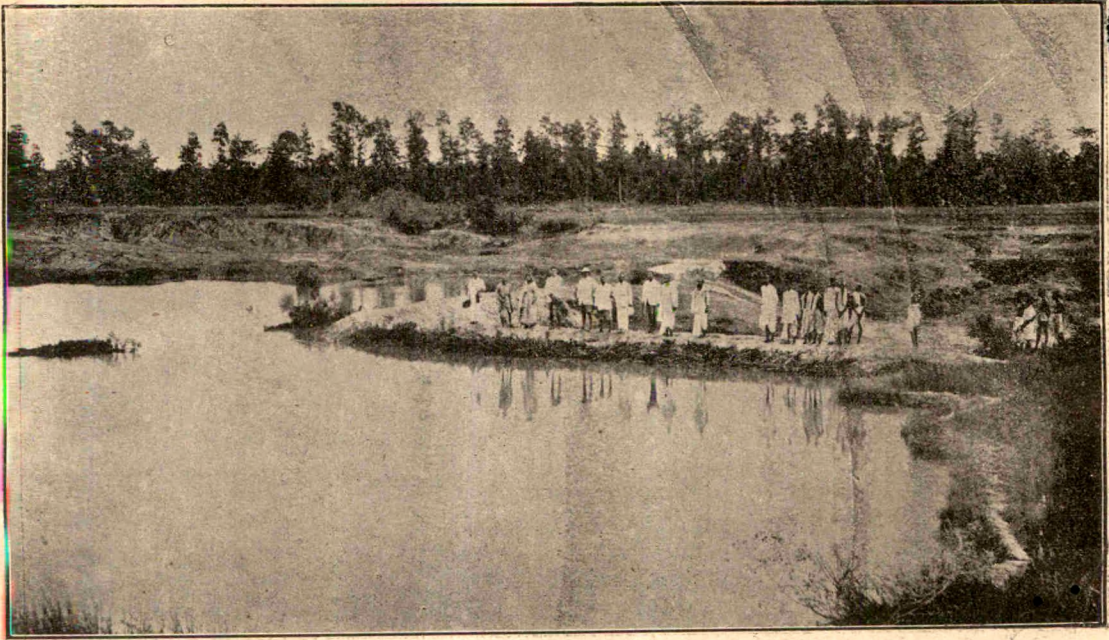
hope that the Government will be prepared to assist the Central Banks as necessity arises, in view of the large amounts which Government had to advance as loans to agriculturists during the two famines which occurred during the last decade, it is certainly not too much to expect such assistance. Prevention is better than cure and nobody can say when famine, which is hanging like a Damocles' sword on our heads, will come down upon us.

In this connection the following extracts from a letter which has been addressed by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal to the present Collector of Bankura after His Excellency's visit of inspection to Bankura in January last, will be read with interest:

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
Calcutta,
30th January 1924.

DEAR MR. HAZRA,

"I should like you to know how very pleased I have been to see the interesting examples of Co-operative Self-help which were shown to me in the Bankura District. The work which is being done by co-operative irrigation societies in providing by local efforts against the dangers of drought and crop-failure, is most encouraging and the best possible guarantee of the future prosperity of the district. The members of these societies have shown how wealth can be created even by very poor communities and I hope that their example will be widely followed. I have said on other



The *Bandh* on the Rukni Canal, Bankura (Bengal)

occasions that Government help ought to be proportioned to local effort and according to this principle the people of Bankura have established a strong claim upon the assistance of the Government. I shall not forget this admirable effort and shall see that it is properly encouraged.

"I was also very interested in what I learnt of the work of the District Agricultural and Welfare Association. This body seems to have been very successful in developing a spirit of self-help and co-operation among the people, and, thanks to their effort, some 26,000 bighas of land have now been rendered immune from drought and crop-failure to which they were previously subject."

I am,
Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) LYTON.

To
B. Haxra. Esq.

But it is not by Government officials alone that the importance of the work has been appreciated. During the last cold weather Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the editor of this journal, paid two visits to Bankura with the object of acquainting himself with the work that is now being done for the material advancement of the District. The result of his observations has been published in a signed article in the Baisakh issue of *Prabasi*. Says he :

"The movement now on foot for irrigation is being conducted on right lines and there is no doubt that the societies are doing extremely useful and important work. In irrigation is involved the question of life and death. At intervals of a few years Bankura suffers from famine and has to save

its life by begging from others. To prevent the shame and indignity it is incumbent on us to organise irrigation societies. These will provide water alike for agriculture and drinking. Agriculture will give rise to wealth and wealth in its turn will facilitate education, health and improvement in other directions."

When we think of the conditions prevailing in the villages of Bengal,—appalling poverty and disease, ignorance and want of unity, apathy and fatalism, born of despair,—we must recognise that the movement has a moral aspect, apart from that of mere material advancement. A co-operative irrigation society, large or small, is a living and forcible illustration of the power of self-help and united action. The villagers are made to feel that they are not like bits of straw borne along the current of circumstance, but that they can do something. They also realise that it is good to forget petty quarrels and jealousies and to act together for their common good.

It is impossible to close an account of the irrigation movement in Bankura without referring to the services of Mr. Gurusaday Dutt, I. C. S. who, as Collector of Bankura, initiated and fostered the movement. The progress achieved by the movement in the two years 1922 and 1923 is mainly due to his energy and enthusiasm and his wonderful power of organisation. In the report of the District Agricultural and Welfare Association

his services have been acknowledged in the following terms:

"In the midst of his heavy and engrossing duties as the head of the district he found time to organise and direct a movement embracing the

entire district in the scope of its operation. Those who were associated with him in this noble work can alone realise how keenly he felt for the people and how untiringly he devoted his energies for their welfare."

A WORKER.

EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTS IN GERMANY

By EMMA GOLDMAN

THE German system of education under the old regime is not a matter of mere theory to me. In my youth I experienced four years of its brutal discipline and deadly routine; I felt its crushing effect upon the mind and spirit of the child. Fortunately, it lasted only four years, but those years helped me later to understand the nature of Prussian militarism. I realised that it was the culminating expression of the drill and coercion prevalent in German educational institutions.

Most writers on Prussian militarism have completely ignored the relation between that educational system and the formidable machine dreaded by the whole world. Equally near-sighted are those who still describe Germany as a continued military menace, while ignoring the changing spirit of education. To them the sabre-rattling of the reactionaries is the strongest indication of a growing military spirit. Yet it is not that which will decide whether Germany is again to be under the iron hoof of Junkerdom, or to grow in breadth and vision. The decision will finally rest with the changing modes of education.

Two distinct educational tendencies are now at work along these lines, the Decisive School Reform movement (*Die Entschiedene Schule Reform*) and the Experimental Schools (*Die Versuche Schule*). The Decisive School Reform movement embraces teachers and educators who work within the folds of the old School, but who strive to enlarge the scope of education by various reforms along modern lines. How difficult their task is can be judged from the fact that in Prussia especially the schools are still under the police regulations and restrictions of fifty years ago. A striking example of

the antiquated conditions in the Berlin schools was given me by Professor Paul Oestereich, a leading pedagogue and head of the Society for Decisive School Reform. A school teacher in one of the public schools in Berlin attempted closer rapport with the children in his classroom by doing away with the traditional arrangement of the benches. The school authorities compelled the teacher to replace the benches in their former position at his own expense, for, as the Germans so fondly say, "Order there must be."

The school reformers see in this kind of order a paralysing factor upon the mind and body of the child. Their efforts are directed to freeing the school from the dead past by educational methods that will develop the child and its character. Some of the results of their work so far can best be seen in the types of young students in the trade schools which exist specially for the continued education of apprentices. It must be mentioned that the employers look with disfavour upon these schools, because they take the young workers away from the job for a number of hours during the week. But as it is obligatory upon them to permit their employees to attend, they must submit. However, they leave nothing undone to frustrate the efforts of the reformers.

Recently I was present at a public meeting of the society. The students spoke of their conception of the function of the schools and teachers. Several prominent members of the Ministry of Education were there, but that did not deter the girls and boys from voicing their grievances, and presenting their ideas upon the relation of pupil and teacher in a manner that showed a remarkable degree of intelligence, logical thinking, and independent spirit. The bear-



Boys and Girls Studying Anatomy—Hellerau Experimental School

ing of these students was most refreshing—refreshing even to the conservative school heads present. Thus, one of the latter during the discussion remarked that he had been school principal for twenty-five years, but had never understood his living material as he was made to understand it that evening.

Undoubtedly the efforts of Professor Oestereich and his colleagues are slowly producing the harvest of a new young generation—one that is not likely to fit into the straight-jacket of Prussianism.

The originators of the Experimental Schools do not deprecate the value of the work done by the reformers. They contend, however, that too much energy is being expended in fighting the obstacles and traditions of the old regime. The teacher has neither strength nor energy left to devote himself to his main task of reaching the child. For this reason they have created a new field, the experimental school—emancipated from the superfluous ballast of the past. Nearly every large city in Germany now has such schools. Hamburg has twelve,

Stuttgart, Leipzig, Frankfurt, Bremen, have them. They are to be found even in some remote country-sides.

Thuringen and the Harz have a chain of country-homes (Landheime), based on the ideas underlying this experimental educational work. The limited space of my article will not permit of treating many of these ventures. I have, therefore, chosen two outstanding experimental schools, both located in in Saxony: Hellerau and Dresden.

Hellerau is half an hour's ride from Dresden, a small settlement organised by a venturesome artisan fifteen years ago. He established a workshop of artistic furniture and gathered round him people of advanced ideas. Later, artistic metal work was added. Hellerau is not unknown to Europe and America, for it has since become famous because of the Dalcroze School of Rhythmic Dancing. But my concern at present is not with that institution. It is with the experimental public school which has an attendance of 600 children.

That school, while of pre-war origin, did not begin its constructive work along modern

as until 1921. It was then that a group of young teachers, inspired with new educational values, essayed to apply them to life. Their guiding principle is the recognition of the inner life of the child and the development of its latent powers. To them the child is the starting point—and education, the medium to create the proper background and atmosphere that will bring the child in close *rapprochement* with life and the work of the world. As their school journal expresses it: "Not the traditional methods or dead routine within the classroom will prepare the child for its place and work in society, but life itself,—life, with its varied and pulsating events and interests." It is their conception that the supreme mission of the teacher is to learn to understand the nature of the child, to win and hold its confidence, and never to lose faith in its innate goodness.

child towards the teacher and the latter's influence upon the pupils.

The daily experience of the Hellerau teachers seems to bear out this point of view. In my interview with the Director, Mr. Max Nietzsche, I learned of numerous examples. A particularly interesting experience is that of a young teacher who had not yet adjusted himself to his class. One morning he had prepared a lesson on geography. East Africa was to be the subject. Just as the class assembled, a child ran in, newspaper in hand, breathlessly announcing an earthquake in Chile. At once the whole classroom was in commotion, and the well-laid plan of the young teacher was destroyed by the events of life.

"The map! Let's find Chile;" shouted all in one chorus. All the heads were glued to the map and everything else was forgotten. "There, I have it. . . . America. . . . South



Young Scientists at Work at the Microscope—
Hellerau Experimental School

They seek to create a new relationship between teacher and pupil. The former is no longer the authority, the dreaded judge and jailer. He is the friend, counsellor and comrade. Not external power, but confidence and love now determine the attitude of the



The Children of the Hellerau Experimental School
have their Own Weekly Paper which is
posted on the Bulletin Board

America. . . . the West Coast." At once the far-away people and their sufferings became vivid to the children. "They live across the big sea. They are the same as we. Their



Girl Students Cleaning up at the Hellerau Experimental School

children go to the school as we do. They feel joy and pain as we. They are our brothers." For a long time the class would have nothing but Chile, and in the end they mastered the subject as no amount of lessons on geography could have accomplished.

Where the breath of actual life is permitted in the school, one event follows another. The interest of the children carries them "from Greenland to Africa, from Germany to India, and even a jump to the moon may be ventured." Using life as the source of education, the experimentalists lead the children out of the school into life. Classroom work is not abolished, but it is used as a laboratory for the impressions received in contact with life. The children are taken on long trips through the country, through forests, fields, across mountains and valleys, and everywhere they are introduced to the forces of nature. One week's tramp gives them more of the fundamentals in geography, geology, natural history, and botany than months of class-room instruction. The first impulse to reading, writing, and arithmetic

is also gained on these trips. "Railroad plans, train schedules have to be read, the distances between stations figured out, postcards written home and to friends." As a result the smaller children begin to feel the need of being initiated into these "mysteries." The out-of-door life does more. It develops healthy bodies, litheness of movement, and independence. It cultivates the power of orientation and absorption, and increases the eagerness of the children to learn more of the rudiments of knowledge picked up during the tramp. Back in the school, they begin feverishly to classify, elaborate, to deepen the information thus gained.

The journeys into nature are varied by excursions to museums, stores, warehouses, factories, railroad yards, and other places of human effort. Here the children learn the origin and purpose of raw material, the processes and values of various forms of labour. Here, too, they come face to face with the underlying principle of human helpfulness at the back of all production.

The experimentalists hold that "in our



The School Orchestra at the Hellerau Experimental School

sordid age, guided by the precept 'Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost,' mutual helpfulness is particularly needed." The spirit of co-operation in the daily life and work of the school is fostered, beginning with the lowest grade. The results are "most beneficial inasmuch as it gives strong and talented children a large scope for expression, while the weaker and backward ones thus find encouragement and confidence." The practice of mutual helpfulness creates an atmosphere of comradeship and sympathy unknown in the old school. The Hellerau and Dresden experimental schools feed several hundreds of the poorer children, the greater part of the food and labour being contributed by the other children and their parents.

Hellerau, a small community, populated by an advanced element, may not be an appropriate criterion for the larger, more difficult world. Therefore I also visited the Dresden school to study the application of modern methods in a large city. The school is situated in the very heart of Dresden and is attended by 550 children from every con-

dition of life. While attendance at this school is not obligatory, children come from remote districts, preferring it to the old, which speaks in favour of this experimental endeavour.

From the annual report which gives the aim, practices, and experience of the teaching staff, I learned that the actual modern attempts were begun in 1920, though the school is in existence since 1913. A group of Dresden teachers, comprising six women and sixteen men, joined the experimental school in that year. The salaries of these teachers as well as those of Hellerau are paid by the State, while the buildings in both places are supplied by the community. Dresden also contributed substantial sums toward furnishing the equipment of the school. Its main support, however, in money and labour, comes from the parents. "The parents," Mr. Minkert, the School Director, said to me, "are a most essential part of the work. They contribute the element which makes of our school a true and vital community center." By actively interesting the parents in the school and its



Boys and Girls of the Hellerau Experimental School at Play. A Snow-ball Fight in which the Teachers Join

efforts the experimentalists have developed a remarkable degree of understanding between parents and children—not only their own, but all children.

A striking feature of the schools in Hellerau and Dresden is the novel arrangement of the class-rooms. The old austerity is gone; gone also the torturous military benches and desks. Instead, one beholds cheerful living rooms, with comfortable tables and chairs, the walls ornamented with warm colour designs, lamps covered with lovely shades. Nearly everything in these rooms is the collective work of children and parents, and speaks of their devotion and love to the school. Mr. Minkert emphasized again and again the soothing effect of the tables and chairs on the children, their conduct and work. The new arrangement makes it possible for them to collect in groups, drawn together by temperament and mutual interest, a circumstance which has raised the morals of the class-room and has almost entirely done away with necessity of outer discipline. Unfortunately, lack of funds compel both school to still retain the

old arrangements in several class-rooms, to the evident detriment of harmony.

As concerns discipline, Mr. Minkert said that the greatest obstacles to its entire abolition are those parents who are still steeped in the old idea of coercion and punishment. The children who first come to the experimental school from the old institutions are also imbued with the same spirit. "My father said, unruly children must be thrashed", such a child remarked to the teacher. The latter replied: "But I'm not the judge here, nor the policeman. I am your friend. Would you do injury to your friends?" "No", replied the youngster, "of course, not to our friends". "Well, then, what is to be done to keep order?" The children deliberated for a number of days, and finally decided that they would have to keep order themselves.

In the higher grades the encouragement to free initiative and self-reliance has proved an aid to self-discipline, and has developed a strong sense of responsibility within the different groups. A teacher related to me the

case of a boy who had pilfered a piece of carving wood from the work-room. He was discovered. His classmates discussed the kind of punishment to be meted out. One boy suggested arrest. That was hotly resented by the rest as likely to throw a stigma on the school and to cause great sorrow to the boy's parents. Another one said, "I do not defend the act, but I do not blame him so much because his parents are at work all day, and he has no one to help him". Another boy advised that the graduation papers of the culprit should state that he had committed a crime. That also was repudiated because, "it would bar him from all sporting clubs and would 'queer' him with every employer should he begin his apprenticeship". After a long discussion the class came to the decision that the defender be induced to restore the loss out of his earnings at odd jobs. The old method of terrorising, humiliating, and often marring first offenders, was replaced by the appeal to the sense of responsibility of the child.

The Dresden experimenters stress the great importance of impressions derived outside of the class-room. "By introducing the child to the larger outside life, he gradually learns to appreciate that all progress and labour are based upon mutual effort. This does not always create social consciousness, but it paves the way for social feeling and activity." In illustration, they related the children's experience with a plot of land presented to the school. Some of the children wanted a portion allotted to them for their private use. Their desire was satisfied by a small patch which was given each one. Others preferred to work their land in common. Before long "the property owners" realised that they had made a bad bargain, but they continued their work undismayed. When the community lot yielded a larger quantity of fresh, lovely vegetables while the individual patches grew very little, the children announced that mutual effort was superior, and that they wished their plots to be included with the rest.

The new educational methods afford the teachers opportunity to learn to understand the psychology of the child and its reactions. The art instructor, for instance, discerns four distinct types among his pupils: the inventive—rich in new ideas but never taking time to elaborate them; the adaptive—who avail themselves of the new ideas, adapt them to their own needs, and apply them with great care; the imitative—who appropriate the

successful efforts of others, simplify and reduce them to generalisation; these are the numerous bearers of tradition; finally, the dull kind—who are the onlookers until some day they suddenly awaken and fall in with the third class. At work these types again subdivide into four categories. The variators concentrate more on diversity of form: no house at the feudal market-place is like any other; no two workers on the railroad track are dressed alike. The decorators absorb themselves wholly in colour and ornamentation. The imitators constantly repeat themselves; their houses and people are the same whether depicting Dresden or South Africa. Then there are the prosaic ones who content themselves with sober representation of essentials.

The serious contact with life is not permitted to dull the capacity for joy and play. Quite the contrary. All learning is acquired through play. Thus reading and writing are gotten more easily by interest in acting and mimicry than by the primer. The theatre holds a very important place in the life of the experimental schools, as does music, rhythmic dancing, and various games. Not only the mind, but the body and spirit find untrammelled expression in the experimental school. In summing up an essay on the place of the child in the school, one of the teachers writes: "The child should not be stuffed with educational twaddle. Rather should it be brought close to the wonders of its surroundings. Not sated should the child leave the school, but rather he should be imbued with yearning to add to his knowledge by independent pursuit".

In the light of the educational experiments carried on in America, for example, where there are dozens of experimental schools, the efforts at Hellerau and Dresden may not appear very novel. But it must not be forgotten that with America, the new educational ventures are almost entirely of a private nature, on a small scale, and accessible only to children whose parents can afford the luxury of modern education. Moreover, in the United States the municipalities take very little interest in the experimental schools; they are, as a matter of fact, usually antagonistic to them.

In Germany, on the other hand, the educational experiments are on a wide scale, and embrace large numbers of children and their parents. The two ventures I have described represent communities of nearly three thousand people. One of the vital forces

pertaining to the schools is the official interest and support they receive from their communities.

In trying to get at the correct estimate of changes taking place in a given country, it is a mistake to compare it with any other country where every condition of life is radically different. To appreciate the radical changes in educational standards achieved by the experimental schools in Germany, one

must compare them with the German schools of pre-War times, or even with the Prussian schools of today. Only then can one realise their value and effect upon the future of the country. The former barrack, torture-chamber and grinding mill, the cradle of bureaucracy and militarism, turned into a playhouse and workshop for the free development of a new generation is an attempt surely worth knowing and watching.

NOTATION OF HINDUSTANI MUSIC: ITS POSSIBILITY AND DESIRABILITY

Not satisfactory!

BY PROF. N. S. PHADKE, M.A.

THE instinct of recording is deep-rooted in man, and it is the source, not only of History which is the record of events, but of many other sciences also which together lend order and system to human life. Man is so made that he cannot rest satisfied with seeing or hearing a thing only for once. He craves for the repetition of the experience. The dog that pants by the side of a globe-trotter may look at the glorious sunset from the heights of the Himalayan peaks, perhaps it may even feel a thrill at the sight of the wonderful vision, but it is doomed to forget the sight as soon as the darkness of night shrouds it in its folds. Not so with the globe-trotter himself. He cannot rest content with a single peep into the sunset's glory. He cannot suffer the vision to pass away irrevocably. With a skilful click of the Kodak he will record the splendid scene and console himself with the assurance that he has secured in his pocket something which will at least partially pacify his eyes' thirst for the grand and the beautiful. What is true of the eye is equally true of the ear. A man will instinctively attempt to record a maddening note with the sole purpose, if not with any other, of enabling himself to repeat it whenever his heart yearns for its joy. Everything in nature is evanescent. Its sounds and sights come and go. And man is ever fighting against this evanescence. Himself but "an exhalation that is and then is not" his one struggle is to give permanence to the fleeting

aspects of nature. A strange irony, but there it is!

The notation of Music is not, therefore, an extraordinary phenomenon. As the hunter runs after the deer, so the annotator chases Music, casting huge nets of all sorts of signs and words in which he hopes to catch the volatile strains. Leaving aside the case of nations or rather communities whose Music is but in its infancy, we could hardly point out any instance where a nation possessed great Musical traditions without possessing some system of Musical Notation. The Music of India is as old as the Vedas, and if its history were ever written the historian would have to trace back the first attempts to writing Music down, though not to the Vedic, yet to pretty ancient times. A research into the ancient treatises, however, will show that the question of a System of Notation, in the sense in which we understand the term today, though then vaguely present to the Indian mind, was neither very eagerly nor elaborately discussed by the ancient musical scholars. And even skipping over a vast period of some centuries, and considering that period in the history of Indian Music in which it was so exclusively studied and monopolised by the Muslim artists that it came to be called the Hindustani Music—i. e., the period of Muslim rule in India—we shall vainly look for any definite attempt to fix system of Notation. In the case of Hindustani Music, therefore, the question of Nota-

on is more or less a modern question—modern in the sense that it has come to the forefront owing to modern influences. If we collect together the various systems of Notation that are at present fighting for universal recognition, the first thing that strikes us is that theirs is a growth of hardly half a century. I have already indicated that Indian scholars were aware of the question of Notation even in the ancient times of 'Ratnakar'—a treatise which is universally recognised as the best ancient authority on matters of Indian Music. It will be wrong to assert that the idea of Notation was unknown to ancient India. But it will be equally wrong to deny that the question of Notation, in the form in which it is discussed to-day, is very largely modern. When Hindustani Music came in contact with Western Music in more ways than one, when European scholars, in a noble spirit of research and comparative study, took to Hindustani Music, when some of the progressive Indian Musicians and scholars were fired by the ambition of popularising and reviving Hindustani Music and consequently felt the great need of some medium through which Hindustani Music could be imparted in Musical schools and Academies, when standardisation of Music came to be regarded as extremely necessary for the life and progress of Hindustani Music, it was then that the question of Notation came to be regarded as the central and vital question. And since the forces of which we have just spoken have been active not only in one part of the country or in the case of one isolated individual, but all over the land and with numerous individuals in the field, the natural result has been that each intellect has tackled the question in its own characteristic way, and to-day we find more than a dozen systems of Notation, each with its sets of admirers and opponents. The sight of more than a dozen systems of Notation warring against each other for the supreme place is as ugliness about it. And those whose love of Hindustani Music and anxiety for its progress is not vitiated by prejudice or partisanship have for some years past been trying to evolve a system of Notation which would most efficiently express Hindustani Music and would consequently be acceptable to the whole nation. It is this attempt that suggests, or rather ought to suggest, the two primal questions of (1) the possibility, and (2) the desirability of a *Perfect* National system of Notation as regards the Hindustani Music.

Is a 'Perfect' Notation, in the real sense of the word, possible in the case of Hindustani Music? This seems to be a very strange question at first sight, a question which would only be asked by a sceptic of the hopeless type. If Hindustani Music is quite mature, developed and definite, and if we possess the necessary amount of ingenuity to invent symbols for all the details, there should be nothing to foil our attempt to evolve a 'Perfect' system of notation. That is how common reasoning would run. But a close study of all the characteristics of Hindustani Music would enable any one to perceive how the case of Hindustani Music is infinitely out of the common, and how the question of its Notation cannot be judged by the ordinary criteria.

Notation means 'noting' down, 'writing' down. And only that can be 'noted' or 'written' down which is not so subtle as to defy expression. The question of the possibility of a 'Perfect' system of Notation for Hindustani Music can, therefore, be settled by inquiring into the nature of the latter—the characteristics which make it what it is. A careful comparison of Hindustani Music with Western Music will bring into bold relief some considerations which are of the utmost importance in this connection. The Music of a nation is not only the mere way in which notes of certain values are collected together and used by its people. Music is an art, and like all other arts it reflects in itself the whole mental and spiritual poise of the nation. A nation's Music reveals its temperament, its likes and dislikes, its reverences and irreverences, its whole philosophy, its entire way of living and thinking. It need not surprise us, therefore, if Hindustani Music is vastly different from what may be generically termed as Western Music. To point out but one or two essential characteristics which mark this difference between the two kinds of Music it may be said that—

1. A Hindustani song is not like a European song a mere juxtaposition or mere combination of notes or *Swaras*. It is rather a very subtle evolution of *Swaras*. The European song jumps while a Hindustani song swims. Every *Svara* sounds like an inevitable consequence of the earlier. The Hindustani *Svara* is not a clear-cut bar when it is used as a component part of a song. It has 'frills' on both sides, and a genuine Hindustani song is a series of *Swaras* whose frills delightfully intermingle. Consequently it occupies a length of time

which may very well puzzle a European listener who is accustomed to hear songs that quickly expire.

2. And again, a truly Hindustani song is such a subtle affair that to put it on paper and claim to have caught it is like putting the dead body in a coffin and claiming to have captivated the Man. As Rabindranath Tagore has somewhere very aptly remarked: 'They in Europe go to listen to a song, while we in India go to listen to a singer'. Unlike a European song a Hindustani song derives much of its grandeur from its accompaniments. The amiable fight between the singer or the instrumentalist and the drummer, and their concerted and complementary performances form the very essence of a Hindustani song. The European song is only a 'special' thing. It has no 'temporal' aspect of importance. But a true Hindustani song vibrates both in 'time' and 'space'. Special and temporal undulations run across each other: and a Hindustani song, if it is a faithful expression of Indian Art, is a network of vertical and horizontal fibres.

These and other similar considerations ought to convince anybody how futile it is to record a Hindustani song---when it is really Hindustani. Listen to any famous Hindustani singer and you will find that every *Svara* that comes out from his throat is not a bare *Svara* that can be easily put down on paper as *Ma* or *Pa* or *Ni* of the Musical scale, but it has its own bye-notes, its 'frills', as we have said above, or its own 'atmosphere'. It is true that many systems of Notation have attempted to indicate difficult actions like a *Meend* by some sign like an arch. The signs invented certainly look ingenious and demand our allegiance to the cleverness of the inventors. But let him, who really knows what a *Meend* or a *Gamak* is, pause awhile and reflect if a simple sign like an arch is sufficient to convey the full significance of the action connoted, to a novice who tries to learn Music with the help of a ready-made Notation placed before him. None who has really understood the essence of Hindustani Music would deny that the peculiar 'atmosphere' which surrounds every *Svara* when a first-rate Hindustani Artist sings is incapable of being fully expressed by one or many lines, vertical, horizontal or arch-like, however ingenious and elaborate they may be in their design. Take, for instance, the first line of the famous song, "*Itane Joban Par Man Na Keeje*" in *Bhoop Raga*. Granting that you have developed a very elaborate system of

Notation, and that you have trained one many students in reproducing songs from Notations conforming to your system---even granting all this, the reproduction of the line in question by the best of your students will undoubtedly lack the peculiar 'atmosphere' which surrounds the line as it comes from the original first-rate Artist. You may indulge in this experiment as often as you choose, varying the circumstances in as many ways as you can conceive, and your experience will invariably be the same. It can never be denied that there are certain 'heights' in Hindustani Music to which no system of Notation can ever reach, certain 'subtleties' which defy all expression.

The most important characteristic of Hindustani Music which we cannot afford to ignore is that much of its heavenly charm is derived from what the Artist sings 'impromptu', as if by divine inspiration. Like an eagle a Hindustani singer soars onwards and upwards as the performance progresses, and when once he reaches the supreme heights he loses himself in the rapturous harmony of his own creation. Then it is not so much he himself as his voice that sings. Then he does not plan any collection of notes nor is he in a position to remember the wonderful constructions that sound, as if by themselves, through his throat. He is like the maddened soldier who rushes on into the thick of the battle and then does not know what he is doing. Listen to a Hindustani song sung by a set of students according to a definite plan rendered common by some sort of Notation papers placed before them. The song may perhaps please your ear. But it cannot stir your soul; and you will refuse to call it real Hindustani Music. The case of Western Music is different. Any Western song like the much too famous "It's a long way to Tipperary", when once set to Notation, gets standardised, and then it is the same whether the renowned Harry Lauder or the commonest soldier sings it. (Though even here it is worth noting that it is only Harry Lauder's song that sets the heart of the audience beating because there is a peculiar inspired 'impromptu' element in it which is far above the region of Notation.) But if you in this way standardize a Hindustani song you rob it of its real grandeur. It is like catching the sun in a potful of water. Since the true splendour of Hindustani Music owes its source to what the expert Artist performs 'extempore' in inspired moments, it ought to be clear that even the most elaborate system of Notation, when applied to it, is doomed to

at its own purpose, so far as the real essence of the Music goes. It will fail to express and record that essence, because by its very nature it is inexpressible. Hence no system of Notation for Hindustani Music can lay claim to 'Perfection'. There is a limit where all systems of Notation will have to halt and admit their own futility.

Within these limits, however, a system of Notation has its value. A system of notation which is humble enough to concern itself only with the elementary aspects of Hindustani Music, and frank enough to confess that its function is only to guide the novice up to a certain point, would be the most rational system of Notation and would deserve the greatest support. If scholars are endeavouring to evolve a universal Indian Notation they should first understand and openly admit that even granting that such a system is evolved, its use will be confined only to the expression of the lower levels of Hindustani Music and to teaching its rudiments to new devotees of the Art. That will very greatly contribute to a healthy understanding between the Musicians and Instrumentalists on the one hand and the Pandits and research-lovers on the other. Every language has an alphabet. But the alphabet is only used as a leading string for small boys. The art of Oratory is an altogether different affair. The

alphabet cannot be expected to make orators of the boys, however diligently they may learn it. A system of Notation has much the same value as an alphabet. It may tell you how to read Music. But it can never help you to become a real singer. And it can contain real Music---of course, we are speaking of Hindustani Music---as little as an alphabet can contain real inspired speeches. A system of Notation is after all meant for the beginner. The higher regions are not accessible to any system of Notation, nor do those who excel in the art depend on any standardised guidance. If all these qualifications are accepted and an attempt is made to reconcile the numerous Notations that are at present current in India, and to fix a common system, nothing could be more desirable, and profitable. Evolving a 'Perfect' Notation for Hindustani Music is like running after 'The Will o' the Wisp.' Once this is realised much of the bitterness created by the present controversies will be mitigated, absurd claims and ambitions will be weeded out, and a clear ground will be in view where all schools of thought can meet and come to common conclusions. It will then be easier to compare all the prevalent systems of Notation, to adopt an eclectic method and to give the nation a universal system of Notation. Let us hope, that day is not far distant

THE RELATION OF THE SEXES

BY MAJOR B. D. BASU, I. M. S. (Retired)

THE question of the relation of the sexes is an important one in the consideration of the subject of the uplift of Humanity. This is also necessary, because the sexual impulse is naturally so strong, that without proper control, it not only ruins men and women in body, mind, morals and spirit but in the long run saps the foundation of society and brings about the downfall of nations. The irresistible nature of the sexual impulse brings into existence degraded humanity. It has been very rightly said by an eminent psychologist that,

"In any case the sex appetite is more vibrant and suggestible than either of the others. Truly

appalling is the swiftness with which sensuality and lewdness may infect a people. In a mushroom mining camp debauchery is swifter than drink in breaking down steady habits. This is why no society can afford to let its members say or publish or exhibit what they please. Lust is a monster that can be lulled to sleep only with infinite difficulty, whereas a pin-prick, a single staccato note is enough to arouse. The ordered sex relation is, perhaps, man's greatest achievement in self-domestication. Common sense forbids that the greed of purveyors of 'suggestive' plays, pictures, or literature be suffered to disturb it. Moreover, if, as experience seems to show, the social evil cannot be utterly stamped out in cities, it is better to sweep it aside into some 'tenderloin' or 'levee' than to let it flaunt in the frequented streets."*

* Ross's *Social Psychology*, p. 126.

Marriage is intended to regulate the relation between the sexes. Hence the institution of marriage brings about, or gives prominence to "chastity". The survival value of "chastity" in nations which hold it in high esteem, especially as far as their woman-folk is concerned, is proved by history. The Hindus and the Chinese are pre-eminently the two nations who have survived the cataclysms of conquests and revolutions. This is to be attributed to a great extent to the chastity of those races. While "confiscation of women," practised by Muhammadan conquerors brought about the extinction of Christianity in countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea, such as Syria, Egypt, Morocco, and Algeria. This was not the case with the Hindus when India came to be conquered by Muhammadans. Most Hindu women cheerfully mounted the funeral pyre and reduced themselves to ashes rather than suffer themselves to be polluted by the touch of their Mahamadan conquerors.

Says Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids :

"The people (of India), in the 6th cent. B. C., had already built up for themselves, quite independently of religion, a social code regarding sexual relations." [Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, III. p. 490.]

Buddha laid great emphasis on chastity.

"In the *Itivuttaka*, Buddha is represented as declaring that 'the life of chastity is not lived for the purpose of deceiving or prating to mankind, nor for the sake of the advantage of a reputation for gain and one's own affairs; but this life of chastity is lived, O monks, for the purpose of Insight and thorough Knowledge'; while 'by mutual reliance. O monks, a life of chastity is lived for the sake of crossing the flood (of earthly longings) and for the sake of properly making an end of misery.'"

There is little doubt that Buddhism borrowed the ideal of chastity from the Hindus. To quote the above mentioned author:

"All that Buddhism did was to adopt the highest ideal current among the clans, and to give it additional clearness and emphasis. It was this ideal that it carried with it wherever it was introduced The percentage of illegitimate births is low in those countries where the influence of early Buddhism has been greatest, and its canonical literature is chaste throughout" [E. R. E. III, p. 490].

This reflects great credit on Hinduism and India.

Regarding the chastity of the Chinese women, Mr. W. Gilbert Walshe writes:—

"Chastity in females is regarded by the Chinese as a virtue of prime importance; In the city of Hangchow is a well into which hundreds of Chinese girls threw themselves when the city was

threatened by the T'ai-ping rebels. Instances as these afford more reliable evidence as to high standard of chastity which undoubtedly existed among women in China, than any deduction from the methods which seem to reflect upon the female character, and which are intended rather as incentives to virtue than preventives against vice..... Houses of ill fame exist in the majority of cities, but they are generally unobtrusive in their character, and their existence is known only to habitués. The inmates are recruited by kidnapping or purchase from destitute parents; very few of them are willing votaries. The immorality which is observable at Chinese treaty-ports would not be tolerated in inland cities . . ." [E. R. E., III, pp. 490-491].

While early Christianity laid great stress on chastity and censured re-marriage by either sex, for it was looked upon as a manifest sign of incontinence, in Christian countries in modern times, chastity is not practised as it is in India amongst Hindus or in Buddhist countries.

"In Christendom, two thousand years have passed in an ambiguous, unreasoned, and in the worst sense superstitious, attitude towards the sexual life. Westermarck finds that 'irregular connexions between the sexes have on the whole exhibited a tendency to increase along with the progress of civilization'; and Gibbon had already noted that, 'although the progress of civilization has undoubtedly contributed to assuage the fiercer passions of human nature, it seems to have been less favorable to the virtue of chastity.'..... Men are in no hurry to solve the question which more than any other involves the future prosperity of the race. In the meantime the practical question of sexual life is a hand to mouth affair when it is not given over to false ideals or degraded values." [Mr. A. E. Crawley in E. R. E. III, p. 436].

Some of the races called savage were virtuous as far as sexual morality went before they came in contact with the Christian nations of Europe.

"Several of the virtues, and among them chastity, were more faithfully practised by the [American] Indian race before the invasion from the East than these same virtues are practised by the white race of the present day". [A. B. Holder, *American Journal of Obstetrics*, XXVI. I.]

Mr. Havelock Ellis, in his *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Vol. III, pp. 207 et seq. writes:

"When prostitution is attributed to a savage people, we must almost invariably suppose either that a mistake has been made, or that the people in question have been degraded by intercourse with white peoples, for among unspoiled savages no custom that can properly be called prostitution prevails.....When, therefore, we are considering the chastity of savages, we must not take into account those peoples which have been brought into close contact with Europeans."

In his work on the sexual life of our time, Ivan Block has devoted a chapter to "Sensual Life," in which he writes that

"He who wishes to characterize in a few words

European civilisation of the present day may be that its nature consists in epicureanism, mitigated by toil and the struggle for life:.....Our usual life to-day.....has now degenerated into a compulsive search for the most violent sensations possible, into a wild hunt after the strongest possible and most frequent enjoyments, because the time is lacking for a peaceful, harmonious existence.....

"For the majority of those living in great towns, amusement is equivalent to a continued succession of superficial sensual pleasures, as preparatory stimuli for an equally fugitive and debasing sexual act.

"The frequently heard and favorite phrases, 'to go through with it', 'to live one's life', 'to sow one's wild oats', &c., have all the same significance, in the sense of preparation for sexual indulgence by means of such stimuli.....We indulge too often in sexual intercourse."

He quotes the psychologist, Willy Hellpach who says that:

"The whole arrangement of the sensual life culminates in the stimulation of erotic activities. Such a tendency is inevitably associated with the development of the modern large town; and there ensues an imitation of the sensual life of large towns in smaller towns, and even in country villages."

Ivan Block says that the sensual life of our time

"Also possesses its literary guides and course of instruction, in the form of the numerous printed handbooks for the world of pleasure.....all the various pleasures of Paris, for the eye, the ear, and the sense of taste, lead ultimately to—woman.....that the sexual impulse is, in every possible way, influenced, increased, elaborated, and complicated, by the civilisation of the present day. Especially the life of great towns, where the essence of modern civilisation is found in its most concentrated form, is a sexual stimulant in the highest degree,....as in the old England and in the new, the excessive consumption of meat and of alcoholic beverages has unnaturally stimulated the sexual impulse, and has conducted it into devious paths.....The sexually stimulating influence of luxurious feeding.....is indeed a well-known fact of experience;.....alcohol is the evil genius of the modern sexual life, because in a malicious and underhand manner it delivers its victim to sexual misleading and corruption, to venereal infection, and to all the consequences of casual sexual intercourse."

Sexual impulse is a biological instinct which it is not always safe to repress. To quote again from the work of the last named author

"To-day, however, the primitive instincts are oppressed by the necessities of civilised life, and by the coercive force of conventional morality; but these instincts still slumber in every one."

The evil results of conventional morality have been depicted by the Danish poet, J. P. Jakobsen who has characterized this double life as follows:

"But when he had served God truly for eleven years, it often happened that other powers gained

the upper hand in him; by an overwhelming force, he was driven to the coarse lust of coarse enjoyments; he yielded, overcome by the human passion for self-annihilation, which, while the blood burns as blood only can burn, demands degradation, perversity, dirt, and foulness, with no less force than the force which inspires the equally human passion for becoming greater than one is, and purer."

Regarding sexual morality, writes an English author

"At present the sexual morality of the civilized world is the most illogical and incoherent system of wild permissions and insane prohibitions, foolish tolerance and ruthless cruelty that it is possible to imagine. Our current civilization is a sexual lunatic.....To approach it (the discussion of the matter) is to approach excitement. So few people seem to be leading happy and healthy sexual lives that to mention the very word 'sexual' is to set them stirring, to brighten the eye, lower the voice, and blanch or flush the cheek with a flavour of guilt.

"The essential aspect of all this wild and windy business of the sexual relations is, after all, births.....The pre-eminent value of sexual questions in morality lies in the fact that the lives which will constitute the future are involved."

Mr. Wells also says

"It is possible that in the last hundred years, in the more civilized states of the world, the average of humanity has positively fallen. All our philanthropists, all our religious teachers, seem to be in a sort of informal conspiracy to preserve an atmosphere of mystical ignorance about those matters which, in view of the irresistible nature of the sexual impulse, results in a swelling tide of miserable little lives. Consider what it will be to have perhaps half the population of the world, in every generation, restrained from or tempted to evade reproductions."

To the sociologist, the problem of the relation of the sexes derives its importance from the fact that on its right solution depends the suppression of prostitution, and of venereal diseases as well as the happiness of the home and welfare of the race. Because this question has not been properly tackled, therefore, there is so much misery observable in this world of ours. It is, therefore, that Ivan Block writes:

"It is not by chance that prostitution is mainly a product of civilization, that it finds in civilization its proper vital conditions, whereas in primitive states it cannot properly thrive."

Prostitution degrades humanity physically and morally. It diffuses venereal diseases, the evil consequences of which to the family, to the offspring and the race are too well known to be mentioned here. Hence the necessity of moral and physical purity in the relations between the sexes. *

* H. G. Wells' *Anticipations*.

† Lord Sydenham of Combe, Chairman of the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases, said

But men do not often lead pure lives, because purity is not taught in childhood. From statistics of schools in Christian countries of the West, it is evident that at least 90 per cent. of the boys attending schools are addicted to self-abuse. Dr. Dukes, in his work on "The Preservation of Health" writes:

"I believe that the reason why it is so widespread an evil—amounting, I gather, although from the nature of the case no complete evidence can ever be accurately obtained, to somewhere to 95 per cent. of all boys at boarding schools is because the boy leaves his home in the first instance without one word of warning from his parents.....and thus falls into evil ways from his innocence and ignorance alone."

In "Youth and Sex" published in the series of "The People's Books," Dr. F. Arthur Sibly says that the boy

"has long been accustomed to caress his private parts, and the pleasure with which he does this is enormously enhanced. He does not suspect that indulgence is harmful. This pleasure, unlike that of eating, costs him nothing and is ever available. His powers of self-control are as yet undeveloped."

It is necessary to teach every child self-control.

Self-abuse with its corollary, un-natural offence in childhood leads to further uncontrollable passions in early manhood. Regarding the results of youthful impurity, the above-mentioned author says:—

Another injury done by impurity to the growing mind of the lad is that, in all matters relating to sex, he learns to look merely for personal enjoyment. In every other department of life he is moved by a variety of motives: by the desire to please, the desire to excel, by devotion to duty, by the love of truth, and by many other desires..... Meanwhile, as regards the sexual appetite—the racial importance of which is great; and the regulation of which is of infinite importance for himself, for those who may otherwise become its victims, for the wife he may one day wed, and for the

"Appalling as are the effects upon individuals who have contracted disease by contagion, I believe that the results of transmission are more dangerous to the race, as they are certainly more insidious. Sterility, still births, and infant mortality are largely due to this cause. To them must be added large numbers of children who die young or who linger on under some great disability which prevents them from ever becoming useful citizens and relegates many to the care of the State at large expenditure. Thus not only is the birth-rate being lowered at a time when other causes are operating in the same direction, but the whole standard of public health is degraded and the vitality of the race is undermined."

"Thoughtful men and women can render no higher service to the State than by promoting with ceaseless vigilance the chastity of its people, for such national foundations are as indestructible as those of licentiousness are destined to decay." (*Race Regeneration* by E. I. Smith, p. 86.)

children, legitimate or illegitimate, that he beget—his one idea is personal enjoyments.

He very rightly observes that,

"considering how large a part the sex-passion plays in the lives of most men and women; considering how it permeates the literature and art of the world and is—as the basis of the home—the most potent factor in social life, its profanation is a terrible loss,....."

It is this impurity of boyhood which is responsible for many of the evils prevalent in society. Dr. Sibly says:

"As a result, young men become powerless to face the sexual temptations of manhood; and many, who in all other relations of life are admirable, sink in this matter into the mire of prostitution or the less demoralizing, but far crueller sin of seduction.

"Into the contamination of this inferno, into active support of this cruel infamy, many and many a young man is led by the impurity of his boyhood."

This impurity then leads to the degradation of women. Dr. Clement Dukes writes in the work already referred to above,

"This evil.....is, I believe, the root of the evil of prostitution and similar vices; and if this latter evil is to be mitigated, it can only be, to my mind, by making the life of the school-boy purer.

"How is it possible to put a stop to this terrible social evil? How is it possible to *elevate women* while the demand for them for base purposes is so great? We must go to the other end of the scale and make men better; we must train young boys more in purity of life and chastity before their passions become uncontrollable.

Whereas, the cry of every moralist philanthropist is, 'let us put a stop to this prostitution, open and clandestine,' This cannot be effected at present, much as it is to be desired; the demand for it is too great, even possibly greater than the supply. If we wish to eradicate it, we must go to the fountain-head and make those who create the demand purer, so that the demand falling off, the supply will be curtailed."

Dr. F. Arthur Sibly after quoting with approval the above passage from Dr. Dukes' work writes:

"To this I venture to add that by teaching chastity we not merely decrease the demand for prostitutes, but we greatly diminish the supply. Few girls, if any, take to the streets until they have been seduced; and the antecedents of seduction are the morbid exaggeration of the sexual appetite, the lack of self-control, and the selfish hedonism which youthful impurity engenders..... So blind, so callous does impurity make even the refined and generous, that many a young man who can be a good son, a good brother, a noble friend, a patriotic citizen, will doom a girl whose only fault is that she is physically attractive—and possibly too affectionate and trusting—to torturing anxiety, to illness, to the horrible suffering of undesired travail, to disgrace, and in nineteen cases out of twenty to ostracism and the infamy of the streets."

Dr. Sibly advocates instruction in sex

vledge and purity teaching, as well as in notic suggestion. He writes :—

Yet there is a remedy—I believe a specific which can rapidly and, I think, finally restore strength to the enfeebled will and order the unclean spirit to come out of the man. It is hypnotic suggestion.....In *trustworthy* hands hypnotic suggestion is a beneficent power which has no dangers and no drawbacks and to decline to use is to accept a very serious responsibility."

But while chastity should be aimed at, it is not necessary to bring into existence celibates of either sex in any society. Celibacy may be good for a few individuals

either from choice or compulsion, but certainly it is not a virtue for the welfare of Humanity. It is incompatible with the harmonious development of all the faculties of man. By suppressing one passion, other passions are, as it were, let loose beyond bounds.

Then, again statistics collected by the Federal authorities in America and edited by Professor Wilcox, of Cornell University, show conclusively that married men have a much better chance of life than bachelors. Men of all ages die twice as fast if unmarried.

“RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN POWER IN INDIA”*

(A REVIEW)

WE hear a lot about peace and order under British rule, but of late the weekly reports of dacoities in Bengal must have made many of us somewhat sceptical on the subject. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, during Lord Clive's regime, the state of things was so serious as to call forth the following comment from the historian James Mill : “ This class of offences..... increased to a degree highly disgraceful to the civilisation of a civilized people. It increased under the English Government, not only to a degree of which there seems to have been no example under the Native Governments of India, but to a degree surpassing what was ever witnessed in any country in which law and government could with any degree of propriety be said to exist.”

“ Had Ranjit Singh been a far-seeing statesman he would have formed a confederacy with these petty Sikh chieftains and welded all these states into an united Sikh empire. But he was no statesman. He was bent on the destruction of these petty Sikh chieftains.” Was he, we may ask the author, the only Indian monarch who was guilty of such shortsightedness ? The history of pre-British Indiaounds in such instances. The Afghan minister Shah Singh had a truer appreciation of the character of the foreigners he had to deal with. Lophinstone writes that “ he did not think that we were so plain as we pretended to be.....He frankly owned that we had the character of being very designing and that most people thought it necessary to be very vigilant in all transactions with us.” his is perhaps one of the reasons why the white man has not yet succeeded in taking upon himself the burden of governing Afghanistan as a sacred trust for the people of the country.

The deposition of Mr. Holt Mackenzie before the Commons' Committee on the 23rd February 1832

neatly puts the Government's Excise policy in a nutshell. “ I believe intercourse with Europeans leads to indulgence in the use of wine and spirits, which, though it may be lamented on the score of morals, must be beneficial to the revenue.”

The Charter of 1813 saddled India, a non-Christian country, with the cost of the clerical establishment. It is a downright injustice and an anachronism which continues to this day, and the system could not last for a single day under a self-governing regime.

The story of the defence of the mountain fortress of Kulunga in the Nepal campaign of 1814 by Balbhadra Singh and his three hundred followers reads like a romance and is as gallant a feat of heroic self-immolation as any immortalised by the bard or historian. It is pleasant to note that the British have erected a small monument in the forests of Dehra Dun “ as a tribute of respect for our gallant advisory Balabhadra Singh.”

The author gives numerous examples of “ the wonderful capacity which the British possessed for intrigues and conspiracies and for raising traitors by holding out temptations and specious promises in the camps of our opponents,” and throughout he uses the expression “ occidental diplomacy,” as synonymous with Machiavellian duplicity. Any one who reads these volumes carefully will, we are sure, be bound to agree that he had ample justification for using the words in this sense. The tortuous methods of what passes for Oriental diplomacy pale into insignificance before the more refined and scientific tactics practised by the unscrupulous politicians of the West in encompassing their nefarious ends.

The peaceful penetration of British civilisation is resented by Afghanistan at one end, and Nepal at the other. Amar Singh Thapa pursued the policy of keeping out the English at all costs from Nepal, and Colonel Shakespeare writes of him : “ Who shall say he was not wise ?”

Major Basu is rather hard on Colonel Tod. In

* Rise of the Christian Power in India : Vols. IV and V. Chatterjee, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Price Rs 5 each Vol. pp. 496 plus 179.

his opinion, Tod tried to produce in the minds of the Rajputs bitter hatred against the Marathas by violently exaggerated accounts of their misdeeds.

The author quotes the following from Burke's speech on Fox's East India Bill of 1783: "I engage myself to make good to you these three positions: First, I say,.....there is not a single prince, state, or potentate, great or small, in India with whom they have come in contact, whom they have not sold..... Secondly, I say, that there is not a single treaty they have ever made which they have not broken. Thirdly, I say, there is not a single prince or state who ever put any trust in the Company who is not utterly ruined; and that none are in any degree secure or flourishing but in the exact proportion to their settled distrust and irreconcilable enmity to this nation."

The following from the Marquis of Hastings' *Journal* will stand repetition to this day, though it was penned in 1814:

"Instead of acting in the character of ambassador, he [the Resident attached to a Native State] assumes the functions of a dictator: interferes in all their private concerns; countenances refractory subjects against them; and makes the most ostentatious exhibition of this exercise of authority."

After the renewal of the Charter in 1813 English manufactures were exempted from customs duty and began to be freely imported in India. On this Wilson, in his *History of India*, makes out a strong case for Protection. The arguments used by him long ago are equally applicable to-day: "As similar immunities were not granted to the manufactures or products of India in the ports of the United Kingdom, this was a piece of selfish legislation in which the interests of the dominant country were alone consulted, and those of the subordinate dependency deliberately injured, the latter being not only deprived of a legitimate source of revenue, but being further exposed to an unequal competition under which native industry was already rapidly declining.....It might be argued that India benefited by the reduced price of the commodities imported from Great Britain, in proportion to the amount of the duty remitted. But this was disadvantageous in another respect, as it rendered the articles of domestic production still less able to compete with foreign articles in the market, and further discouraged native industry. The competition was unfair. India was young in the process of manufacture, and was never likely to improve if her manufactures were to be crushed in their infancy. Could time have been allowed for the acquisition of experience and the introduction of machinery, her cotton fabrics and her metals would probably have been saleable in her own markets for a less cost than those of Europe. A native sovereign would undoubtedly have given India a chance by the imposition of protective duties."

It is interesting to note that one object of sending King William's presents for Runjit Singh by water, was to ascertain as if undesignedly, the trading value of the Indus, a trick which was strongly denounced by Sir Charles Metcalfe. It was the first step to the conquest of Scinde, the iniquity of which beggars description, and the pushing forward of the border to the frontiers of Afghanistan, which has led to so much waste of men and money in the search after the *ignis fatuus* of a 'scientific frontier.' When Bentinck was Governor of Bombay, Mr. William Thackeray, a member of his Council, wrote in a minute: "in

India, that haughty spirit, independence, and thought, which the possession of great wealth sometimes gives ought to be suppressed: They directly adverse to our power and interest..... do not want generals, statesmen, legislators: want industrious husbandmen." Truly did President Abraham Lincoln say: "There is no man good enough to govern another man. It is equally true that there is no nation good enough to govern another nation," and Macaulay echoed the same sentiment when he wrote: "Of all forms of tyranny, I believe the worst is that of a nation over a nation."

A tract entitled "The Government of India since 1834" published on the eve of the renewal of the Charter in 1853, contains some home truths. Of the miserable condition of the Indian raiyats, it says: "It is not merely cultivation that is depressed; it is society itself that is being gradually destroyed. The race of native gentry has already almost everywhere disappeared: and a new danger has arisen, that in another generation or two, the cultivators will not be worth having as subjects. For moral debasement is the inevitable consequence of physical depression." Already the Police had "become the engine of oppression and a great cause of the corruption of the people." As to education, "this is well known, that whereas in Hindu times every village community had its school, our destruction of village societies or municipalities has deprived the natives of their schools, such as they were and has substituted nothing in their stead." As to public employment, the following extract would go to show that the policy pursued three quarters of a century ago did not substantially differ from what it is to-day: "In our earlier Indian career, natives were employed in the most important and confidential posts of our government. Our regiments were officered by natives; in many places we had native agents and representatives; everywhere we were then obliged to make use of native talent.....But gradually this use of native ability was displaced, and every post of profit, of trust, of value, transferred, at enormous addition to the cost of government—to Englishmen, until it became part and parcel of our established policy.....The division between the covenanted and the uncovenanted services is still kept up; though the covenant itself is absurd and ridiculous.....and the purpose for which it is maintained is to draw an artificial line by means of which the natives may continue, however educated, able and competent, to be excluded from all high and lucrative appointment.....But any real share in Government administration, trust and responsibility, is denied to the people of India." In a petition submitted by the people of Madras, "they complain, that in order to raise revenue from ardent spirits, the Government is forcing drunkenness on them,"—a complaint which has gone on accumulating in force and volume ever since.

Kaye's indignant remonstrance against the garbled accounts of the first Afghan war, issued in the shape of parliamentary papers, applies to all blue-books and white books, which, as Freeman has said, is the chosen region of lies. "I cannot, indeed," says Kaye, "suppress the utterance of my abhorrence of this system of garbling the official correspondence of public men.....The dishonesty by which lie upon lie is palmed upon the world has not one redeeming feature. If public men are, without reprehension, to lie in the face of nations—wilfully, elaborately and maliciously to bear false

less against their neighbours, what hope is there for private veracity?" Lord Auckland, in his speech in the House of Commons on the 5th July 1833, said: "Our very influence in India depended upon the exclusion of the natives from military and political power in that country." Has his lordship's policy, one wonders, become so very much out of date now as one would fondly hope?

Regarding the conquest of Scinde, Kaye writes: "The British were the first to perpetrate a breach of good faith. They taught the Amirs of Scinde that treaties were to be regarded only so long as it was convenient to regard them.....The wolf in the fable did not show greater cleverness in the discovery of a pretext for devouring the lamb than the British Government has shown in all its dealings with the Amirs."

Truly did Sir Richard Burton write: "When the day shall come to publish details concerning the disbursement of secret service money in India, the public will learn strange things. Meanwhile those of us who have lived long enough to see how history is written can regard it as but little better than a poor romance." British Indian history has throughout been a case of the lion painted by himself and to extract truth out of it is as impossible as to extract sunbeams out of cucumber.

Even Napier, the hero of Scinde, in a moment of self-forgetfulness, wrote as follows: "Our object in conquering India, the object of all our cruelties, was money. More than a thousand millions sterling are said to have been squeezed out of India in the last sixty years. Every shilling of this has been picked out of blood, wiped and put into the murderers' pockets; but wipe and wash the money as you will, the damned spot will not out."

The Maharaja of Gwalior, the only sovereign state in India in the forties of the last century, was reduced to a feudatory during Lord Ellenborough's viceroyalty. "All his arguments, all protestations, failed," says Mr. Hope, "as would those of a goose who with equal pertinacity declined the proffered aid of a hungry fox." In quoting this, we do not by any means intend to lay the whole blame on England. The weak, the improvident, the unwise, people who are wanting in political sagacity and in the power of combination against a common danger, everywhere go to the wall. As a writer in the Asiatic Journal of May 1821 has truly said, ".....we may set down as certain, that whenever one-twentieth part of the population of India becomes as provident and as scheming as ourselves, we shall run back again, in the same ratio, of velocity, the same course of our original insignificance." The Sikhs were betrayed by their leaders, who were bribed by the British, as at Plassey and everywhere else. Major Basu says "the British should have been ashamed of their conduct" and that Asiatics "in the simplicity of their hearts could not fathom the depth of duplicity, want of scruples and hypocrisy of the occidental diplomatists." While far from defending the conduct of the British, we feel bound to say that this defence of the Indian traitors is hardly justified. No war has ever yet been conducted on absolutely righteous methods, from the days of Kurukshetra downwards. The enemy will always try to seduce, and create dissensions. We have often come in contact with ignorant peasants in the villages, who, in spite of all their apparent simplicity, which is really due to their ignorance and poverty, are full of wiles and duplicity in

regard to matters within the reach of their intelligence. Their duplicity does not prevent their falling victims to village touts, who employ similar weapons against them with superior intelligence, but the town-bred gentleman unaccustomed to their devious ways, cannot thrive in such atmosphere. The tactics employed by the British in their wars with Indian princes did not, in our opinion differ in kind from those which the latter would be glad to avail themselves of, if only they knew how to do so. It was not a case of duplicity against simplicity, but of ability, organization, patriotism and trained intelligence on one side against the want of all these qualities on the other.

The story of the second Burmese War is told at length in the fifth volume, and prepared as we were to find that this particular war, waged by Lord Dalhousie, was not less iniquitous than others in which England had engaged in the East, we confess we were not prepared for such shameless and downright injustice and such total subversion of the elementary canons of international morality. Like everything else in Major Basu's monumental work, the tale has been told, as far as possible, in official language, and a pamphlet of Richard Cobden of anti-corn-law fame, based entirely on materials culled from parliamentary papers, has been largely drawn upon. The readers will be surprised to hear that the Burmese Government readily agreed to satisfy a totally untenable claim for £920, and the *casus belli* consisted in nothing more nor less than the fact that the deputation which went ashore to enforce the claim was kept waiting in the sun for a full quarter of an hour! It is not as if the Burmese officials had shown fight or the people had behaved rudely. In the words of Mr. Cobden, "a covey of partridges with a hawk in view, ready to make its fell swoop, or a flock of sheep with a wolf's eyes glaring into the fold, could not shrink more timidly from that terrible and irresistible foe than did the Burmese officials at the prospect of a hostile collision with England." But that is perhaps exactly the reason why any stick was considered good enough to beat them with. In this mad world of ours, the weak have always to go to the wall, however just their cause may be. The cost of the war was of course borne by the people of India. Mr. Cobden justly enquires: "What exclusive interest had the half-naked peasant of Bengal in the settlement of the [fantastic] claims of Captains Sheppard and Lewis, that he should be made to bear the expense of the war which grew out of them?" None whatsoever, except that the meek and helpless Indian peasant can be bled white without a word of protest. Well might General Cass say, in a speech delivered in the Senate of the United States in December 1852: "The whole history of human contests, since the dispersing of the family of man upon the plains of Shinar, exhibits no such national provocation, followed by such national punishment."

The annexations of Nagpur, Jhansi, Satara, and other important states were treated as affairs of high politics: but the annexation of Tanjore, on the same ground of failure of heir, as if the British Government had any divine right of entry in such an event, was judicially questioned, and though their lordships of the Privy Council considered the seizure to be an act of States with which they were not competent to deal, they made the following pronouncement on the Tanjore spoliation:

"It is extremely difficult to discover in these papers any ground of legal right on the part of the East India Company or of the Crown of Great Britain, to the possession of this Raj, or of any part of the property of the Raja on his death: and indeed the seizure was denounced by the Attorney General...as a most violent and unjustifiable measure."

Herbert Spencer, the philosopher, has the following on Anglo-Indian rule: "The Anglo-Indians of the last century whom Burke described as 'birds of prey and passage in India' showed themselves only a shade less cruel than their prototypes of Peru and Mexico... A cold-blooded treachery was the established policy of the authorities. Princes were betrayed into war with each other; and one of them having been helped to overcome his antagonist, was then himself dethroned for some alleged misdemeanour. Always some muddied stream was at hand as a pretext for official wolves... Even down to our own day kindred iniquities are continued. Down to our own day, too, are continued the grievous salt-monopoly, and the pitiless taxation, that ring from the poor ryots nearly half the produce of the soil. Down to our own day continues the cunning despotism which uses native soldiers to maintain and extend native subjection..."

Atrocities alleged to have been committed on women and children during the Sepoy Mutiny have been proved to be pure fabrications. The Indians are not like the masses of western countries when under the influence of strong drink in regard to these matters. Says Mr. Justin McCarthy in his *History of Our Own Times*: "The elementary passions of manhood were inflamed by the stories, happily not true, of the wholesale dishonour and barbarous mutilation of women... As a matter of fact no indignities, other than that of compulsory corn-grinding, were put upon the English ladies... There were no outrages, in the common acceptation of the term, upon women. No English women were stripped or dishonoured, or purposely mutilated." But listen to the story of the reprisal: John Kaye, the historian of the Mutiny, writes: "... Soldiers and civilians were alike holding bloody assizes or slaying natives without any assize at all, regardless of sex or age. Afterwards the thirst for blood grew stronger still... Englishmen did not hesitate to boast, or to record their boasting in writing, that they had spared no one, and that peppering away at niggers was very pleasant pastimes enjoyed amazingly. And it has been stated in a book patronised by high official authorities, that for three months eight dead-carts daily went their rounds from sunrise to sunset to take down the corpses which hung at the cross-roads and

market-places." Sir Charles Dilke writes 'rebels' thus hanged or blown from guns were taken in arms, but villagers apprehended on suspicion...atrocities were committed at which Mohamad Toghlak himself would have stood ashamed...It is certain that in the suppression of the Mutiny hundreds of natives were hanged by Queen's officers who, unable to speak a word of any native language, could neither understand evidence nor defence."

John Malcolm Ludlow in his history of British India (1859) says: "The establishment of the English power in India is an ugly one. It begins in feebleness and cowardice, it is pervaded by rapacity, it closes with a course of fraud and falsehood, of forgery and treason, as stupendous as ever lay at the foundation of a great empire." All the five volumes of Major Basu are only an amplification and illustration of this theme.

It will be news to many that the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown was made, not in the interest of the people of India, 'to whom it seems to be a matter of indifference' (Metcalfe), but for encouraging Englishmen to colonise in India and for their special benefit. This is quite clear from the official records of the times, and from the petition submitted by the East India Company to the Houses of Parliament.

Major Basu has carried his history down to the Mutiny and the assumption of direct government by the Crown. We have given some extracts from the last two volumes of his work. His command of materials, no less than his stupendous industry, cannot fail to evoke the reader's admiration. Books and pamphlets long out of print, blue-books, despatches, parliamentary papers and ancient records no longer available, have all been laid under contribution to give us an inside view of matters which British historians naturally try to gloss over as much as they can. At every stage, the author has fortified himself by long extracts from these documents, and tried to prove that the conclusions he has arrived at, are the only reasonable conclusions which follow from his premises. The work is a monument of the author's patriotic labours. Nevertheless it cannot be properly called a history; it is a long indictment, before the bar of public opinion, of the iniquities of the East India Company's rule in India, and as such, it has its value, and when there is a conspiracy of silence among British historians with regard to the more serious of them, that value is great indeed. The letter-press and binding, etc., leave nothing to be desired, and printing mistakes are exceptionally few.

POL.

THE POSSIBLE FRANCO-GERMAN-RUSSIAN COMMERCIAL UNDERSTANDING

By TARAKNATH DAS, PH. D.

At present Great Britain is suffering from unemployment far more than France and Germany. According to the latest available figures, we find that the number of the unemployed in Great Britain is 1,180,000, whereas the numbers of the unemployed in Germany and France are 214,486 and 7,837 respectively. As for the real cause of the present unemployment situation in Great Britain, the Prime Minister, Mr. Macdonald, just before the recent dissolution of the British Parliament, put all the blame for it on the French efforts for making Germany speed up her production, so that there would be reparation payments. This has hurt British trade considerably. This explanation will not be acceptable to all. The French people, irrespective of all party affiliations, resent it. In fact M. Poincare, in a vigorous article published in the New York *Evening Post* of Oct. 27, 1924, has pointed out the fallacy of the position of Mr. Macdonald, who, according to M. Poincare, like Mr. Lloyd George, is ungrateful to France. M. Poincare gives the following opinion on the possible effects of revival of German industry on British enterprises:—

"I recently had the occasion to show—with conclusive figures to prove it—that at the rate things are going, German coal will soon supersede English coal in the most important markets of the world and that soon German metal products will victoriously fight against the products of the Imperial Colonies and even of England. But what is inconceivable is that men of the intellectual attainments of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Macdonald have not realized that Germany has arrived at this power of economic expansion, which was seen perfectly by General Dawes and other experts, because in the last five years she was relieved of the reparation burden and that, not having been weakened in her industries, nor by invasion, nor by battles, she was easily able to rise again, even faster than the victorious nations."

One of the net results of the World War and the Peace settlement is that there has arisen a serious Anglo-French rivalry in the continent of Europe and other parts of the world. Great Britain is mightily anxious to curb French power. Great Britain is working to bring about isolation of France

in World Politics, while the French statesmen, to avert that calamity, are trying to bring about a continental concert for self-defense. Great Britain is trying to recover her position in world commerce. This explains her solicitude towards Germany and Russia. However, France is not idling her time allowing Britain to steal a march on her. France is also trying to win over Germany and Russia for political and commercial reasons. In this connection the following report of the speech of M. Herriot is very illuminating:—

"LYONS, France Oct. 27—France's need for the restoration and extension of trade relations with Germany and Russia was voiced by the Premier Herriot in a speech before a banquet of the foreign trade councillors here yesterday. The time had come, said the Premier, to create anew international trade currents in which France should have her proper place. Negotiations for a commercial treaty with Germany had begun, he said, and within a few days, barring any untoward incident, the French would see the roads to the East re-opened to them. 'Allow me to say personally,' the Premier went on, 'that it is well for us to think of buying in the East to be able to struggle against the unfavorable situation created by our constant buying in the West. I am partisan to buying in the East—buying cereals, wood and petroleum.' The Premier declared, France needed new markets. She now was an industrial country of first rank and should work out a broad plan of action. He urged that colonial trade be developed so that France would be able to obtain raw material from her own territory. 'If we always depend on foreign supplies,' he added, 'notably from the United States, we are in grave danger of seeing our cotton and silk industries exposed to disappointment.'"

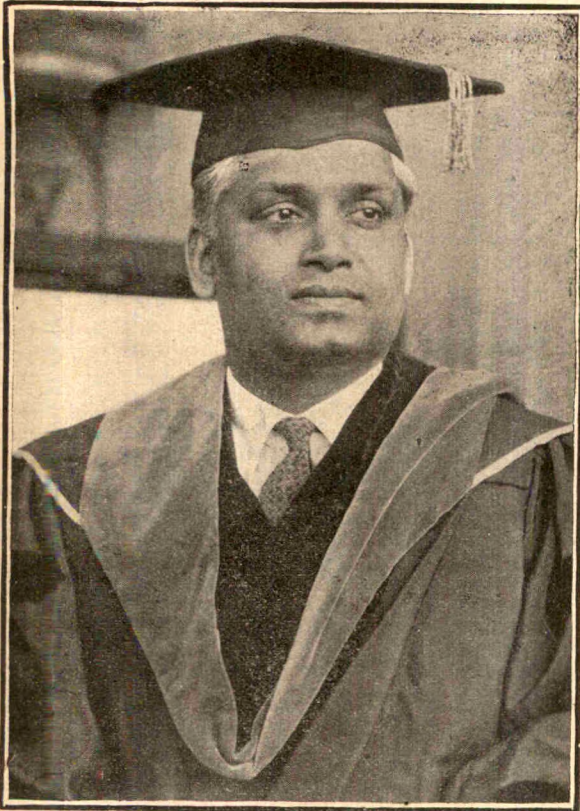
Less than two days after this speech had been delivered by M. Herriot France accorded *de jure* recognition to the Soviet Government of Russia. The following are the texts of the notes exchanged between France and Russia:—

"Paris, Oct. 29 (Associated Press)—The texts of the French note to Russia and the Soviet reply, as given out officially, read:—

"Following the Ministerial declaration of June 17, 1924 and your communication of July 19 last the Government of the Republic, faithful to the friendship which unites the Russian and French peoples, recognized *de jure* from this date the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Repub-

lies as the Government of the territories of the former Russian Empire, where its authority is accepted by its inhabitants, and in these territories as successor to the preceding Russian Governments. Consequently it is ready at once to establish regular diplomatic relations with the Government of the Union by the reciprocal appointment of Ambassadors.

"In notifying you of this recognition, which cannot affect any engagements entered into or treaties signed by France, the Government of the Republic believes in the possibility of a general arrangement between our two countries, of which the resumption of diplomatic relations is a preface. In this respect it wishes it to be understood that it expressly reserves the rights of French citizens acquired under obligations contracted by Russia or its dependants under anterior regimes, obligations the respect of which are guaranteed by the general principles of law, which are for us the rule of international life. The same reservations apply to responsibilities assumed since 1914 by Russia towards the French State or its dependants.



Dr. Taraknath Das

"In this spirit the Government of the Republic wishes once more to serve to the utmost the interests of peace and the future of Europe, designs to seek with the Union a just and practicable settlement which will permit restoration between the two nations of useful relations and normal exchanges when the French conscience shall have received the appeasement to which it is entitled.

"As soon as you have made known your assent to opening negotiations of a general order, and

more particularly of an economic order, we welcome to Paris your delegates, furnished with full powers to meet our negotiators.

"Until a satisfactory conclusion of the negotiations, the treaties, conventions, and arrangements have existed between France or French citizens, and Russia shall not have effect. The individual legal relations formed before the establishment of Soviet power between Frenchmen and Russians will remain as hitherto and the auditing of accounts between the two States shall be deferred in all respects, all measures of conservation in France being taken or about to be taken.

"Finally it must be understood once for all that non-intervention in internal affairs shall rule in the relations between the two countries.

HERRIOT.

"The Soviet reply reads:—

"The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has received with great satisfaction the proposal of the French Government fully and entirely to restore regular diplomatic relations between the U. S. S. R. and France by the reciprocal dispatch of Ambassadors, and to open immediately negotiations with a view to instituting friendly relations between the peoples of the U. S. S. R. and France.

"It expresses confidence that the questions mentioned in the telegram of the President of Council of the French Republic of today's date can be settled by full agreement between the two governments to the best advantage of the U. S. S. R. and France, goodwill existing on both sides, as well as absolute respect for each other's interests.

"The Central Committee of U. S. S. R. attaches greatest importance to the removal of all misunderstandings between U. S. S. R. and France and to the conclusion between them of a general agreement capable of serving as a solid basis for their friendly relations. Allowing itself to be guided by the constant desire of the U. S. S. R. to attain a real guarantee of general peace in the interests of the working people of all countries and to live in friendship with all peoples, the Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R. draws particular attention to the immense advantages which follow for the two countries from the inauguration between them of close durable economic relations favoring development of their prospective powers and their trade exchanges.

"As does the French Government, the Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R. considers that mutual non-intervention in internal affairs is an indispensable condition to relations with all states in general and with France in particular, and greets with satisfaction the French Government's declaration in that regard.

"In accepting the choice of Paris as the seat for the negotiations between the U. S. S. R. and France, the Central Executive Committee of U. S. S. R. informs the French Government that it has instructed the Council of the People's Commissaries and the Commissariat of the Foreign Affairs of the Union to take all necessary measures to open the negotiations without delay and conduct them toward a friendly solution of the problems interesting the two States, and we express the firm hope that these questions will be totally settled in the interests of the two countries and the general peace.

"The Russian reply is signed by President

inin, Premier Rykoff and Foreign Minister Tchitcherin."

The motive behind the French recognition of the Soviet Government is commercial as well as political. This point has been made clear by the following wireless dispatch from Paris to the *New York Times* :

"There is little doubt that underlying the whole French attitude is the hope that within a year or two Russian wheat supplies can be again made available. In a country like this where bread is the staple food, its price is the first consideration of all Governments, and none dares risk being wholly dependent on American harvest, especially in a time when American exchange is so much against France Beyond that argument in favor of the resumption of relations, there is this, of which even the *Temps* recognizes the importance, that after seven years' experience of 'nothing doing' Herriot's action provides the only remaining chance of effectively defending our rights and of binding the Soviet Government in agreements freely arrived at, which will be in the interest of Russia to observe if she really wishes to recover her place in the family of nations and really desires co-operation in economic recovery."

It is rather interesting, if not significant, that France accorded recognition to the Soviet Government at the very time when the Anglo Soviet relation had become strained by the so-called Zinovieff letter, inciting the British Communists to revolt in England. To the eyes of the Soviet Government and others British labor is no less imperialistic than the British Tories or Liberals. So M. Radek, in the *Pravda*, makes the following remark regarding the French recognition of the Soviet Government :—

"Contrary to England, which strives to control all sea-routes leading to Soviet Russia and hates the Union (Soviet) for rousing to hatred the people of East and Middle East by the mere fact of its existence, France has not any existing territorial interests which should inspire her animosity towards Russia."

This reminds us that although the Tsar Alexander III hated French republican and radical ideas as most obnoxious, he found it to the advantage of Russia to form an alliance with the republic. The French were also eager to forget the autocratic rule of the Tsar to secure the alliance which afforded security against Great Britain and Germany and the secret Franco-Russian Alliance came into existence in 1893-1894. It can also be pointed out that soon after the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War, Russia and Japan came to an understanding because it was to their interest to do so. Great Britain later on made the Anglo-French Entente and Anglo-Russian Entente to protect her interests against Germany. If there is common interest between France

and Russia to further, it is only natural that these two States will come to some kind of understanding.

It has been predicted by Premier Rykoff of the Soviet Government that Japan will soon recognise the Soviet Government. It has been reported that the Russian Premier has said that

"France's action was prompted by its economic interests, the pressure brought upon Herriot by French business circles and European inclination towards peace. With the possible recognition by Japan, which may follow in the near future, Soviet Russia will consider the task of re-establishment of relations with European countries and others bordering on Russia, whose friendly relations are politically vital to the Union as fully guaranteed. America is the sole outstanding country. Even should the coming elections bring on changes in the United States Government, America is finding itself isolated on the Russian question and will hardly be able to retain its unreconcilable attitude. The continued growth of Soviet trade, its economic progress and influence, should serve as the final argument even for such an irreconcilable country as America."

Mr. Tchitcherin, the Foreign Minister of Soviet Russia, who is regarded as one of the cleverest statesmen of the world, has given out an interview which clarifies the Russian official attitude :—

"Paris Oct. 30—In a highly important interview given by George Tchitcherin, three declarations regarding the French recognition of Soviet Russia are of vital consequence. First, it is made clear that the Russian Government is ready to treat with goodwill the question of the reimbursement of the bearers of Russian bonds. Secondly, that in certain conditions Russia is prepared to open its markets to French capitalists. Thirdly, that the Russian Government presents a character of stability and gives promises which fully justify the Herriot gesture. European necessities demand that statesmen should recall the phrase of Talleyrand, 'you cannot solve the German problem without England and Russia.' The Franco-Russian rapprochement and the development of the Entente Cordiale will help determine the Franco-German understanding. Mr. Tchitcherin said :—

"The Poincare Government favored all the enterprises against us. This policy was opposed to the interests of France, for we were always happy to find some fair method of dealing with small holders of Russian bonds. We propose to give a maximum measure of satisfaction after a loyal conference, where differences can be discussed. The financiers and industrialists of France have considerable interest in the resumption of commercial relations with us, for we dispose of immense riches. We have need of capital for the scientific exploitation of natural wealth. If the question of private property is reserved, there is nothing to prevent French capital from installing itself in Russia. The series of concessions, of which a list was furnished to the Hague, is only the beginning. Will France allow foreign financiers to forestall it? France has need of an outlet.

"French metallurgy, for example, traverses a

serious crisis. Russia offers a great market. From the view-point of security, our Government gives every guarantee. The principal guarantee is the Governmental stability. We are about to celebrate the seventh anniversary of the Soviet regime. We have elaborated new legislation which gives particular attention to contracts, companies and trade circulation. There are two sorts of concessions—first, those in which the Government participates probably to the extent of 50 per cent. The economic situation, while not good, is improving. The principal railroads are working normally. Money is stabilized, prices are lower and commerce free. If nations do not re-establish peace relations, the ruin of Europe is certain but happily Russia is now on the point of concluding an accord with France. We are profoundly pacifist; we want to live on good terms with all peoples, but we cannot be reduced by force."

French efforts to secure commercial understanding in the East, *i. e.*, with Germany and Russia, would affect the British industrial and economic position unfavorably. This will probably cause further misunderstanding between France and Great Britain in world-politics. To offset the loss in trade due to Franco-German-Russian commercial co-operation Britain will try to dump her goods more and more in India and the rest of Asia, particularly China. The Tory Government, which will soon come into power in Britain, will advocate protection for Britain and Imperial preference for the colonies and particularly in India. Great Britain will try to keep her grip over the Indian market and economic life in general at any cost. As the Indian people are not the masters of their own house, so they would not be able to offset British commercial and economic domination to the detriment of Indian interest by means of legislation or constitutional agitation. Any vigorous attempt on the part of the Indian people to boycott British goods will be made with "constructive repression", *i. e.*, putting people in jail without any trial as has been the case, in the past. But economic and political supremacy cannot be attained without struggle and the people of India will have to overcome a great many obstacles before they can be masters of their own country.

However, the British will find a very different situation in China. They will face serious Japanese competition in the Chinese

market. Anglo-Japanese commercial rivalry in the Orient has already become a serious factor in political rivalry between Japan and Great Britain, the late partners in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. None should forget that Britain will try to use India as the outpost in the economic and political conflict against Japan as she did in the past against China and Turkey.

It is not at all imaginary that within a short time Germany will also be a serious factor in the Chinese market. If in Europe there be a commercial understanding among France, Germany and Russia, as has been suggested by M. Herriot and favored by French industrialists and the German politicians who are known as "Continental politician", then it would be naturally to the interest of Japan to co-operate as much as possible with this grouping of Powers, without trying her hands in any definite way. In fact, owing to the change of world conditions Japan has a good deal in common with France in the Orient. Both France and Japan think that Britain's Singapore naval base project (which has been only temporarily abandoned and surely will be taken up by the British Tory Government) is directed against them. Germany and Japan can come to close understanding politically and economically, because Germany has no colony in Asia and also because both Germany and Japan have common interests in co-operating in China.

To sum up then, France has a definite economic policy to do all that is possible to secure Franco-German-Russian co-operation; and this in all probability will lead to Franco-German-Russian-Japanese co-operation, affecting British interest very unfavourably. To offset this situation Great Britain will use India in every possible way. So long as the British policy is to keep India under subjection and so long as India must have to shift for herself to assert her position as a nation internationally, it is desirable that the Indian statesmen should ponder over the possible re-arrangement of Powers politically as well as commercially to preserve her own national interest.

NEW YORK CITY,
Nov. 1, 1924.

REVIVAL OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

BY SRISH CHANDRA CHATTERJEE, A.M.A.E., M.R.A.S.

THE index of the civilisation of India is imprinted on her ancient Architectural Monuments. The iconoclastic zeal of the early Turki conquerors of India and some of the later Indian Muhammadan rulers has been responsible for the destruction of a great many specimens of Hindu Architecture. But if Muhammadan fanaticism destroyed monuments at first, it made amends by giving to India a somewhat new type of architecture (by combining Arab—i.e., borrowed Byzantine and Persian elements with the Hindu styles) the crowning glory of which is the Taj, one of the greatest heritages of Indian civilisation.

In the distant south of India, in the Telugu, Tamil and Kanada countries, in the deserts of Rajputana and in the far away places remote from the high-way of marching Mussalman armies or in out-of-the-way places where the temple and idol-breaking arm of the Moslem could not reach or wholly work its will, a great many specimens of Hindu Architecture have escaped intact and have made humanity richer by the possession of Ajanta and Ellora, Mahabalipuram and Madura, Jaiselmer and Abu, Khajuraho and Bhubaneswar, Dwarka and Mudhera. The Architectural traditions of Hindu India are a thing which few countries can approach in the excellent results they achieved, not only within India itself—in the magnificent ancient and mediaeval works like those of Sanchi and Kanarak—but also in the greater India of Indo-China and Java where Angkor and Boro-Bodur still remain architectural and plastic marvels.

The architectural traditions of India go back to a remote past. Formerly we had no specimens of Indian architecture more ancient than a few Maurya fragments of the 3rd, or 4th century, B. C. But the recent discoveries of S. J. Rakhal Das Banerjee in Mohen-jo-Daro in Sindh have revealed the presence in India of a finished architectural style as old as 3,000 B. C. He has excavated an old site by the Indus in Larkhana District, and has found out remains of burnt brick structures and glazed tiles, walls and staircases and conduits, all of elaborate construction, which resemble greatly

the oldest Babylonian structures. These ancient Indian things are to be associated evidently with pre-Aryan Dravidians. Other important articles have been found there which are now being studied by Archaeologists. Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology, India, has written to the English and Indian press on the stupendous importance of these discoveries of S. J. Banerjee. He says "that five thousand years ago the peoples of Sind and the Punjab were living in well-built cities and were in possession of a relatively mature civilization with a high standard of art and craftsmanship and a developed system of writing."

Fergusson remarking about Indian Architecture says—"No work was too gigantic for the Hindu Architects to attempt; no design was too minute or elaborate for them to accomplish for an honest, purpose-like art, there is probably nothing much better to be found elsewhere." Competent authorities have spoken nothing but unstinted admiration for the achievements of India whether under the Hindus or under the Muhammadans—for the Muhammadans nobly carried on the building impulses of the people of the land.

Palaces of Agra, Delhi and Rajputana that were erected a few centuries back are so elegant, graceful and faithful to the purpose for which they were conceived and built, that all lovers of true art have felt with pain the decay and degeneration of this craft in India. It was a great shock to the writer when after seeing the most beautiful buildings of Hindustan and Rajputna that had appealed to his æsthetic sense so much—he stood in front of a hybrid monstrosity like a portion of the much-talked-of Lakshmi Vilas Bhavan, Palace of Baroda, the new Durbar Hall of Indore, the Scindhia's Palace at Ujjain, the public offices of Jodhpur that face the Rai-kabag Palace station, the new public offices under construction and Military Barracks at Bikanir, the Railway Station buildings of Udaipur and Chitore, Guest House at Jaiselmer, the Nizam's Palace at Hyderabad, the Hospital Buildings at Mysore, modern offices adjoining the Thebaw's Palace, Mandalay, and other similar "creations" in the lands which draw people

from distant Europe and America to admire their architectural remains.

All this is due to an unfortunate admixture with English styles. He has noticed that English type of buildings has been constructed in the Shan Monasteries of the remote Myitkyina district in the Burmese-Chinese frontier and around the sacred temple of Eadrinath in the upper Himalayas at an elevation of over ten thousand feet,—such has been the terrible route of Indian Architecture before the onset of Anglo-Indian buildings in the new style. The writer is not speaking of frank attempts to adapt European styles, Greek or Gothic or Renaissance—which must remain as alien in the land and which with the growth of common sense in India will be abandoned as a matter of course. But what pains him and other true lovers of Art is that when Architects consciously set about designing in the Indian style they should so persistently refuse to be inspired by the noble remains of our ancestral culture. And specially when we have Anglo-Indian Architects catering for Indians by bringing in this “revived Indian” things we do not know whether to laugh or to weep.

Foreign Architecture has slowly been driving out indigenous style of buildings as Manchester cloth drove out the muslin. In fact, it has been killing our culture and nationality in one great side of domestic, civic and religious existence, the houses we live in and carry on our business with our fellow of a or dedicate ourselves to the thought beings, Higher Being.

Even now the older quarters of towns like Gaya and Benares, Delhi and Udaipur, Poona and Bijapur, Madras and Tanjore, Jaipur and Jaisalmer, Ahmedabad and Ujjain appeared to the writer to preserve in their architecture the charming Indianness. But our modern towns and modern quarters of old towns have totally lost their individuality—they have become cheap and garish and hybrid, and where there has been a combination of wealth with vulgar display, positively ugly. To seek the Indian thing in Indian towns, artists and foreigners are driven to the dilapidated quarters. Modern municipalities in a Philistine zeal to be “up-to-date” and “sanitary” seek to make clean sweep of the older quarters by removing old buildings and narrow streets and opening up new roads with drains and gas-lights complete, and flanked by ugly modern buildings of the Calcutta or Bombay type. There is never the slightest attempt at

conservation by preserving the old-world beauty while introducing sanitation, such has been done, we are told, in the old cities of Europe like Venice and Naples, Frankfurt and Edinburgh, in their older quarters.

Fifty years from now, if this state of things is to continue, India will become a barbarian copy of all sorts of scraps of European Architecture—not a bright prospect for the people whose ancestors built the Abu, Bhubaneswar and the Taj.

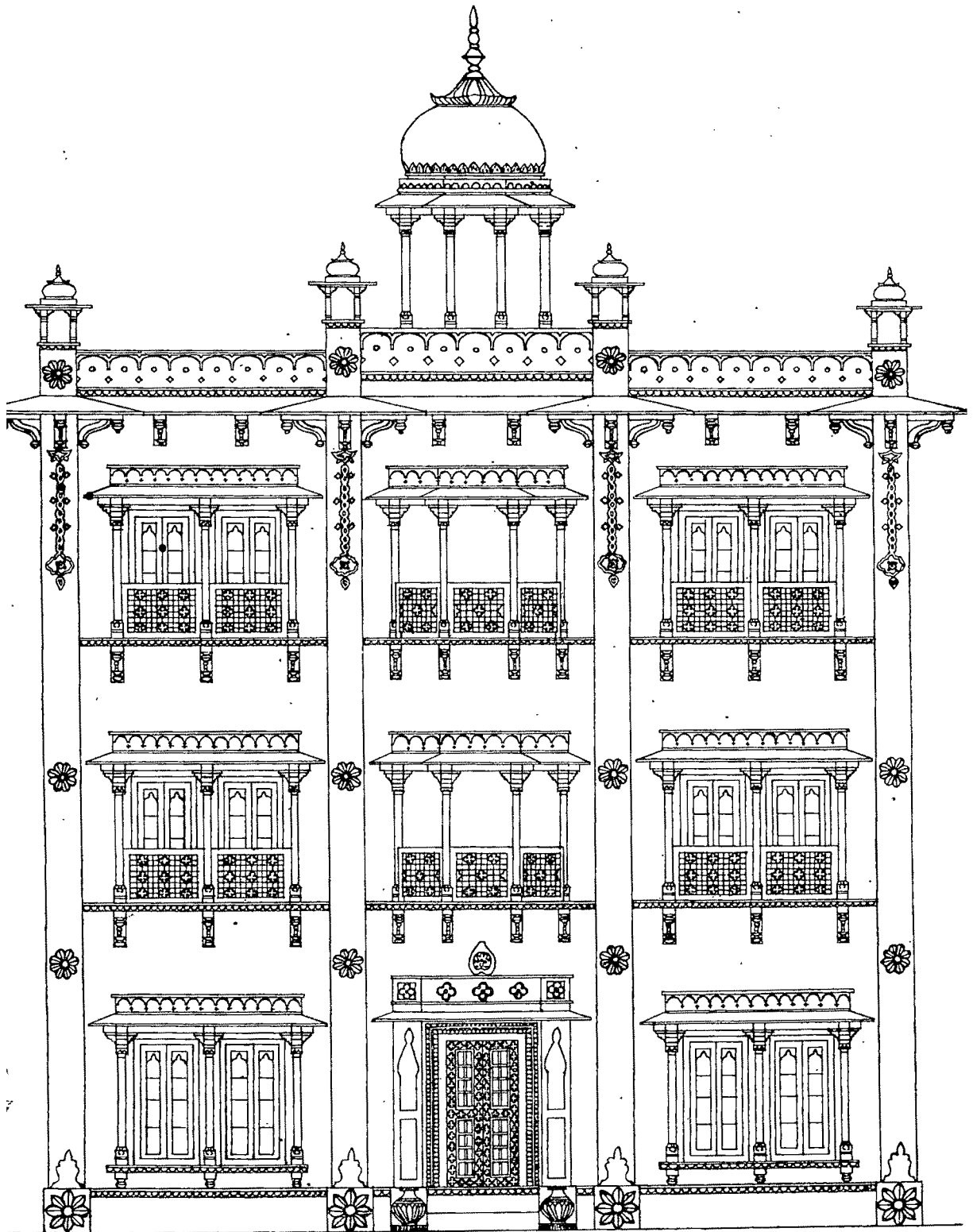
And yet it should not be so. There is still enough talent in India. After all if we only strove to know and realise ourselves we could easily do it. An acquaintance with a building according to the styles of Rajput or Mogul India or of earlier periods is no more a difficult task than an acquaintance with a building along French Gothic or English Renaissance styles or a building according to no style or no principles of beauty whatever.

Mr. K. H. Vakil has in his paper on Revival in Architecture (*Property* No. 16, September) truly said that “civic design as an artistic endeavour adjusts the needs of the city creating a civic environment perfectly artistic and responsive to the noblest demands of citizens. The most outstanding feature of that environment is the City’s buildings. That is the medium by which the Architect can direct and interpret the spiritual and artistic aspiration of the community.”

The state is worse in Bengal. Here Indian types of buildings are very few in number. Bengal does not produce stone and her earlier Architecture, in Hindu times, was either a few costly temples of stone, or brickwork with terracotta sculpture. Most of the latter have perished together with the beautiful wood architecture which we used to see till recently in our Chandi-mandaps. There are thus no great buildings to inspire the students of Bengal. The present day styles are all bastard copies of South European buildings introduced by the Portuguese and by the English.

Students draw inspiration from civic architecture. They cannot have true national and patriotic spirit unless and until they dwell in, or move along avenues of buildings, which are really great and which are index of the national life and culture.

The Central Avenue of Calcutta has been a failure as regards Street Architecture. It cannot create any true civic environment for Indians in Calcutta—whether Bengalis or



The Plan of a Residence Designed by the Writer
By the courtesy of *Promerth*. Calcutta.

Hindustanis or Marwaris. It has been laid with massive buildings which have been designed after the Banks and other mercantile buildings of London, but, unfortunately it has failed to render that massiveness, strength, elegance and charm which the London edifices do. There the Architects knew what they did and why they did it. They had a true perspective, being acquainted with the history of house-building in Europe and elsewhere. Here our "Architects and Builders and Contractors" helplessly copy Englishmen's work. The little smattering of European terms and styles which they read about from books in their Engineering Colleges do not and cannot give them any ideas.

Indian Architecture is not taught in Sibpur and other Government Engineering Colleges. It is a standing disgrace that our Engineers and Builders and Graduates of Engineering should know nothing of our National Architecture. It is like turning out research students of Indian history without giving them even an elementary knowledge of Indian History, but spoon-feeding them with doses of modern English constitutional history. This state of things is disastrous for national well-being.

The writer, of course, was pleased to visit the Kala-Bhavan of Baroda, the Arts College of Jaipur and such truly national institutions where students are trained in Indian Arts. But how few Architects are recruited therefrom to meet the needs of the country!

The Government of India as its first duty when building with public money in India should pay attention to this. Many lovers of Art of India have repeatedly urged upon the Government to do this duty. The Government however remains silent in this matter and goes on building in its usual style, with a sop thrown here and there to legitimate demands of art by giving us something in the Indian style like the Lucknow Medical College, or Mathura Hospital, or Prince of Wales Museum of Bombay. And it seeks to ease its conscience by creating a mongrel Indo-British style.

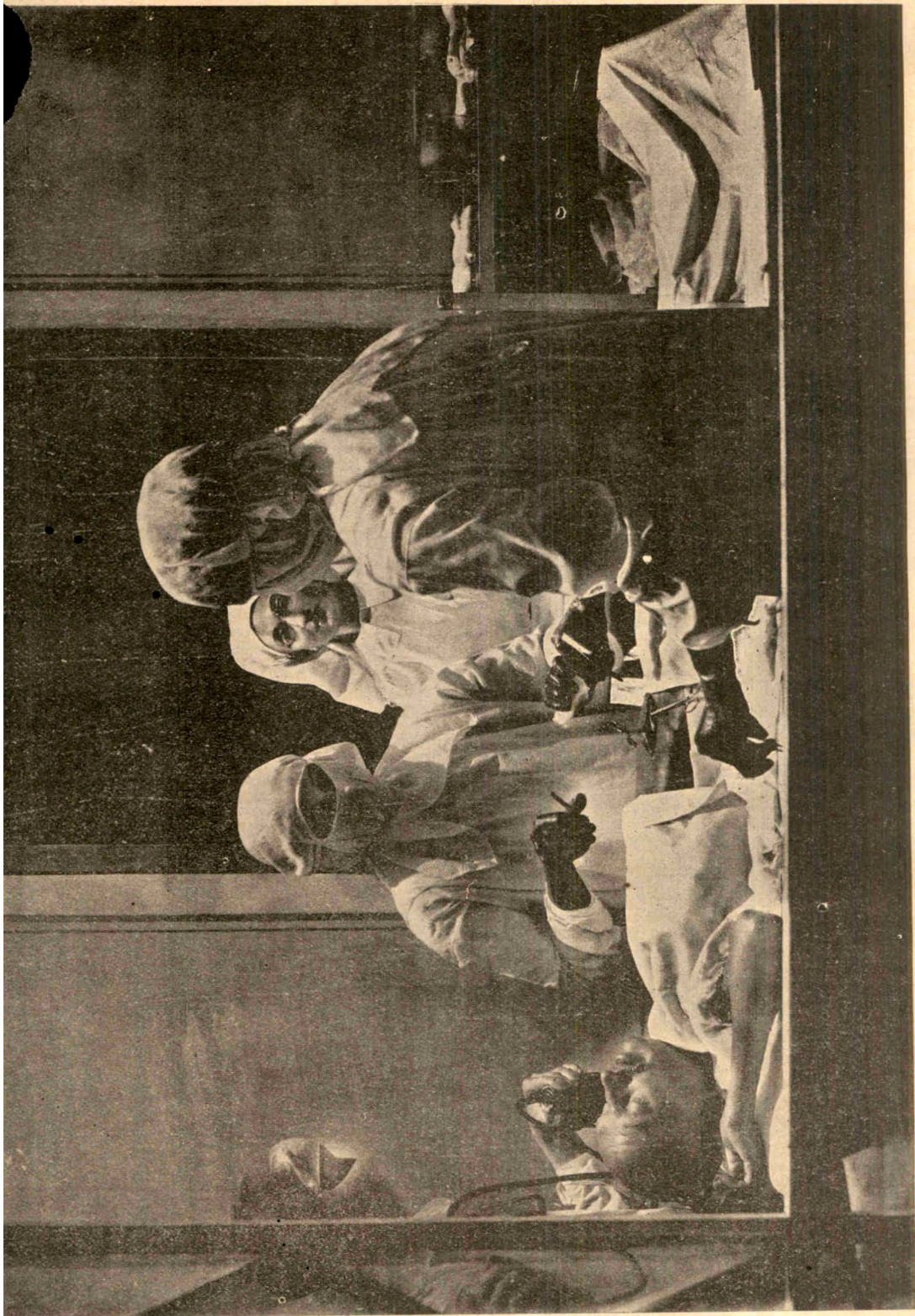
And all this, because it is easier for the British Engineers who are at the helm of the Indian Engineering Departments to design and instruct construction of buildings in English style with which they are familiar, rather than learn Indian Architecture which is always a bother and to use which means taking assistance from Indian Architects who

are still to be found here and there, which means lowering British prestige, perhaps.

There are standard text books Engineering and Drawing in Indian Colleges written and published in London and standard building plans and specifications for execution of buildings in the Indian P.W. D.,—which are almost copies of those in England but with very slight modifications to suit local atmosphere and local building materials. But as specifications are mainly those intended for English buildings they are invariably found unsuitable for Indian conditions. P. W. D. buildings are rarely strong and durable works, apart from their general ugliness.

Our forefathers had different specifications. As the writer was touring Bijapur he studied an unfinished tomb of Sultan Adil Shah over which a heap of dry mortar was seen. At the death of the Nawab the work was suddenly stopped by order, and the mortar remains there up to this day—set and compact as stone. He has also, with a pen knife, examined a joint of the Taj Mahal masonry. The mortar could only be scratched with much effort. Still there are roofs of old houses in Calcutta which have had little or no repair since the date of their construction. But Government building roofs leaked in the very year of construction. Where ingredient "approved by P.W.D.", has not driven away the native Indian things, these latter should be revived if any new public or private houses are really to stand comparison with the old ones.

Indian architectural traditions can easily be made to take their proper place in Indian life. It has been for some years the passion of the present writer to bring back this heritage to our people. Connected as he was with the inner workings of Bengal P. W. D. for over eight years, during and after which period he made time to read publications on Indian Architecture and travel extensively all over India and Burma and Burmo-Chinese frontiers—Rajputana and South India he toured three times and Burma twice—to study the problems seriously and collect material and photographs, he has some definite views as to how Indian Architecture can be revived. He hopes to present the problem and the solutions he proposes before the public. Two great accusations against a revival of Indian Architecture are that buildings in the Indian style are costly; and they do not suit, or cannot be made to fit in



Colonel Maddock operating upon Mahatma Gandhi in the Sassoon Hospital of Poona. [From a wax model by R. K. Phadke.

modern conditions and modern materials Bengal. The writer hopes to demonstrate Indian buildings can be done cheaper than buildings in the barbarous styles now in vogue, and they are at least equally strong at the same price, and more graceful and they can be built with Reinforced Concrete or the modern materials of which even ships

are built in America. He hopes to prove his statement by actually carrying out several works.*

* The writer expresses his obligation to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M.A., D.Litt (Lond.) Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics of Calcutta University, for many valuable suggestions,

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

ST. JOAN: By George Bernard Shaw (Constable and Company.)

A great critic in England has said that the two publications of 1924 that he values most are E. M. Foister's "A Passage to India" and "George Bernard Shaw's St. Joan". So much has been written about this latest production by Shaw that it is difficult to write any more on the subject. Suffice it to say that those who have read it will agree with the almost universal praise that has been given to it, and those who have not have in store for them a most delightful treat. In writing about so romantic a personality as Joan of Arc, it is difficult to keep a perfectly fair and open mind. The life of Joan of Arc has been treated from many points of view. In Henry VI Shakespeare depicts Joan. Schiller's *Die Jungfrau Von Orleans* is a romance which does not attempt to give a real historic account of the principal character. Voltaire's *La Pucelle* is an obscure publication lacking in all decorum and decency and merely an excuse for an attack on all ecclesiastical and social institutions that he held in abhorrence. Mark Twain attempted a life of Joan. Anatole France being ante-clerical and ante-mystic was fundamentally unable to believe there was any such person as the real Joan. This so much annoyed Andrew Lang that he too wrote a life of Joan. The above is a summary of what Shaw has to say about the Maid in Literature. None of these points of view give any real idea of the character of the maid of Orleans, and Shaw sets himself with that sanity of view, and courage to face facts that characterizes all his works to give in his preface to the play (Shaw's prefaces of course are always matters of great moment) a considered view of Joan which he illustrates in the play and lest he be taken to seriously and thereby tend to lose

some of his influence on the mind he concludes with an epilogue extremely clever but almost farcical. He begins his preface as follows: "Joan of Arc, a village girl from the Vosges, was born about 1412, burnt for heresy, witchcraft and sorcery in 1431 rehabilitated after a fashion in 1456 designated Venerable in 1904 declared Blessed in 1908 and finally canonized in 1920." Shaw of course cannot refrain from one of his characteristic touches. 'She was' says he, 'the pioneer of rational dressing for women'. As Joan was 'pure upstart' and as she asserted herself in numerous ways amongst kings and generals, as her pretensions were beyond those of 'the proudest Pope or haughtiest Emperor' there were only two opinions about her. 'One was that she was miraculous: the other that she was unbearable.' Joan, says the author, was not good-looking. She was unattractive sexually. She seemed neutral in the conflict of sex. Joan, we are told, was the daughter of a working farmer. She worked on the farm but she never experienced the sordid poverty some have attributed to her. As to her voices and visions, Shaw holds that Joan was unusually sane but her dramatic imagination played tricks with her senses. George Bernard Shaw analyses very particularly certain of her voices or divisions and compares the modern attitude towards such matters with the old romantic ideas in a most instructive and interesting manner. The author sums up Joan as 'a sane and shrewd country girl of extraordinary strength of mind and hardihood of body.' 'She was very capable' a born boss. In dealing with her trial the author comes to the conclusion that it was comparatively fair. There are several other headings in the preface the whole of which will hold the readers' attention. It is a great piece of work and one destined to show the worthlessness of humbug and cant as applied to religious and moral subjects. It must be read in toto. At the end of

the Preface Shaw has a dig at his critics. It is impossible to do justice to this book in a short review. It has had a great success as a play both in New York and in London. In New York it was performed by the Theatre Guild in December 1923 with Winifred Lenihan in the title part and in London it was performed in March 1924 with Sybil Thorndyke as the Saint. It is essentially a play to read as well as to see and contains, as do all the plays of Bernard Shaw, much matter for reflection put in a forcible and in some instances startling manner. It shows that Rationalism can be romantic. The mind is roused by various means to grasp truths that would be neglected were they set down in a matter of fact and conventional form. It would not be fair—indeed it would be impossible—fully to describe the play. There are six scenes of which perhaps the most interesting are scenes IV and VI. In scene VI the Inquisitor makes a very long speech setting forth the spirit in which the trial should be approached, this is very effective, as is also Joan's recantation and her withdrawal of such recantation. The Epilogue could only have been conceived by G. B. Shaw. It must be left to speak for itself. This is a very great work and one that will make a very great appeal to every cultured reader of English. It is published like the other plays of Shaw in a very handy form. Those who miss reading St. Joan will miss a great intellectual treat.

R. C. B.

THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA: By Alexander Cunningham. Edited by Surendranath Mazumdar Shastri, M.A., Reader, Patna University. Published by Chatterjee, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., Calcutta (1924).

This is a reprint of the edition of 1871, published by Truebner & Co., which has been very long out of print. The book was becoming so rare that old copies were selling at fancy prices. Messrs. Chatterjee, Chatterjee and Co., have done a public service by their present venture which we hope will not fail to be appreciated by all lovers of antiquity. To add to the value of the book portions of which have become antiquated owing to the progress of research and scholarship during the last fifty years, Babu Surendranath Mazumdar has added an introduction and notes which have made the book quite up-to-date. It is understood that Mr. Mazumdar got his P. R. Studentship on the present thesis which easily strikes one as a painstaking performance. The printing is excellent and is just what is expected of Sri Gouranga Press. Except for a few mistakes in transliteration and proofing, no other blemishes have as yet come to our notice. The present price has now brought a rare book within the means of many and we hope the publishers will continue their ventures in this line, and thereby earn the gratitude of the public.

A. G.

AT THE ROOTS OF THE GRASSES: By Muriel Strode (Maffat Yand and Co, New York).

The extending vogue of prose-poetry to-day is not a circumstance on which the world of literature deserves to be congratulated, but it is difficult to complain when a poetess starts with the very laudable aim: "I want to serve the God in man, the beautiful and if the beautiful isn't apparent,

I want to bring it forth, to give life to it, to nourish it." In view of such a declaration it is indeed inclined to overlook the absence of an essential feature of lyric poetry as Muriel Strode has a fund of poetical ideas, with a keen appreciation of the beauties of nature and generally of everything in the universe, and if the verse sometimes deteriorates into a form which can only be characterised as being à la Walt Whitman, she can still be read with enjoyment. "I bring you beauty whose only use is beauty—you cannot ride it, you cannot hitch it to your cart like mares.

"It soars and sings—you cannot harvest it for your garner, nor sell it in the mart—There is no market quotation on gossamer wings and ecstasy."

Students of aesthetics may find it necessary to question or modify, in some measure, the implications of this statement, but there can be no two opinions about the value of such a message. A note by the publisher informs us that these poems were written in the intervals of a career in business, "now atop New York buses, in busy department stores" and so on; and it is significant of her real poetic inspiration that it could not be stifled even in such surroundings.

DRAMATISATION OF HISTORY. By Patrick Geddes (The Modern Publishing Co. Bombay. Rs. 2.).

One more proof of the rich and comprehensive culture of Prof. Patrick Geddes is furnished by this publication which is a "Masque of Ancient Learning" and its many meanings, being a pageant of education from primitive to Celtic times." A very well-informed mind and a powerful imagination have combined to produce these pictures which should meet with wide appreciation in our educational institutions. From the recently explored civilisations of Babylon and Assyria, down to the Universities of our own day, through all the vast and dim-lit corridors of the world's history, the advancement of learning is traced step by step to the delectation of the laymen as well as the serious student. It may not be possible for every reader to agree with all the metaphysical symbolism and allegorical interpretation introduced into the pictures by the learned author, but it will be granted that he has undoubtedly made a valuable contribution to the effective visualisation of one of the important aspects of the story of mankind. A bibliography at the end would have probably enhanced the value of the book.

P. SESHADRI

OCCASIONAL MEMOIRS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA II, HISTORICAL STUDIES IN MUGHAL NUMISMATICS: By S. H. Hodivala, M. A. Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1923.

The name of Principal S. H. Hodivala is perhaps little known in this country but among Orientalists he possesses the very enviable reputation of being equal in rank with William Irvine and Jadu Nath Sarkar. Mr. Hodivala is the only Orientalist living today who combines in himself the special knowledge of Indian historical materials in the original with a personal acquaintance with Indian historical monuments and medals. This combination has made him to-day the foremost authority on Mughal Numismatics. His identification of a number of obscure mint-towns of the Mughal Empire and a long and intimate knowledge of the

page of that dynasty could have accomplished task. The Memoir now published by the Numismatic Society of India, is really the most valuable contribution to Indian historical literature in the pen of Mr. Hodivala. It consists of twenty-five different essays on Mughal Numismatics illustrating every possible phase of Mughal coinage including the chronology of the dynasty. The essays on the earliest phase of Mughal coinage "Bahru-khis", "the Nisars", "the Mahmudis", and especially the freak coinage of Jahangir such as the "Zodiacal Coins" and "the portrait coins of Jahangir" deserve special mention. This collection of essays really consists of materials arranged in the form of a first class introduction to a Mughal numismatic. Many of our Indian Universities now prescribe a course of studies in the Muslim period of Indian history. Wherever the Mughal period of Indian history is studied, Mr. Hodivala's book should form a part of the curriculum.

R.D. BANERJI

PALI

ABHIDHANAPPADIPIKA : Edited by Muni Jinavijaya. Published from the Gujarat Puratana-Mandira, Medabad.

It is a Pali lexicon by Mogallana of Ceylon who lived in the reign of Parakramabahu the Great (53 A.D.) and is exactly what the celebrated *Parakosha* is in Sanskrit. First it was edited (for the third time in 1900) in Ceylonese character by W. Subbuthi making it useful for both his countrymen and the English-knowing people by writing original notes in Ceylonese and English and a full list of words together with some appendices. Dharmavisarada Sthavira Jnanananda Swami edited the edition poorly in Bengali character in 1931. The same original edition without the English portion is now published again by the venerable Muni Jinavijaya in Devanagari. The Devanagari edition will undoubtedly facilitate its wide circulation especially among the Indian students. As the dictionary of R. C. Childers and that of the Text Society (not yet complete) are highly priced, students who cannot afford to buy any of them are not able to read Ceylonese script should get with them a copy of the present edition of the book. Pali books in Devanagari are badly needed in India. We are therefore very glad to see at least two books in the current year published in this character, viz. the volume under notice and *Suttanipata* edited by Prof. P.V. Bapat, Poona.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

SANSKRIT

THE RAMAYANA OF VALMIKI : Edited by Pandit M. Labhaya, M.A., sometime Research Scholar, Professor in Sanskrit, University of the Punjab. *Ardhya Kanda, Fasciculi I-III. Published by the Research Department D.A.V. College.*

As regards the original text of the Ramayana of Valmiki the condition is the same as with that of the Mahabharata of Vyasa. In course of time the text has undergone so much change that there has developed a number of recensions of both of the great epics some of them being already published. The Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, has undertaken a critical edition of the Mahabharata with a view to restoring its genuine original text being perfectly free from all sorts of omissions and interpolations of which it is now full

in its present form. The tentative volume of the *Virataparvan* issued by that Institute is very promising, being edited by Mr. Utgikar whose sudden resignation has caused a great disappointment in the minds of those who are watching the progress very closely. The public have reason to hope that in near future they will be presented with the Mahabharata in its true and original form. So far no such attempt has been made for the Ramayana. The object of the edition under notice is not the same, for it is not intended for getting the first original text of the Ramayana, but it supplies only a particular recension of it which the editor calls the North-Western Recension. The only point, therefore, to be examined is if the edition represents the recension as correctly as possible. As the entire book (*Ayodhya-kanda*) is not yet published, nor is the description of the apparatus sufficient, nothing can safely be said about it. Yet, so far as the materials at our disposal are concerned one may say that the edition is hardly up to the mark. In all, twelve MSS. have been used of which No. 1 ("about 100 years old") is taken as the basic one but the editor does not tell us why, nor does he enlighten us as to why MSS. Nos. 2 and 3 are not collated up to the 15th *sarga*. Nos. 7-12 are collated only for the first four *sargas*, because they "are too divergent on words." For the same reason No. 4 is "left out where found too divergent." We do not know of what kind this divergency is, but at any rate they should not have been discarded only because they have too divergent readings.

It is said, Nos. 8-12 form a strange *Sub-Recension*. Is it *recension* or *group*? They are collated, as said above, only for the first four *sargas*, and judging from the readings quoted therein one should like to call it a *group* and not *recension*. One or two slokas here and there either omitted or added do not necessarily prove it to be a different recension.

There is a question: Should one consult in determining readings of a particular recension those of the others either in print or MSS. which are in fact identical in most cases though with some variations? The answer must be in the affirmative. The present edition has, however, ignored the fact altogether.

The method of editing is not quite satisfactory, nor is it the same in all the fasciculi.

We write this simply in order to raise the standard of editing books in our country which must not be allowed to be inferior in any way to that by European scholars, and not with a view to finding fault with the editor. It is far from our intention.

In conclusion, we must say, that in spite of what is said above we welcome the publication, for it has its own value, and besides, it will certainly render much help in preparing a critical edition of the Ramayana some time, similar to that of the Mahabharata undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute referred to.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

MARATHI

NITISHASTRA-VICHAR OR THOUGHTS ON ETHICS : By Prof. V. S. Gogate, with a foreword by Prof. P. D. Ranade. Publisher, Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner, Pages 125. Price Re 1-8-0

This is one of the several useful publications issued from the Institute of Philosophy founded by the princely charity of Shet Pratap of Amal-

ner. The title of the book sufficiently explains the nature of its contents. It is not a systematic treatise on Ethics like the one by Prof. V.M. Joshi, but a popular dissertation on some of the leading questions of Ethics, such as conscience, moral freedom, equality, the relation between morality and religion, the doctrine of Karma, Free Will etc., skilfully pieced together. While reading the book one cannot help feeling the regret that the author has thought fit to sacrifice depth to compactness. The first chapter impresses one with the necessity of adopting what is called the Historical Method of study without showing what exactly that expression means or stating its limitations. The author shows little acquaintance with Indian writers on Ethics such as Shankaracharya, Manu, Yadvalkya and others. He has made only sparse references to the *Bhagavadgita*, the monumental work on Hindu Ethics. There is however much in the book, which is commendable. The lucidity of thought, clearness of expression and the power of explaining abstruse points with apt illustrations are noticeable. The manual will, no doubt, serve the intended purpose and evoke among its readers a desire to know more about ethical problems.

SHARIRASHASTRA VA AROGYASHASTRA OR PHYSIOLOGY AND HYGIENE. By Mr. N. G. Gokhale. Pages 52. Price as. 14.

This is a school-book on the subject mentioned in the title and as such will serve to instil into the minds of its young readers the principles of Hygiene based on the knowledge of the structure of the human body. It will also be a useful reading book for the masses who are neck-deep immersed in the ignorance of the laws of health.

V.G. APTE

[The review of the late H. N. Apte's book published over Mr. V. G. Apte's signature in December last, was meant to be superseded by the one published in October last. It was published through inadvertence. —Ed., M. R.]

TAMIL

UTHAYANAN KATHAI. By K. S. Seshagiri Iyer, 43 New Street, Mylapore, Madras. Pp. 46. Price 5 as.

This is a summary in prose of the famous Jaina work of the same name. The author could have made it more interesting by introducing the reader to the age and topography of the story in modern terms.

SCOUT LAWS AND PROMISES. By M. V. Venkataraman, Scoutmaster, 1st Vepery Troop, Madras. Pp. 84. Price as 6.

A very useful work. The fine selection of examples from the lives of Indian worthies of historical fame to illustrate the scout laws makes it pre-eminently a work that ought to be in the hands of every Indian. It cannot but be said at the same time that the author has trodden upon doubtful grounds when he expresses his belief in Sagunams and wants us also to believe that the birds and lizards serve a very useful purpose in that they are able to warn us of the coming events.

HINDI

MISAR KI SWADHINATA: By Mr. Sampurnananda, B. Sc. Published by the *Sulav-grantha-pracharak Mandal*, 23, Sankar Ghose Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2. Pp. 217. 1923.

MADHAVAN.

Mr. Sampurnananda has earned a reputation as a writer of works on modern history. In the present volume he traces the modern political development of Egypt. The treatment of the subject is illuminating and sympathetic. "The Secret History of the British Occupation of Egypt" by W. S. Blunt has been amply utilised. The book reads almost like a romance. It will be welcome to all sympathizers with the uplift of a nation whose god is independence and self-rule.

GAURMOHAN—PARTS I & II.—Published by the *Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad.* Pp. 1—480, 481—820. Price Rs. 2. each.

This work is the translation of the Bengali fiction 'Gora' by Rabindranath Tagore. The translation is on the whole plain and simple. The alteration in some names, e.g., Anandi for Anandamayee, and Sushila for Sucharita is uncalled for. The beautiful Baul couplet on the first page of 'Gora' has been utterly murdered in Hindi verse. This work however will bring Tagore nearer to the Hindi-knowing public.

BHARAT KI BIDUSHI NARIYAN. Compiled by *Krishnakumari.* Published by the *Ganga-pustak-mala Office, Lucknow.* Pp. 96. Price as. 8.

The compiler bases her work on a similar Bengali work by Mr. Manilal Ganguly, called "Bharatiya Bidushi." This book gives the short life-sketches of Indian ladies known for intellectual eminence from the Vedic age down to the Muhammadan times. This is a very useful handbook for girls and the general public.

• RAMES BASU

GUJARATI

SHRI JNAN SURYODAYA: By *Bhakta Maneklal J. Malharji of Surat.*

We have received four volumes of this work. Two of these volumes were published in 1922 and two in 1923. They make up a continuous work. As we do not as a rule notice old books, we are unable to take a special notice of this one, although we find that what the author has got to state on the highly technical subject of Hindu Philosophy and Metaphysics, he has stated with clarity and illustrated with apt illustrations from Puranic lore.

(1) *સરસ્વતીચંદ્રનું અવલોકન*, (2) *અદ્વૈતામૃત*, (1) *SARAS-*

WATI CHANDRANU AVALAKANA (2) *ADWAITAMRITA:* By *Vishwanath Parbhuram Vaidya, B.A., M.R.A.S., Barrister-at-law, printed at the Lady Northcote Orphanage Printing Press and the Nirmaya Sagar Press, Bombay, respectively. Paper cover. Pp. 66 & 72. Price as. 12; Re. 1 (1924).*

The first book is the reprint of a review of the well-known Gujarati novel, *Saraswati Chandra*. It was written by Mr. Vaidya, thirty-five years ago, and at that time excited much comment, though some of the observations even then were hailed with delight. In the author's own opinion the observations would bear a re-writing and we agree with him. The second book is more or less a translation, and comprises stories of the Vedantic Philosophy. The subject would not interest many.

નવા ગીતા, (NEW SONGS): By *Tribhuvan Gaurishankar Vyas.* Printed at the *Nanjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad.* Thin paper cover. Pp. 80. Price as. 3. (1924).

Delightful little lyrics for children. We think they are sure to please them; our only doubt is whether they would be able to "catch" the five conceits conveyed by them.

But Sanskrit grammar has ever remained the despair of all students of Sanskrit language and literature from the predecessors of Panini to the successors of Nagoji. It would hardly be a safe guide in a case like this. It is an inscription and must be treated as such. By a curious coincidence, the very first inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. I runs in a similar strain *kanchipuram... Agnithoma-Vajapeyassamedhayaji Dhammamaharajadhiraja*, etc. (of the Pallava King Sivaskandavarman). Dealing with an inscription, it is necessary to find out whether

(a) the word following '*tasya*' ever means generation, if not how is that idea expressed :

(b) is there any instance where the four (more or less) preceding generations are omitted and the sixth or some other stage mentioned :

(c) is the mother's name given as Kausiki's son or a mere metronymic like Satakarniputra ;

(a) A careful analysis of the uses of *tasya*, and *tasmat* in the inscriptions published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, the *Indian Antiquary*, *Fleet's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, etc., reveals a certain discrimination. Thus *tasya* may be used without any substantive after it in the sense of son, e.g., *Ep. Ind. Vol. I. No. 8. line 6. Tasmat* may suggest greater distance in relationship, generally followed by a connecting verb derived from roots like *jan*, etc. But whenever "generation" or descendant is meant, and not a son or brother, the fact is explicitly stated in the text, cf. *Guptanam vamsajasya* in *Fleet's Corpus Inscr. Indic. No. 15. Plate IXA. line 2.*

(b) The answer is in the negative. In inscriptions and even in coins, the father, the grandfather, etc. are all mentioned in chronological order with names. None is skipped over in favour of an earlier ancestor, however illustrious the latter might be and howsoever insignificant the former. The established custom is either to give them in order or not at all.

(c) No one has fully gauged the extent of Sanskrit literature, extant and yet undiscovered. But to argue in the negative is to argue in the air. So far, Kausikiputra's resemblance to Satakarniputra seems more apparent than real. It is more natural to take it as giving the mother's name only.

(ii) In *Smritis*, e.g., *Yajnavalkya*, *Narada*, etc., some of which are near the Sunga times, descent is signified by a *panchami* like *tasmat* with a word like *urdhvam*, etc., cf. *Yajnavalkyasmṛiti*, 53, where *Vijñanesvara* (*Mitakshara*) expressly repudiates another reading with a *shashthi* possibility and says that to indicate descent, *panchami* form *tasmat* should be used. Cf. Ed. of J. R. Gharpure, 1914, Vol. I, p. 13 and *Balambhatti Commentary* on *Mitakshara*, 1914, pp. 174-5.*

* Cf. *Narada*, Ch. XII, Verse 7 : आ सप्तमात् पञ्चमाच्च वन्धुभ्यः पितृमातृतः । अविवाद्याः सगात्राः स्त्र्यः समानप्रवर-स्तथा ॥

Vishnu : मातृतस्त्वा पञ्चमात् उरुषात् पितृतस्याः सप्तमात् ।

Gautama : 'ऊर्ध्वं तु सप्तमात्पितृवन्धुभ्यावैजिनश्च मातृ-वन्धुभ्यः पञ्चमात्' [Quoted by Apararka in *Yajnavalkya-Smṛiti*, *Anandasrama Series*, 1903, p. 81.

Gautama : 'मातृवन्धुभ्यः पञ्चमादूर्ध्वं' ।

Under the above circumstances, one has to accept the only alternative left, viz. 'sixth son or brother'.

The meaning of 'brother' may be preferred that of 'son' for the following reasons :

(i) After Pushyamitra had established his name and family, his successors naturally adopted the surname Mitra, added to a planet name : cf. *Indragiri-Mitra* (*Indragiri-Visakha*), *Vasu-Mitra*, *Agni-Mitra*, *Bhannu-Mitra*, *Surya-Mitra*, etc., borne out by the *Puranas* as well as *Inscriptions and Coins*. Cf. *Pargiter : The Purana Text*, 1913, pp. 30-33 ; *Cunningham : Coins of Ancient India*, 1891, pp. 82-3, 93 ; *V. S. Smith : Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, 1906, pp. 186-88. For members of a family fashioning their names on the founder's appellation, cf. the genealogical lists given in *Fleet, Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III*, pp. 17, 41, 189 : Chronological table of Rishis (under other Families), *Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, 1922, p. 192. Mr. Jayaswal's suggestion about the identity of Pushya Mitra and Brihaspati Mitra finds a striking corroboration in the passage cited by Professor Vanamali Chakravarty in the *Modern Review*, Dec., 1924, p. 691.

(ii) It is clear from available data that Pushya Mitra's father was not a king. Dhanadeva, if a brother of Pushya Mitra explains the individuality of his name based perhaps on that of his father Phalgudeva who might have named his sons according to an ordinary man's freedom of choice. But Pushya Mitra left the legacy both of a kingdom and a name. Dhanadeva, if sixth in descent and evidently proud of it, has to explain the apparent incongruity in name. Nothing prevents the scion of a family to change his name but it is more usual to retain it.

The construction *Pushyamitrasya Shashthena Kausikiputrena Dhanadevena* * * *pituh* seems to emphasise the three important relations—Sixth (brother) of Pushyamitra, a son of Kausiki, and of Phalgudeva. Unless therefore it can be definitely proved on the other side that Pushyamitra had not six brothers, that Dhanadeva was a late successor and Pushyamitra's father was named differently, the 'descent' theory has to be given up.

Purely epigraphic considerations should not be allowed to interfere with a normal interpretation of the text.

The Labour Government's Achievements in India

By THEO. H. THORNE, M.C., M.J.I.

"N's" contribution in your December issue under the above heading forces me to write a reply.

I thoroughly appreciate N's fieriness of spirit as indicating his enthusiasm for the political emanci-

Paithinasi : 'पञ्चमी मातृतः परितरेत् सप्तमौ पितृतस्त्रीन् मातृतः पञ्च पितृतो वेति ।' [Quoted by *Balambhatti Commentary on the Mitakshara*, Ed. by J. R. Gharpure, 1914, pp. 190, 193.

Dharmapradipa : असपिण्डां च पितृतः सप्तमात् उरुषात् परां मातृतः पञ्चमादूर्ध्वमसानां गणचजान् । [Quoted by *Balambhatti Commentary*, op. cit. p. 194.]

गान्तसारक निमित्त गद्यापद्य संग्रह, KANTA-SMARAKA
THE GADYAPADY SANGRAHA: Published by a
miltee of eight men of letters, printed by the
Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound
with pictures. Pp. 434. Price Rs. 4 (1924.)

A Mala or rosary consists of 108 beads, and the publishers have therefore confined themselves to publish 108 articles in *memoriam* the late Kavi Kant. They consist of short stories, short poems, articles, grave and gray, unpublished poems of the poet (Manishankar Ratanji Bhatt, who died under tragic circumstances in a railway carriage between Rawalpindi and Lahore in the summer of 1923, while returning from Kashmir) himself, and his letters. The real credit of the collection belongs to his friend, Professor Balwantrai K. Thakore, who has been unsparing in his efforts to bring it out within the scheduled time, and in looking into and sifting the mass of materials that poured in quick succession in response to his invitation to writers—male and female, adult, old and new to contribute their best. The result is a valuable asset to Gujarati literature. It reflects as in a mirror the present state of Gujarati literature, as writers of all shades of opinion and degrees of ability of both sexes and various ages figure in it. It would be invidious to refer particularly to any one article in

the collection but we were specially impressed with the contribution of Mrs. Bhanumati Trivedi called *आत्मपथे* (Atmapathe). To be appreciated, it requires to be read. There have been in *memoriam* volumes published before this; but there are several elements in the present one which make it unique, and that is due to Prof. Thakore's carefulness and original modes of working. We congratulate him and his collaborators.

TATTVAMRIT, PART I. By Naranji P. Sangani. Printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound with pictures. Pp. 407. Price Rs. 2-8 (1924.)

The writer is a great traveller and pilgrim. It is not enough to say that this Hindu writer has seen every part of India,—the more difficult to reach, the greater his desire to see it,—on foot, but he has seen every part of the world, and that too as a strict Hindu. Consequently all those parts of the book where he narrates his own experiences of travel are entertaining and interesting. It is only when he takes to abusing individuals like Gandhiji and Aravindo Ghosh that readers lose patience with him and begin to doubt his sanity. One is entitled to one's own views, but in expressing them one should not use vitriol.

K. M. J.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. No criticism of reviews and notices of books will be published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, "The Modern Review."]

Textual Notes on the Newly-Discovered Sunga Inscription from Ayodhya.

By DR. A. BANERJI-SASTRI, M.A., PH.D. (OXON).
Professor of Sanskrit, Patna College.

In the *Modern Review*, October, 1924, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 430-32, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has published and interpreted an inscription from Ayodhya, purporting to be of one by the Sungas. The same scholar has re-edited it from a first-hand expert impression, in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, September, 1924, Vol. X, pp. 204-8. He reads it as follows:

Line 1. Kosaladhipena divrasvamedhayajinah
Senapateh Pushyam[?]trasya shashithena
kausikiputrena Dhana.....

Line 2. dharmaraj[n] [a] pituh Phalgudevasya
ketanam karitam.

Mr. Jayaswal's translation:—This ketana (a statue-house or a flag-staff—a funeral memorial) to Phalgudeva (his) father is caused to be made by Dhana (deva), the Dharma-raj[n], the ruler of Kosala, the son of (the) Lady, Kausiki, the sixth (brother) of Senapati Pushyamitra who performed two Asva-medhas (Horse-sacrifices).

For the last fourteen years, it has been Mr. Jayaswal's privilege to play the stormy petrel in the hitherto stagnant pool of imitative Indology and to roam as a buccaneer bold, ever in search of new horizons. Hence everything he writes compels thought and provokes controversy. The present one is over an inscription that is in Sanskrit. So non-epigraphic Sanskritists and Sanskrit-safe epigraphists are equally busy in creating confusion, all in good faith. A few points serving both views may not be amiss. The script may be later than Pushyamitra, leading to a gratuitous *petitio principii*, as regards the inscription-matter. Linguistic criticism is a thing apart, standing or falling by itself, as shown below, and helps to determine the real meaning.

The present controversy centres round the expression 'Pushyamitrasya Shashithena.' The Nagari-Pracharini-Sabha-Patrika, the first to publish an imperfect impression, gave the translation as 'sixth in descent' from Pushyamitra. Between this and Mr. Jayaswal's 'sixth [brother or son] of Pushyamitra, lies the difference between a literal and a textual construction. The following details decide the issue.

(i) Grammatically it may mean both or either.

of India, but I feel I must defend the party in which I am a member against attacks which "N" would force me to describe as unjust. The Labour Party, was committed, is committed and will always be committed to the principle of the self-determination of peoples. This is not with us a mere academic question, something much more than that, forming as it part of the whole of our policy of socialism.

"N" has had the opportunity of meeting many of our Labour people, of all ranks, he will find ingrained in them a genuine feeling of the equality of all men. Labour is in its very principle international. Its all-embracing attitude of the greatest good for the greatest number has made of its political work a missionary enterprise. Its feelings towards India are exactly the same as its feelings towards all other countries, one of brotherhood.

Having made these remarks I want to remind "N" of the position in which the Labour Party found itself when suddenly jockeyed as it were, into office. It must always be a debateable point whether Mr. Ramsay MacDonald did the right thing in accepting office, or whether it would not have been better for him to have allowed the Liberals to go in and instead of being the Party on a shaky perch, to have had Mr. Asquith and his followers in that unhappy position.

Personally I consider that the steps taken by the Labour Party of accepting office was the right one, for it has definitely exploded once and for all that quaint idea, set afoot by the reactionary Conservative party, and kept in motion by Churchillian Liberals, that Labour was not fit to govern. Mr. MacDonald's handling of Foreign Affairs has won the admiration of the civilized world, even his enemies conceding to him brilliance in this direction. This however is the asset side of the shield. On the debit side we have many followers of Labour declaring that Mr. MacDonald had forgotten all about his capital levy and nationalization programme, and in India many more like "N" running really hot because our Party did not get Home Rule for them in an afternoon.

Surely "N" and all fair-minded people must agree that it was an impossibility, a numerical impossibility, for Mr. MacDonald to carry out the Labour Party's programme. All that the Party could do, when in office, it never was in Power, was to introduce non-contentious measures, and even in this direction, as "N" knows, the Party was defeated nearly a dozen times. The temper of the Liberals could never be relied upon, and the more exacting that Party became in its demands, the more the late Prime Minister remembered the dignity of his office and refused to take orders from any direction. I think that "N" must agree with this attitude; at any rate it was a line of conduct which was strongly approved by the Labour Party.

This being the political situation at Home, how could Mr. Ramsay MacDonald introduce measures of Reform into India. "N" allows his zeal to run away with him when he states that the Labour Government adopted an Imperialistic attitude towards India. He refers to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's message, shortly after assuming office, to India in which he emphasised the need for the maintenance of law and order. "N" describes this as Imperialism. If "N" thinks so, then I can but retort that every civilised country in the world is imperialist, be-

cause without law and order no civilised country can carry on, and I myself, though very much a Socialist, would have to be in "N's" eyes an Imperialist. It would not however alter the fact that the Imperialism the Labour Party stands for, viz. the commonwealth of all people, differs very much, indeed is entirely dissimilar to, the Imperialism which "N" condemns. The Labour Party most thoroughly condemns the Jingoist-Imperialism of the Conservative Party, and so I think at heart does every person who has a genuine spirit of ingrained commonsense.

"N" writes: "If Mr. Baldwin had sought to remain in office after the last elections, we would have found the same Mr. MacDonald abandoning his pacificism and leading similar 'violent attacks' in the very heart of the British Parliament." I entirely agree with "N" in the words he had written, but as wholeheartedly disagree with the intention he wishes to convey.

Mr. MacDonald will and is even now once more engaged, as the head of His Majesty's Opposition, in leading "violent attacks" against the Government, and he and his followers may confidently be relied on to do so for the whole period of Conservative power. This opposition, and I want "N" to note this carefully, is constitutional. The "violent attacks" are not with bomb and dagger, but "N" is tearing away the words "violent attacks" from their context, endeavours to my mind to create for them material for "physical violent attacks." "N" I am perfectly sure, does not mean this, for he must be a sufficient student of history to know that that way leads to the cul-de-sac of suppression.

He has but to take the case of Bengal. I should suppose that there has been no more painful step which Lord Lytton has had to take, than the using of the special powers granted to him under the new Ordinance. The powers he now has are similar to the *lettres-des-catchet* of the pre-French Revolutionary period in France, though they are lessened in effect in that a closed door judicial examination of the papers of the arrested, are made after arrest. But Lord Lytton has used these powers and against whom? Only those who, he is advised, are engaged in unconstitutional "violent attacks" against the maintenance of law and order. Does "N" favour the freedom of the assassin. What has that noble Indian Gandhi had to say on it? He condemns equally emphatically the assassin and the steps taken to cope with him. But no one has favoured the steps taken, everyone would wish to see them changed, but what is to be substituted as a check on the political assassin? If "N" or anyone else can put forward a remedy to replace effectively the New Ordinance, then he has but to produce his alternative for it to be eagerly adopted. To interfere with a citizen's freedom is the absolute negation of the principles of British thought, but where you have to meet unusual conditions, how else can they be met but by unusual methods which I am confident the Government will with sincere happiness desist from the moment they feel that the ends desired have been attained.

With the other type of "violent attack," the constitutional type, I am all with "N". I personally think that C. R. Das made a great blunder in declining office when, as leader of the majority in the Council, Lord Lytton offered it to him. Can any really fair-minded person after this step

There is only one comment I have to make before concluding. Under no circumstances, now that there is a Conservative Government in power, should the leaders of political opinion cease their constitutional agitation for the demands which they consider should rightly be granted them. The big efforts which they must make in this direction will but finely temper them for the goal which must certainly be reached. Let the fight be as fierce as it may, the hitting as hard as strength permits, but always and every time let the blows fall well above the belt. This way leads to Home Rule.

There is not the slightest justification for

ON THE DEATH OF A LITTLE BIRD

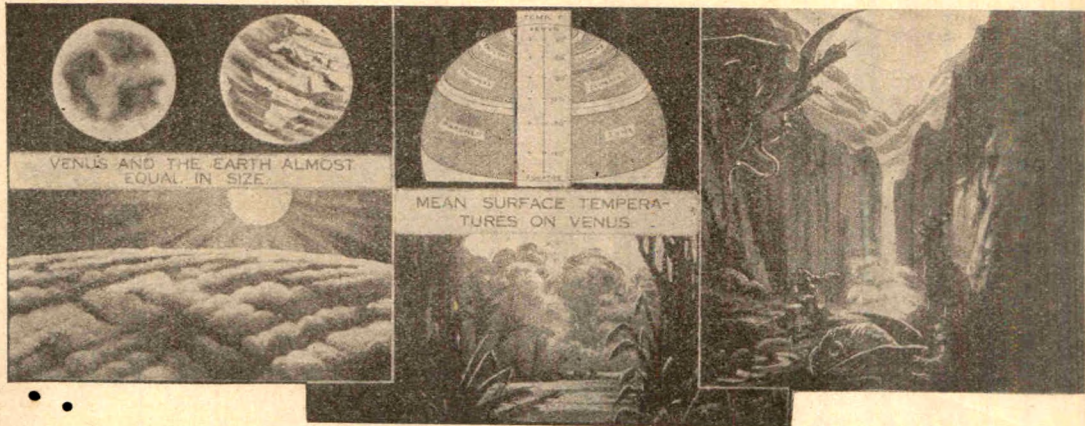
Rejoice, my friend! for I am now attuned
To the great Silence that for ever sings.
Go, let the loose earth cover up my wings
And close around the memory of their wound."

GLEANINGS

Lifting the Veil from Venus

Recent observations with telescopes and spectroscopes at Leeds, England, have established new evidence concerning the length of the Venutian

Venus is nearly a twin sister of our Earth in size and mass. She also is the nearest to the Earth of the large planets—her average distance from us is 67,000,000 miles. Yet we have been able to learn comparatively little about her. This is because



Heavy clouds, 80 miles high, shield the Surface of Venus

Tropical Venus Full of Vegetation and Monsters



An Inhabitant of Venus

day. They have led also to fascinating new speculation concerning the life on this comparatively young planet—a planet that we may very well believe is dominated by grotesque and ferocious monsters—huge reptiles and winged dragons such as lived on earth five million years ago.

the surface of the planet is concealed by a thick cloud veil extending to the astonishing height of 80 miles.

The recent observations indicate that this outer canopy completes one revolution in about 20 days. From this fact we may believe that the actual surface of Venus completes a revolution in about the same time our Earth does. This assumption is substantiated by the fact that in 1883 dust from the volcano Krakatoa, thrown to a height of 70 miles took 20 days to complete a revolution.

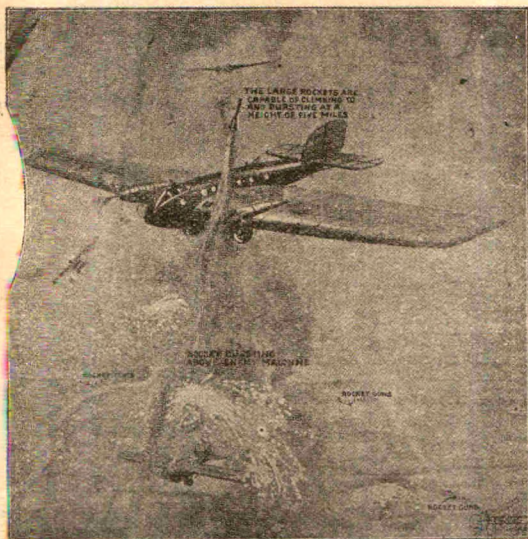
Death Rocket Rains Fiery Metal

Rivalling the widely discussed "death ray" of H. Grindell-Matthews, a terrific new weapon of offensive and defensive warfare recently has been developed in the form of a "death rocket" designed to throw out a flaming shower of molten metal miles above the earth's surface. The inventor is Ernest Welsh of North Ferriby, East Yorkshire, England.

The inventor's recent experiments with medium-sized rockets is said to have proved that each shower, bursting high in the air, can cover an area of 100 square yards, and can ignite any object within that region. The experimental rockets, it is claimed, can climb to a height of five miles.

The rocket contains a destructive charge of 700

pellets, a regulating charge, a detonator, and a propelling charge. When it is to be sent aloft, it rests in a diagonal launching cradle, somewhat similar to those used for ordinary sky-rockets. When the fuse is ignited, the propelling charge sends the rocket soaring out of its cradle. There-



The artist's conception of how batteries of the rockets might be used effectively against the enemy

after, at regular intervals, it is given fresh impetus by the bursting of additional successive charges.

For use as defense against raiding aircraft, the inventor says that batteries of the rockets could be shot upward in the form of a barrage. The pellets quickly burn themselves out, he adds, so that the rockets could be used over a city.

Mr. Welsh is at work on a modification of the same weapon that can be fired from airplanes or airships, falling about 300 feet before bursting.

Electric Drills for Planting Grape-Vines

One of the most ingenious uses for the portable



Electric Drill Working in a Field

electric drill was demonstrated recently in the fruit-growing territory of California, where a pair of

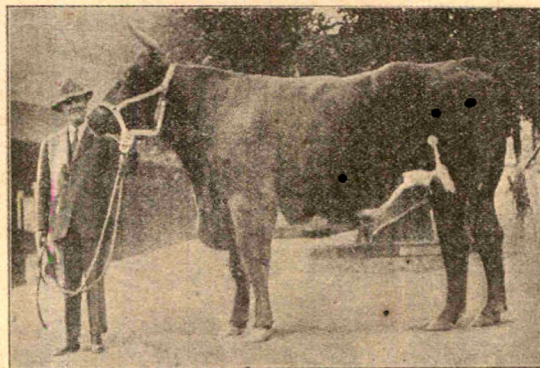
automatic augers operating from one motor mounted on a small truck bored holes for 60,000 grapes in 10 days, resulting in a saving of \$400 over hand labor.

Six thousand holes three inches in diameter, 18 inches deep were dug each day. Each drill required seven seconds. It was said the auger actually crumbled the earth in a most satisfactory manner for filling the holes after the plants were set.

By this new method only two men were required to drill the holes, while eight men followed with the plants, and the cost and time were greatly reduced compared with the previous method.

World's Largest Steer Weighs 2834 Pounds

A steer taller than a man, and said to be the largest in the world, was one of the interesting exhibits at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, England.

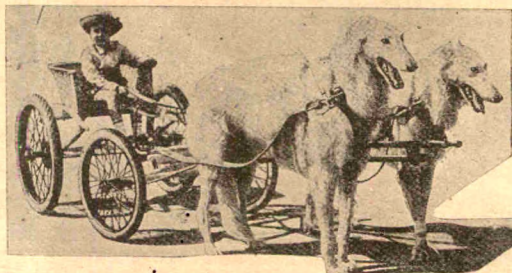


The Giant Steer

The steer is a pure Durham, and was raised on a ranch in Alberta, Canada. He stands 6 feet high, is 10½ feet in girth, and weighs 2834 pounds—nearly a ton and a half.

Strange Beasts of Burden

When it comes to good looks, few steeds can surpass this fine pair of Russian wolf-hounds.



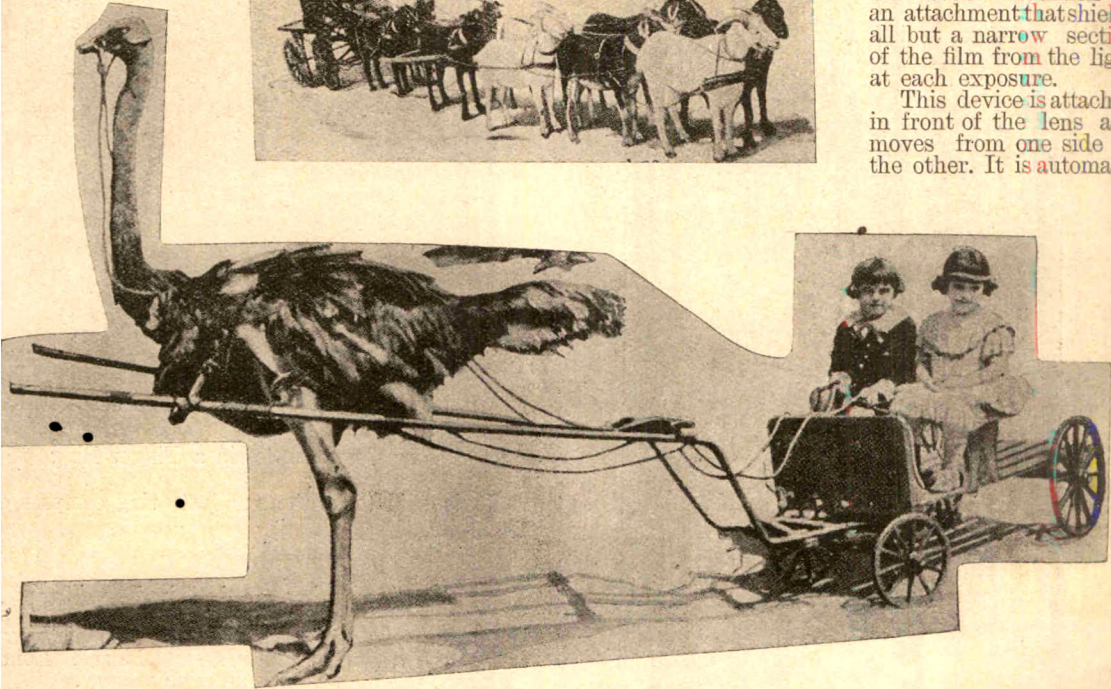
The speed and stamina of these splendid animals make them an excellent driving team.

for speed, ostrich can outstep any of them. California bird is trained to the harness, and the fast stepper is given a bit of encouragement—the dust will fly.

Many Photographs on a Single Camera Film

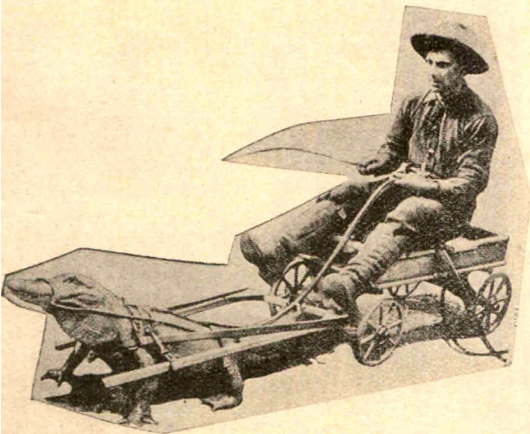
Multiple portraits of one person in different poses, or of different persons, all on a single camera film, have been made possible for the amateur photographer by the recent invention of an attachment that shields all but a narrow section of the film from the light at each exposure.

This device is attached in front of the lens and moves from one side to the other. It is automatic

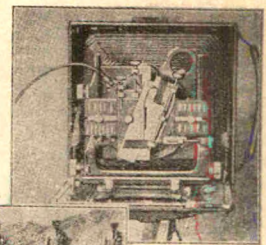


These goats are not out for pleasure. They do much of the light hauling on a large Australian farm.

to the extent that the opening and closing of the shutter for one exposure instantly shifts the attachment to the correct position for the next exposure.



Breaking a crocodile into harness is a trick for broncho buster. But once the reptile is hitched, can pull a good-sized man. This one works on a California farm.

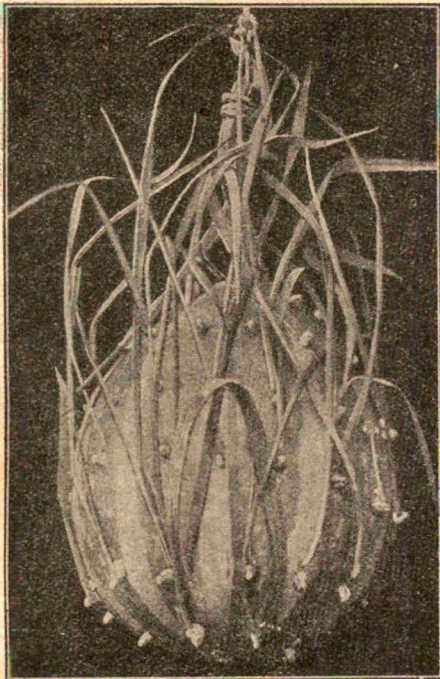


Above—The device attached to an ordinary camera
Bottom—Multiple portraits on a single film

In this way half a dozen different pictures can be made on one film.

An Odd Indoor Garden can be Made Easily

A novel form of indoor garden that is inexpensive and attractive may be made from a ripe pumpkin, gourd, or vegetable marrow.



A Garden of Grains Hung Indoors

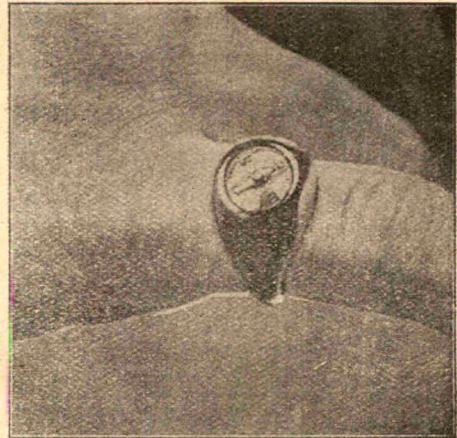
Grains of wheat or oats and other seeds are pushed into the outer skin over the entire surface. They should be embedded only half way. The vegetable then should be hung in a light, warm room, where the grains soon will be found to sprout freely, as shown in the photograph. The plants will grow without water, because the natural juice of the fruit supplies the moisture necessary for their sustenance.

Tiny Compass is New "Jewel" for Finger Ring

A Finger ring with a tiny compass set in place of a stone forms a novelty useful not only to the hiker, but also to electricians in testing high-voltage lines and in examining armatures and stators in motors to determine their positive and negative poles.

It is an attractive gold ring, with a little circular window in the top through which the needle of the

midget compass is easily seen. The compass is rigidly constructed so that the jarring of ordinary wear as a finger ring will not impair its accuracy in any way.



Tiny Compass Set in a Finger Ring

It is said to be the smallest ring compass ever made.

Man Beats Horse in Six-Day Race

In a recent six-day running race between a horse and a man at the Crystal Palace, London, England, the man won a decisive victory.

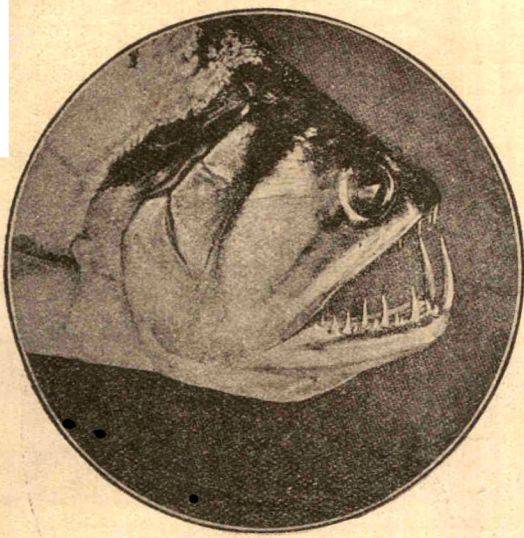
The human contestant was C. W. Hart, famous long-distance runner, now 59 years old. The horse was "Haucy Lassy," ridden by Jockey Arthur Nightingale.



The race revealed the surprising fact that a trained runner has greater endurance than a horse. Both horse and man ran for 10 hours each day. At the end of the fifth day, the horse was withdrawn. Hart won by eight miles. The total distances run were : Hart, 345 miles ; horse, 337 miles.

Mazing Adventures in Guiana Jungles

Mr. Beebe honorary curator of ornithology at New York Zoological Park, known more as the "Bronx Zoo," and director of the station of the New York Zoological Society, just returned from a five-month expedition into the wilds of British Guiana, South America, in



Great-toothed Dog-fish—inhabits the waters of British Guiana

search of zoological specimens to add to the Bronx collection. He had brought back innumerable cages filled with queer jungle creatures, some of which never before had been seen in this country. Among these were tree-climbing porcupines, agoutis, long-tailed rodents, and yellow headed vultures.

Beebe is a very tall, very slim man of 47, who looks like a scholar, and talks like one—in precise phrases, uttered softly and rather diffidently. His face, his hands and forehead have been burned to the hue of mahogany by the tropic sun on his many expeditions into the wilds. Otherwise, in neither appearance nor manner does he suggest his adventurous calling. Yet on more than one occasion he has attacked and subdued some of the fiercest creatures of the jungle with no weapon more dangerous than his bare hands and his courage.

On the expedition from which he just returned he lay in his cabin one night and permitted a vampire bat to creep over his body, hoping that the creature would sink its teeth in his flesh and thus permit him to disclose to science for the first time the sensation of having one of these strange and elusive animals suck the blood from his veins.

"About the most disquieting time we had on the expedition," Beebe told "came one night when we were hunting nothing but a breath of air. Several of us were wandering about in the jungle, picking our way among the enormous trunks of the giant mora trees, and little thinking of any danger in store for us.

"Suddenly one of the party gave an involuntary gasp, and pointed toward a pool of moonlight that

filtered through the trees not 50 feet away. In the center stood a full-grown jaguar, glaring inquisitively at us with furtive, glowing eyes!

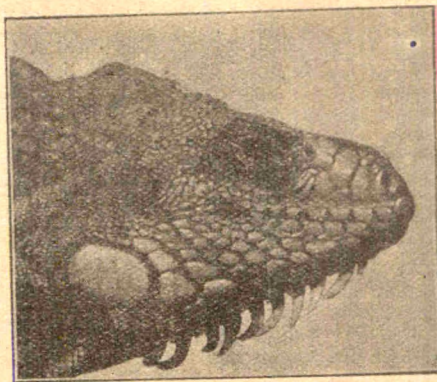


An exciting moment—two women catching a Boa—Mr. Beebe seen at the right

"We stopped abruptly. There wasn't a thing we could do save to stand there. In the whole party there wasn't a weapon of any kind—not even a pocket-knife and then, a most extraordinary thing happened. The jaguar turned about, as if bored, and marched calmly and leisurely away!

We had our headquarters in a large bungalow in a clearing at the edge of the jungle at Cartabo, a point of land at the junction of the Mazaruni and Cuyuni rivers. The whole party was in camp one afternoon when I happened to notice what appeared to be a large stick protruding from the water at an angle and floating down the river toward us.

"An ant-eater! Let's get him! I shouted to the others of the party.



Head of the iguana lizard six feet long

"We got nets and oars together, jumped into two rowboats and started down the stream. We caught up with the beast and, entangled it in our nets. The ant-eater thrashed the water, slashed the air with its long nose, splintered the oars we

thrust at it, and fiercely fought off our attempts at capture. And at last it hooked its big curved claws over the gunwale of my boat, and climbed aboard.



Miss Isabel Cooper making a portrait of a jungle snake—would you dare to do this?

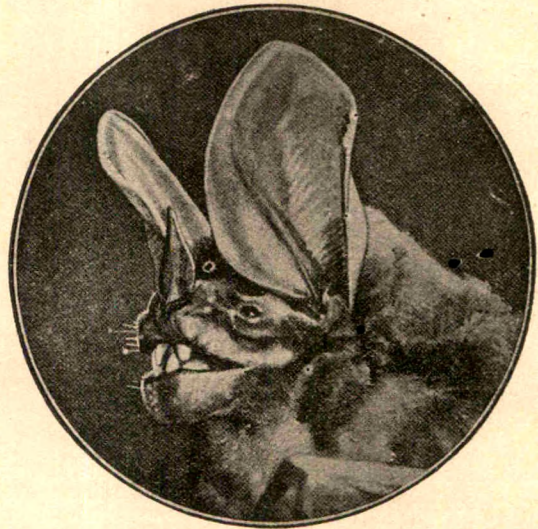
"Fighting an enraged ant-eater in the cramped quarters of a small boat is about as thrilling an undertaking as I can imagine. Yet we went about it calmly and carefully. I was nearest to the animal, so I engaged its attention with an oar while the others worked the boat ashore.

"When the boat grounded, we drove the animal out, surrounded it and kept it at bay with sticks and clubs, seeking to prevent it from clawing its way through us to freedom until some one could obtain a box or crate in which to imprison it. One of the women members of the party, without pausing for order, busied herself about providing this, to find that the only crate we had large enough to accommodate an ant-eater was already occupied by a boa constrictor that had been captured a few days before!

"Some women may be afraid of snakes, but this one isn't. She reached down, picked up the boa, and without any hesitation thrust it into a smaller

box while the two other women members of expedition rushed down to the shore with packing-case. At last we succeeded in driving infuriated ant-eater into this. Then we were able to take a calmer view of our captive.

"It was one of largest ant-eaters I have ever seen. Its eight feet of length included a nose almost two feet long. This is what we had seen in the water, for the rest of the animal's body is submerged when it swims. The body was covered with long, coarse black hair, and it had a great bushy tail. The claws were fully three inches long, more than twice the size of a lion's claws and curled backward and upward so that the points would not become dulled in walking.



A devil-headed jungle bat from the tropics

"There was another afternoon of excitement when the women members of our party were alone in camp. Suddenly some of the natives started a frightful hubbub, shouting that an enormous snake was approaching in the underbrush. Running toward it, the women saw that it was a rainbow boa, more than nine feet long and several inches in diameter. This snake is beautiful and not poisonous, so they decided to capture it.

"One of the women made a dive for it, seeking to seize it behind the head, but the snake was too quick, and a real battle was on.

"Several times the women barely escaped being encoiled. At last though, they managed to drag the boa to an empty packing-box and to dump it inside. This snake is now housed at a Zoo.

"The wonders of the wild life of the tropics furnish much more interest to a scientific expedition, of course, than do the possibilities of adventure.

INDO-CHINA AND THE FAR EAST*

(A REVIEW)

THIS is a literary and artistic review of Indo-China and the Far East. It was started shortly before the war, but it ceased to appear from 1914, and literary circles, in Indo-China, France and elsewhere, have deplored its discontinuance. The motto of the paper, if a motto were required to indicate its aim and scope, is, in the words of M. Pujarniscle, 'for Indo-China, with the help of Literature and the Arts.' The writers and artists, "struck by beauty, passionate admirers of their adopted country, have desired to create a bond among all the artists and *litterateurs* who look to the colony (Indo-China) for the source of their inspiration; and in working for the literature and arts of Indo-China, they have the consciousness of working for Indo-China." It is thus a paper pre-eminently for Frenchmen sojourning in Indo-China, with leanings towards literature and art, to enable them to explore the artistic possibilities of the life, native and colonial, around them.

Indo-China: the name describes the land and its culture. French Indo-China consists of Annam and Cambodia, Cochin-China and Laos. Cambodia is a bit of India transplanted so far away; and Annam is an inferior copy of China, and Laos is more Indian than Chinese. Three civilisations now meet in French Indo-China: the Indian, the Chinese and the French. The first, most glorious in its architectural and artistic achievements which excite our wonder in the ruins of Angkor and in the art of the Khmers and the Chams, is now found only among the 3 millions of Khmers who are confined to the dependency of Cambodia; and this culture is now in a state of general decay. The Annamite culture, a replica of the Chinese, embraces 8 millions of people in Tonkin, Annam and Cochin-China, and it is with this that the average Frenchman has to come in touch in Indo-China. French writers, with that quick sympathy and imagination which characterises their race, are sure to reveal to the world outside the soul of the Indo-Chinese peoples. The French are a more sociable people than their neighbours on the other side of the Channel, and we may find a number of writers on native Indo-Chinese life whose works will have a permanent value of their own. Undoubtedly a great many of them will write from their own experiences. But some there will be whose ideas of "life" may not be universally accepted, and whose way of appreciating the beauty and the picturesqueness of Annamite or Khmer life may be looked askance by every self-respecting native of Indo-China: writers who are, for example, indifferent copies of Pierre Loti narrating his Japanese experiences. We are spared all that in India, our Indian social aloofness frequently acting as a protective barrier, but also to a great extent by our masters living entirely in their own world, and by Mrs. Grundy being a power with them here more than in England; and Mrs. Grundy here is fortified by a sense of prestige which enjoins a detached existence from the native, and she is nobly supported by the Missionary.

The French people have an instinctive appreciation of the good and great and enduring in life. They have marvelled and enthused over the ruins of Angkor and the vanished glories of the Khmers; they have sought to understand the Annamite and the Lao and the Khmer; they have the cultured man's curiosity for the strange and the outwardly alien things of life as well. If we do not have a Nivedita or an F. W. Bain, an Edwin Arnold or a W. W. Pearson, a Macauliffe or a Growse, or even a Kipling (in his "Miracle of Purun Bhagat") or a Meadows Taylor, among French Indo-Chinese writers, it will certainly be not through the want of French power of appreciation or French sympathy for the truly admirable in native life and ways.

This appreciation and sympathy from the very nature of the case is bound, at least at times, to be a little detached, a little superimposed; but we can at least be sure to have a French Kipling from Indo-China, (if he or she has not come already) painting a narrower world, but painting it truly and well. Already there has grown up a mass of literature in the French language, of Indo-Chinese inspiration, apart from the archaeological and scientific works of *savants* like Pelliot, Finot, Coedès, Maspero and others: and M. Charles Pétris has written a valuable study on this by way of French literature.

The two numbers of the *Pages Indo-Chinoises* under review have quite a varied range.

In the first number we have a short statement of the aims of the paper. M. Pujarniscle in an interesting article *Colonies and Colonial Literature* indicates the difficulties and the advantages which a Frenchman of literary tastes and aspirations can meet with in Indo-China. Evidently most of the contributors to the *Pages* are French officials, colonists and others. We have four sonnets by Edmond Blangeron. Then follows Jean Marquet's *Plaints of Old Thai*—the musings of an old Annamite scholar living a retired life with his two wives on the top of a hill (would that be a life of peace?) and who had loved from a distance a white woman died of the climate. The *Plaints* opens beautifully, but finishes in a gruesome manner, when old Thai goes to the grave of the white woman in the deserted cemetery and "leans over the grave and inhales with full nostrils the sweet stench which the rotted flesh exhaled from the ground". Old Thai is apparently a case for the specialist in pathology, and I suspect he is a pervert from Paris, who in the hands of his creator M. Marquet masquerades as an Annamite, and sentimentalises and wags his head and chatters about the Masters of the Unknown Forces and ancient sages in what would be regarded in the journey-man literature of the West as the most approved oriental

* Les Pages Indo-Chinoises : New Series. Numbers 1 and 2 (September and October 1923): Hanoi, French Indo-China. Annual subscription, 12 dollars.

style. M. Marquet is a well-known French writer of Indo-China: his works on Annamite life show a good power of observation, and a certain amount of patronising sympathy for the simple-minded Annamite villager. Witness, for example, his *De la Rixiere a la Montagne: Moeurs Annamites*—a little novel of Annamite village life, which has obtained two official literary prizes. This sympathy has its counter-part in the benignity of the *Sahib* in India who is always (modestly) conscious of the White Man's burden that he is bearing. M. Marquet's melodramatic creation in the *Pages* is not at all so pleasing as his version of Annamite life in his *De la Rixiere a la Montagne* which we have read with pleasure. Pierre Foulon's *Buffalo* is quite good, a picture of village life in Annam. *The Occidental* by Marcel E. Chevalier, which is reprinted here, is a poignant poem, the thoughts of a young Frenchman in Indo-China, who lives, with a native girl, drinks absinthe, spends his afternoon with his friend, an old native Goldsmith, garulous like all old men, and knows he will die young:

I would like to be good, to forget the funeral
Which I have conducted just now; I have
thrashed my coolies;
The great Sun renders proper all these madnesses;
And I have a great wish to become Myself
once more.

I have called my great friend, the old goldsmith.
He is a wise fellow: he knows marvellous tales;
He conceals an entire age within his eyes,
Which are checked like a mocking smile of lips.
He is an old man, very dignified, and queer withal,
He narrates the past with words that dance
In the subtleties of subtle cadences;
I drink absinthe, and he drinks light tea.

He will live old, I shall die young: that is life...
He is a whole age, while I am only passing.
Someone weary with a vague sadness.....
But now, now I feel quite odd in thinking of it.

This poem seems to be quite popular with Frenchmen in the East. Probably it expresses the feelings of many of these exiles from home, who find themselves in a strange situation, amidst a barbarous civilisation with which they can never feel at home. And yet, one is sorry for them still more when they say

Le grand Soleil est propre a toutes les folies,
and seek to find excuse for a life of dissipation. The absence of restraining influences of home-life, of the zest in life that is derived from contact with kindred souls and the presence of a general depression of spirit which overweighs all amenities derived from wealth and power, sometimes embitter the more sensitive among those whose lot it becomes to live away from home. Yet it is not fair to lay all the blame upon the climate and frequently upon the people as well. Such an excuse has at its basis the old lie about the moral

superiority of people of cold climates. Sun or Sun, human nature and human society is more, less the same everywhere.

The section on *Literary and Artistic Chronique* giving a list of works (in prose) in French on Indo-Chinese life, art and literature published from 1911 to 1923, with comments by R. Crayssac, is sure to prove useful. There are close upon a hundred works and magazine articles which are mentioned. Judging from the names, however, it would seem that there are only two works by Annamite natives: a French prose adaptation of the *Kim-Van-Kieu*, a famous Annamite poem, by Thu Giang (is it a French author masquerading as an Annamite?), and a novel *Le Roman de Mlle. Lys* by M. Nguyen-phan-Long. This list, of course, includes only works of a literary character. The last item in this number is a note on Annamite Art in connexion with the Exhibition of the Decorative Arts in Paris, by Maurice Koch.

In this number there is a full plate print from an original woodcut by E. Defert, *The Head of the Forest*, a powerful, impressionistic study of the ruins of old Khmer temples covered up by the tropical jungle with the faces of the Gods showing themselves through the roots and foliage.

The second number opens with a prose sketch by Mme. Jeanne Leuba, *Le Route de My-Douc*. There is an appreciation by E. Pujarnisele of the literary work of Mme. Leuba. Her books on the Chams, the ancient Hindu people of Champa in Cochin-China—once the rivals of the Khmers; but now dying out—and their art and history are the standard works on the subject. She is also a writer of great power. Henry Daguerches contributes a poem *Repudiation* addressed to Indo-China, typically French, but in the *Land of Regrets* spirit. Then follows an extract from the French traveller and naturalist, Mouhot, describing the ruins of Angkor. Mouhot in a way discovered these ruins in 1860, and he was profoundly impressed, like all other visitors after him, by this stupendous monument of the Hindu civilisation of the country. The enthusiastic description of Mouhot, available in English translation, would stir the imagination of any Indian, and fill him with a sense of pride for the achievements of his countrymen who built up this Hindu colonial culture, and at the same time with feelings of gratefulness towards French curiosity and French science which has lifted the veil of oblivion from this magnificent past. Rene Crayssac and Paul Koch complete their articles on French Indo-Chinese Literature and on Annamite Art.

This number is illustrated by a woodcut by A. de Fautereau-Vassel, *the Pagoda of the Ravens at Hanoi*.

The Journal is printed beautifully. It is certainly a welcome addition to the high class literary journals in French. It shows the active and imaginative French spirit under novel conditions. It gives us occasional glimpses of native Indo-Chinese life, and it reflects for us the intimate thoughts and notions of a France which governs alien races and yet strives to remain human, and French.

FAN SHAN-TAN TSZE.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Bi Amman.

Of Bi Amman the mother of Maulanas Shaukat and Mohamed Ali *Stri-Dharma* says that she was "a venerable leader who has been an inspiring example to all."

She showed us what fine material is locked up in the gosha system of Muhammadan life. If under its limitations she was able to do so much which earned her the respect and admiration of all, what will not her countrywomen do when they have none of the opportunities of free movement and better education?

Paracelsus.

We read in *The Young Citizen* :—

The piety of Paracelsus was remarkable and his faith in the supreme power of God sublime. All that the eye beheld revealed and glorified His Eternal Being. The life that thrilled in animal and plant surged ceaselessly through metal and stone.

To-day modern science is beginning to accept this simple truth and to-day modern thought is awakening to the fact that the teachings of this great and lofty soul contain a fund of mental wealth that cannot be surpassed or even equalled at the present time. The medical works of Paracelsus number forty-nine: those on Natural History, Philosophy and the Occult Sciences are numerous. While he brought the full powers of his intellect to bear upon the scientific problems that engaged and perplexed his mind, he never once lost sight of the Unseen Energy guiding the forces through which the Universal Life sought expression.

Poor in this world's riches but abounding in spiritual gifts, driven from city to city by the violence of his enemies, Paracelsus lived and died a wanderer upon the face of the earth. The outward events of his life, however, in no wise hindered his dauntless spirit from fulfilling the glorious purpose of his earthly sojourn and that purpose was to heal the body and soul of man. To the humble and poor his services were given free, and long after his death they mourned his loss by pilgrimages to his grave.

Mankind is slowly awakening to the value and importance of the works handed down to posterity by this unrivalled surgeon and physician, and an honoured position is accorded them amongst great volumes of great men. The name of Paracelsus is one that will live through the ages to come.

Religious Experience of the Vaishnava and the Christian.

Mr. M. T. Kennedy writes in *The Young Men of India* :—

The religious experience of the Vaishnava is of the same order as the Christian. The note of joy is

a true mark of *bhakti*, whether Christian or Hindu. It is not by accident that both are rich in a great hymnology. The famous five stages of *bhakti*, already mentioned, are all found varied in the language of Christian experience. The *santa* is the quietism of Christian mysticism. The *dasya*, or servant, attitude has been the natural expression of devotion from St. Paul to our own day. Indeed, this aspect of devotion is much more richly illustrated in Christian than in Vaishnava devotion, because Christ made it fundamental for us, while in the Vaishnava scale it is subsidiary. The *sakhya* stage, expressing devotion in terms of friendship, is familiar enough with us. Its fountain source is in our Lord's beautiful words, "No longer do I call you servants; ... but I have called you friends." The *bhatsalya*, or fourth stage, expressing devotion in the terms of parent and child relation, natural enough to Christian thought, is, of course, absolutely central in Christian worship. To the Vaishnava however, the idea is of the tenderness felt toward a little child, and is exemplified in the tremendous power the worship of Krishna as a little child, has over the minds of Indian women. An almost exact parallel is the adoration of the Wise Men and the worship of the Bambino in the Roman Church. The highest stage, the sweetness and passion of the lover relation or marriage relation, is an imagery that has been sparingly used, and wisely so, in Christian experience. The parallel here is confined almost entirely to mediæval monasticism, and to the Roman teaching that the nun is to look upon herself as the bride of Christ.

This leads to a final word on the mysticism of the two religions and the ideal of saintliness. The mystic experience is deep set in both. And that experience is largely of the same order: that is, it conceives of Reality as personal and of the quest along lines of ever closer personal relations. The characteristics of the mystic experience are strikingly similar, both in thought and physical accompaniment. The great mass of Vaishnava lyrics are classified according to the phases of the Radha-Krishna story of which they treat. Some of these almost exactly parallel the stages of Christian mystic experience as developed through the centuries. The physical manifestations that accompany the mystic experience we would expect to be similar from the wealth of new insight that modern psychology has brought us. Religious emotionalism produces the same results in all countries. From the records of the great revivals of the last century in the west, vivid parallels can be found for the most grotesque of Chaitanya's wild excesses. The difference to be noted here is that Christian thought has come to look upon these things as suspect, evidences of hysteria, and therefore as unhealthy. To the Vaishnava devotee these phenomena are evidences of spiritual afflatus and signs of communion with the divine. The trance was the supreme experience to Chaitanya. In all the literature there is no critical attitude toward these things, but rather the fullest acceptance of them as of value in themselves. The Chaitanya movement lacked a St. Paul to apply to its excesses the principle applied to the Corin-

thian church namely, that emotional gifts must minister to the edification of the brotherhood or be excluded, and that the final test of religious experience is ethical.

"The Barbarity English Life" a Century Ago.

In the same magazine Mr. J. S. Hoyland continues his article on "The Civilizing of England." He holds that

"There is nothing more glaringly indicative of the barbarity of English life during the first two generations of the Industrial Revolution than the manner in which little children were exploited for the benefit of the propertied classes."

For concrete examples of this barbarity we have no space; but the following extract will give some general idea:—

In lace mills, for instance, work went on from 4 a.m. to 12 p.m. For these hours two shifts of adult workers were employed, but only one shift of children. Although the children's work was intermittent, they could not leave the mill, but lay down on the floors when not needed. There were some mills where the children never went home during the whole twenty-four hours.

In worsted spinning mills the conditions may be judged from the evidence given by Joseph Hebergam before the Select Committee on Factory Children's Labour in 1831. At the age of seven he was working from five in the morning till eight at night, with a break of thirty minutes at noon. All other meals being taken in snatches without any interruption of work. "Did you not become very drowsy and sleepy towards the end of the day and feel much fatigued?" "Yes; that began about three o'clock; and grew worse and worse, and it came to be very bad between six and seven."

In flax spinning mills the conditions may be estimated from the evidence given by an overseer to the Select Committee of 1831, to the effect that there were nine workers in the room under his charge who had begun work before they were nine years old, and that six of them were splay-footed and the other three deformed in other ways. In another mill there were three girls of one family, the youngest of them seven years old, who worked for six weeks at a stretch from three in the morning to ten or ten-thirty at night. "It was near eleven o'clock before we could get them into bed after getting a little victuals," said their father in the course of his evidence: "we have often cried when we have given them the little victualling we had to give them; we had to shake them, and they have fallen asleep with the victuals in their mouths many a time."

In cotton mills, where the hours were also shamefully long, it was discovered from actual experiment that the factory child walked twenty miles in following the spinning machine during the course of his day's work in the mill.

The Rose-ringed Paroquet.

The rose-ringed paroquet would seem to be a great pest, as the following extract from

an illustrated article on that bird in *Agricultural Journal of India* shows:—

Wherever it occurs, however, in its wild state the Rose-ringed Paroquet is an unmitigated nuisance as its diet is wholly vegetarian and it feeds largely on cultivated grains and fruits. When a large flock descends on a ripening crop of *juar* (sorghum) or similar cereal, a great deal of damage is done, some by the actual grain that is eaten, but far more by the extremely wasteful method of feeding of this bird, which often breaks off a whole head, delicately selects one or two grains, throws away the rest and breaks off another head which is treated in the same way. When fruits are ripe, these birds soon find them out and play havoc with them. When no cultivated fruits or crops are in season, the food consists of wild fruits (wild figs, *Zizyphus*, etc.) and seeds. The late Mr. C. W. Mason examined fifty-three birds at Pusa and Mr. D'Abreu three more at Nagpur, and in all cases the stomach-contents consisted entirely of vegetable matter—mustard, wheat, maize, paddy, litchi and wild fruits, and seeds of *Dalbergia sissoo*. When the silk-cotton trees are in flower in February, these parrots are amongst the crowd of birds which congregate to imbibe the nectar. We have not yet had any complaints of its attacking sugarcane but, with the increasing cultivation of this crop in Bihar, it will perhaps discover that it is edible and attack it in the same way as another Parrot has damaged sugarcane in Assam, by gnawing large holes in the stems.

Religions Transmitted by Tradition

The Light of the East holds that—

Whether we reserve the name of religion to theistic beliefs and practice or extend it to atheistic systems and Jainism, Buddhism and to pantheistic Hinduism, one point remains clear: That all the great religions, whatever may have been their origin, have been and still are transmitted by tradition.

To some this will be an unpalatable assertion. But it is true. The Protestant who maintains that his whole faith is based on his individual interpretation of the Bible, has first admitted from tradition that the Bible is infallible and that it "saves." The modern Buddhist who proclaims that his creed is merely rational, forgets that Buddhism could never have arisen outside India and that the mind of its founder was soaked in Hindu traditions.

Catholics, Jews, Mahomedans, orthodox Hindus, Buddhists, Jains and Parsis are frankly and openly traditionalists. They hold and profess that the religious tenets which guide their lives are no excogitations of their own individual minds, but beliefs handed over from some wise Teacher, through the medium of a *parampara* or tradition, written or oral. Thus the great religions, those that have held, and still hold, sway over the souls of nations and generations of men—and not of a few out of the way souls only—are traditionalist.

Nor can a religion become great without appealing to tradition. For, to become great, a religion must unite men and not separate them. It must also gather into its fold not only the few but the many. Now, nothing unites soul but common beliefs and practices: Individual thinking

self tends only to divide. And the many cannot think out one, will have no religion at all unless they are taught.

■ We do not think it is quite correct to characterise Jainism and Buddhism as atheistic, and Hinduism as pantheistic.

Fresh Fruit as Food.

The *Mysore Economic Journal* prints an article by T. A. J. Hargreaves, M. R. C. S.; L. R. C. P., in which it is stated

Many people have noticed the marked benefit from the use of acid fruits and the nature of the beneficial effect is that the acids stimulate the stomach to produce gastric juice, which is absolutely essential for good digestion, and second, that the acids of fruits are able, to some degree, to take the place of the natural acid of the stomach when this is absent. These facts emphasize the importance of fruits as an aid to digestion especially in cases of persons suffering from a deficiency of the hydrochloric acid of the gastric juice. One of the important functions of the acid of the gastric juice is to activate the pepsin and the acids of fruits have been proved to be to some extent capable of doing this. In such cases fruit of some sort should be taken at every meal.

The popular idea that the acids of fruits are unwholesome for persons suffering from gout and other uric acid disorders is a very mischievous error. Scientists have pointed out that fruit juices contain alkaline substances such as potash and soda which aid in the elimination of uric acid from the system. So that instead of being harmful, fruit juices are very excellent for one who needs to combat uric acid poisoning.

The acids and sugars of the "berried" fruits stimulate the intestines to activity without irritating them, so one would recommend the natural laxative properties of such fruits in place of laxative drugs which are without exception irritants, and when their use is long continued the common result is chronic infection and injury of the bowel.

SWALLOWING SEEDS.

The question is sometimes asked: "Is it dangerous to swallow seeds of fruits, such as grape seeds, raspberry and other seedy fruits?" In the case of such small seeds no harm whatever is done and it is perhaps to some degree beneficial through increasing the bulk of the foods, because seeds consist chiefly of cellulose. Large seeds such as the grape, if taken in a considerable quantity, might prove burdensome to the bowel and on this account ought to be discarded. It should be mentioned, however, that the danger which many people apprehend from the entrance of seeds into the appendix is wholly imaginary. When found there, it is purely accidental and not a cause of the disease but a sequence.

The skins and seeds of grapes have no nutritive value whatever and should be discarded.

CLEANLINESS ESSENTIAL

One word of warning is necessary in regard to this important article of diet. Fresh fruit should be disinfected before being eaten by being washed

thoroughly in clean water, better still, with water to which peroxide of hydrogen has been added, one part to twenty of water.

The Hindu Civilisation of Java.

Mr. C. F. Andrews says in *Current Thought*:

There are clear and convincing proofs that the connection between Java and India was of the most intimate character from the very earliest times. Probably navigation was developed most rapidly on the eastern side of India. We find mention of ships voyaging down the coast both on the eastern and Western sides of the Bay of Bengal. They went down the Madras coast reaching at last the Island of Ceylon, and down the east coast as far as Java. The centre of this navigation was Bengal and Orissa. Evidently these voyages had a great significance for the people of the Malayan coast of the Bay of Bengal and the islands further south. We can be certain of this latter fact because the common name for 'Hindus' throughout the whole of this region, for very many centuries, if not actually for millenniums has been 'Kling.' I have, myself, heard this word 'Kling' used by the inhabitants of Java for Indians. I have also heard it used as far east as Hong Kong, and it is still a common word along the Malay coast. To-day the word has fallen into disrepute, and Indians do not at all like being called 'Klings'; they even resent it most bitterly. But originally the word had no sinister meaning at all. It was simply a shortened form of the word 'Kalinga'. Kalinga is the old historical name given to the area on the north coast of the Bay of Bengal, which now includes a part of Bengal and a part of Orissa.

The island of Jawa-Dwipa, which is now called Java, was first of all civilised and made habitable by the inhabitants of Bengal and Orissa, who came from the Kalinga coast.

The Masses of our Country.

Prabudhha Bharata rightly holds that

At this critical stage of our national existence the problem of our masses—the teeming millions, should primarily receive our serious consideration. Political emancipation or advancement after which we are striving, is out of the question unless and until there be an awakening of the masses of our country, for they, and not the middle class or the aristocrats, constitute the bulk of our population. Truly speaking, the Indian nation lives in the humble cottages and not in palaces or stately mansions. The strength and vitality of our national being is in those who are called 'depressed' according to our social phraseology—the masses. It is the masses who undergo all sorts of hardships and add to our national wealth and prosperity. They are the tillers of the soil and raise our crops; they work as labourers and run our industrial concerns. Again, it is they who form the bulwark of the country in times of national danger and calamity. Is it not a pity that their interests should be so much neglected

and they should be looked down upon? They are pouring out their hearts' blood for the national well-being, and what do they get in return? The deplorable condition in which they are beggars all description. Deprived of the light of education and all the amenities of life, they drag on, from day to day, a miserable existence. Poverty, starvation, disease and suffering are their lot. Added to these, social tyranny and injustice is crushing them like a dead weight, suppressing all individuality and growth. Worst of all is the dehumanising and debasing effect that continued misery has brought upon them and their mentality. They have lost self-respect and forgotten that they too are men and are entitled to have their God-given rights. In the face of this discouraging state of things is it not strange that most of our social, political or religious movements are not concerned with the mass problem, as they should? It is only lately that the Indian National Congress has taken up, in its programme, the question of removing the ban of untouchability. The removal of this social iniquity alone will not solve the matter. The condition of the depressed classes should be so improved by an all-round, sustained propaganda of help and service that they may raise up their heads and lead decent, worthy lives.

A Pleasant Proposal.

Dr. Dhan Gopal Mukherjee asks in the same monthly :—

Why do we shed so many tons of crocodile tears on a cow when there are thousands of Pariahs who are our brother men and yet are treated worse than dogs? Is the holiness of a beast superior to the sanctity of Man in whom we perceive the largest magnitude of Brahman? Imagine also those religious Mohammadans whose meditation on God can be interrupted by music. Pretty poor meditation! God does not want such cheap religious outlook. Can you conceive a man so religious and so deeply given over to praying that no sooner he hears some music than he runs out to kill men *who are images of God on Earth*? What an application of the teachings of a religion! Such a cheapening of the messages of Jesus, Buddha, and Mohammad is a spectacle over which one should laugh, were it not for the fact that at present it makes the very angels weep.

Then he proposes "that we should start to ridicule it."

If we discuss the Hindu-Mohammadan tension seriously, it will become grimmer than ever. It is a disease that must be more than cured—it must be killed. And nothing can kill it so surely as ridicule. Let us level the heavy artillery of laughter against all theologies and the doctors thereof who preach killing men in order to abolish music-processions going by a house of God. Let us pulverise with laughter those unctuous persons to whom a cow is more sacred than their fellow-men. Let us mock into self-criticism and self-control those who think lip-service and "don't-touchism" to be the acme of religious life. Let us, in one word, laugh at the whole crew of officials, office-holders, self-seekers, and misleaders of men, till they learn and behold themselves as perverters

of Truth. In this grim hour of India's revolution, let us call upon that gracious God of laughter who kills evil without destroying the evil-doer. We have had enough of weeping and wailing. They have borne fruit. Now let us see what can be done by ridicule. It, too, like the thunderbolt is a weapon of the Lord.

We welcome the proposal, particularly a neither the Hindu nor the Moslem "Religion in-dangerists" are likely to go the length of undertaking a voyage to America to break the head of the proposer, who himself should give effect to his proposal.

The Greatest Achievement of the Bhikkhus

According to Mr. Doongerssee Dharamse (in the *Maha-Bodhi*),

The greatest achievement of the Bhikkhus was the conquest of the hearts of the people. A wild barbarian became a civilized man under their influence, the ferocious warriors were converted into gentle citizens. The tyrants became merciful and just. The proud turned meek, and the inhuman became the most humane and compassionate. Greed, lust, jealousy, passions and unrighteousness were recognised as sins and vices to be conquered by every effort, and the high value of virtue and righteousness was established. The strong abandoned the inclination of attacking the weak. The powerful kings renounced the desire of invading the territories of neighbouring kings. The desire for conquest, aggrandizement and victories were suppressed by the spread of the words of the Buddha and contentment reigned supreme.

We learn in terms of severity, that a civilisation which develops its material side only, and not in a corresponding degree its spiritual side, is like a man with one leg unable to run. In order to enable him to walk straight, the other leg, the religion of the noble eightfold path, is urgently required in Europe to permeate the atmosphere with its healing peace. The present European atmosphere of greed, jealousy, invasion and warlike spirit requires the spirit of that Great Teacher who has breathed for the benefit and welfare of generation after generation the higher and nobler air of divine compassion and mutual forgiveness, rather than a most mischievous code—"one hundred black eyes for a white eye and one hundred black teeth for a white tooth." Every day we are being confronted with fresh facts under the guise of civilized barbarity which go to show the urgent necessity for the vast enthusiasm of the disciples of the Buddha for the spiritual regeneration of the present-day Europe. Let now the spiritual message of Gautama Buddha be brought home to Europe, especially to the heart and conscience of the statesmen, nobles and high Christian dignitaries that evil cannot be overcome by evil, but only by good.

"Let a man overcome anger by kindness;
Let him conquer evil by good.
Let a man overcome greed by generosity,
Let him conquer falsehood by truth."

Civilizations of India and China

r. V. B. Metta says in *The Indian Re-*

ancient Oriental civilizations like those of and China life was harmonious. Religion was a part of the lives of the people, and was not something to be cast aside in favour of science. Science was considered a child of religion and a servant of society in those countries. The various classes of people in Hindu or Chinese society co-operated with each other in keeping their society healthy by performing their duties, and therefore there was social peace in them. But in modern western society this feeling of harmony and peace is destroyed. Religion and science are at loggerheads. Industrialism laughs at religion. And the various classes of people in it are competing with each other, and are consequently continually at war with each other. Therefore how can national culture which needs peace and harmony develop in these times?

The Census

In *The Hindustan Review* Mr. Thakorelal M. Desai thus concludes a survey of the Census of India, 1921:—

Mr. Marten complains that the public were generally indifferent to the census. He is really thankful for it at heart because they stopped short with indifference and were not positively hostile. The fact is that the general public or even the literate portion of it for the matter of that knows precious little about the census operations beyond the fact that it is for calculating the population of the country. It has no proper appreciation of the wealth of materials thus collected and seeing that the Census Reports both of the provinces and states and of India are published in English and find their destination in Government offices and the reference shelves of the public libraries, this want of appreciation and the attitude of indifference are not at all to be surprised at. I do not mean to suggest that the Reports should be published in the various vernaculars, but why could not the various Governments make arrangements to get abridged editions in the vernaculars of the province, which might exclude all purely technical matters and many tables, and which would appeal to the man in the street at general reading. I have before me one such small but excellent volume in Gujarati, prepared at the instance of the Government of Baroda. In this volume, in two hundred odd octavo pages, the translator has summarised in Gujarati the standard English Report taking up more than four hundred foolscap pages in a very homely style. The volume is priced Rs. 2 and is calculated to have a much wider publicity than the standard report. The experiment was first made in 1911 and it was found so successful that it was repeated in 1921. I do not know if any other local government issue such abridged editions in the vernaculars, but if they do not, they might take a leaf from the policy of the Baroda Government, and so might the Government of India. It will help much towards effecting the desired change in the attitude of the people.

Bengalee Postal Officers not to be Posted in Tibet.

We read in "Tourist Notes" in *Labour* :—

"We cry ourselves hoarse when we are not allowed to live with self-respect in a foreign dominion, but we do not utter a single word in protest when we are insulted in our own mother country. For the last few years the Bengalee Postal officers are not allowed to work in Post Offices in Tibet. This is a gross insult to the Bengalee Postal Officers in particular, and to the Bengalees in general. But strange to say that not a single voice has yet been raised in protest from any quarters, nay, not from the persons directly affected! Do you know the reason why the Bengalee Postal Officers are not allowed to cross the threshold of Tibet? That time-worn, hazy, elastic phrase 'for political reason' is offered as explanation. But what is the implication?

"Was it not a Bengalee gentleman who risked his life to explore the secrets of Tibet and thus paved the path for the Tibet expedition? It was the Bengalee postal officers who helped the Government in establishing post offices in Sikkim and Tibet, and were honestly and faithfully serving there for years together. Suddenly one administrator awoke and found after rubbing his eyes that the Bengalees were not trustworthy! They were trusted in a troublous time, but after their continued faithful and honest service for years they have now been found untrustworthy! The other day the Bengalees were entrusted with responsible duties in different departments of Government in distant warfields; even today the Bengalees are heads of responsible nation-making departments in the administration of the Government. If the Bengalees are taken into confidence in the administration of the India Government everywhere, why then are they stigmatised and insulted with a refusal to work in the post offices in Tibet? If there be any specific charge against any of the Bengalee postal officers who worked in Tibet, let it be impartially enquired into and exemplary punishment be inflicted on him; but why a stigma on the whole nation? Nothing incriminatory against any Bengalee Postal Officers in Sikkim and Tibet has yet been heard of. On the contrary a rumour is afloat that some Bengalee sub-postmaster at Gyantse objected to some high Government official's opening the mail bag in midway and taking out his letters; and in consequence of this that 'aggrieved' high Government official managed to pass the order that the Bengalees should not be posted in the Post Office of Tibet for 'political reasons.' The Head of the Postal administration in India should make a searching enquiry into the matter and publish if there is any truth in this rumour so that the public mind may be swept clear of all untrue notions. As there is a well-organised Postal Association, it should start an independent enquiry and collect evidences from every source without delay.

"It is true that our Tibetan and hill brethren cannot bear the hot climate of the plains. They, therefore, should be preferred—if that can be done without lowering the efficiency—for postal works in Tibet and Sikkim. No one will grudge it. But if that is the real motive then that can be easily done without branding the whole people with infamy. The Indians prefer truth, and sincerity to diplomacy."

We do not think any Bengali or, for that matter, any Indian of any other province, was justified in doing anything to "pave the path for the Tibet expedition." But that Bengalis have rendered faithful service in Tibet to the British Government is clear also from the following passage in an article entitled "Youth and the East" in *Blackwood's Magazine* for August, 1924:—

"And those obscure Bengali surveyors of the secret service who penetrated forbidden Tibet, counting their paces by the rosary, deserve the Indian Order of Merit. They carried their lives in their hands."

Englishmen and Indians.

Mrs. M. R. Harding writes in *The Vedic Magazine* :

Another thing we need to realise is that when we go to people of other nations as friend to friend, with no air of superiority, they are willing to consider and meditate upon whatever may prove helpful to them. Particularly is this so in the case of the Hindus, who are more tolerant of other people's religious convictions than any people in the world.

India with its riches is indeed a jewel in the crown of the British Empire, while she holds it, and surely this is all the more reason why Indians, particularly those of high education and unsurpassed ability in learning, perhaps on account of their wonderful power of concentration, should be treated at least as equals in every way, instead of receiving such treatment as makes one blush to be called English.

Laws and Ideal Freedom.

In the Mangalore *Government College Miscellany*, which is handsomely got up, Amy D. Carter observes :

We are surrounded on all sides with pictures of an ideal community, we are moving rapidly to a time when all things will be directed and controlled, even to minuteness, by a providing state; life will be so exquisitely ordered that there shall be no crowding, no disease, no profiteering nothing, but peace, equality of opportunity, honourable labour, well-organised pleasure, and so on. Now, excellent as this may be, let us beware of lingering too long in this Lotus Land : for such it is. Its elaborate laws may prove a menace. Laws at their best should be as scaffoldings, necessary to the erection of the edifice and no more. When their office is ended, they should be removed; if not, they creep insidiously from the position of servant to that of task-master, they act, like all effete matter, as poisons in the blood of the race. The grace of statesmanship lies in using only that which is essential, for as long as it is essential, and no longer ; in replacing the two crutches of the invalid with one, afterwards with a stick only until he is able to walk alone. Wheel him continually in a bath-chair and the means whereby he was able, in the days of his weakness, to take the air, will be

the means of his destruction. This is true, but the ever elaborate bath-chair may be. It is no perfect government we need, but the perfect ideal,—we all know this, but we are apt to forget that it concerns us personally. We must labour unceasingly to discover the best possible means of evolving him; for, if we succeed in doing so, the government or those few broad precepts which may one day serve as a government, will be a matter of small moment since the noble will always live nobly; if we fail to evolve him, the most estimable government will be of no avail. It is unlikely that he will be produced by the most intricately devised law, but rather by the greatest possible freedom. Law makes contented slaves. Slaves are inefficient. It is ridiculous to praise a dumb man because he does not use foul language. It has been said that "Opportunity makes the thief;" it also makes the honest man. Moreover, Authority, whether it be practised by one man or a thousand, has much the same effect. It acts as a weight placed upon a number of springs, keeping them in place for a time, but should it be inadvertently removed, the springs will rebound. This Germany has proved to us. No country has ever been more keenly, more minutely lawed, with the result that, brought face to face with extraordinary circumstances in the shape of the Great War, the repression of years found vent in unbridled ferocity. The German atrocities were due, not so much to inherent savagery, as to the restraint under which the country had laboured for so long.

It is useless, then, to look too eagerly for deliverance from our various evils by the most highly organized systems. Restraint is good, but it should be the restraint which comes from within, not from without. This does not imply the wholesale crushing back of impulses and desires, but the analysing and controlling of them, their transmutation by means of some definite creative work, or cheerful service, until bit by bit we are able to eliminate all which cannot stand before the bar of the most peerless altruism. We crave for freedom, fight for freedom, die for freedom; though, when we get it, we are not strong enough for it, and each new privilege is for a time misused, still they should be granted; we grow through our mistakes, and only thus shall we triumph, not over great stretches of territory, rich in mineral wealth, nor over cities nor over seas, but each over himself.

India's Goal—Independence.

Mr. C. F. Andrews has for years held, as we have done, that the only satisfying and rousing goal which India can have is independence. This conviction of his he reiterates in *The Hindu Annual Supplement*, with following prefatory words :

My own attitude in the matter of politics is well-known. I am not a politician, and have never taken up in this country any purely political matters. Indeed, I have never joined any political party, not even the Congress itself, though I have been often asked to do so. The reason for this is, twofold. First of all, my whole interest lies in religion; and therefore the study of politics only interests me so far as it becomes an integral part of religion. Mere party politics have no interest for me at all.

idly, I am more and more convinced every that the political future of this country must be mapped out by Indians themselves, and that the future, in every single movement forward, must be undertaken by Indians *without the help of Europeans*. This does not mean that English friends of India can be of no assistance; but their own part is to serve and not to dominate; to help and not to lead; in a word, to be of service to those who are the natural leaders of the country. In no single instance, should they take the initiative or lead in political action.

His reasons for holding that India's goal ought to be independence are :—

First of all, I have felt for a long time past that India can never permanently belong, either to the *British Empire*, or to a *British Commonwealth of Nations*. The very fact that the word *British* stands at the beginning of both these phrases appears to me to point ultimately to entire Independence as the goal rather than what is so often called Dominion Status. For a great people of 320,000,000 cannot ultimately be dependent upon the civilisation of another. It is quite possible for India in the future, acknowledging the debt of many benefits received from Western culture, to become an *Indian* nation or an *Indian Commonwealth of Nations*, friendly to the *British Nation* or the *British Commonwealth of Nations*. But I do not think that, ultimately, it can ever be an integral part of that *British Commonwealth of Nations* itself. It will be seen that I have stated this academic position as frankly as possible. It has been of great interest to me to find, that H. G. Wells, the English writer, has for some time past held the same ultimate conviction, and has based it very much on the same grounds. I would like to state that my own views were formed entirely independently of his. I have also reason to believe, that very many other Englishmen, and even a larger number of Irishmen, hold the same view. It is bound to spread in Great Britain and Ireland as time goes on. In the United States, there can be no question that the idea of an independent India is already held, as the only natural one, by almost all the most liberal and broad-minded thinkers. On the continent of Europe, the same thought is cherished.

Mr. Andrews believes

That every year that passes makes the number of those who regard Independence as the goal greater and greater. Practical statesmen and leaders will, of course, declare in all honesty, that the time has not come to look so far forward; but every idealist among the younger generation has become tired and sick to death of the 'Empire' idea, and the thought of being 'an integral part of the British Empire' arouses no enthusiasm whatever. Time therefore, is almost wholly on the side of Independence, and not on the side of Dominion Status. I have declared as clearly as possible, at the outset of this article, that I am neither a practical politician nor a member of any political party. I am an idealist and educationist and humanitarian. From all these three points of view, I have no hesitation whatever in looking towards, and hoping for, the ultimate independence of India. In this independent India, the Indian mind and the Indian culture should be as fully and freely represented in the administration as the Chinese mind and Chinese culture are represented in the administration of China.

"Shall we Commit Suicide?"

We read in *The Oriental Watchman* :—

Under this thought-provoking heading the Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill tells some plain if unpalatable truths in a recent magazine article. He begins by the surprising revelation that when the Armistice came in 1918 the nations had already perfected means for destruction during 1919 of which few of us had dreamed. But although not used then, they are being developed and perfected for the next war. These "agencies and processes of destruction will be wholesale, unlimited and perhaps once launched, uncontrollable." He says further, "Death stands at attention, obedient, expectant, ready to serve, ready to pulverize without hope of repair what is left of civilization." He then gives details of electric beams and their destructive energy, of bombs no bigger than oranges, capable of great devastation, of poison gas and chemical warfare much worse than in the last war, which was but the opening chapter. It has hitherto been the teaching of evolution that the fittest survive. But now, says Mr. Churchill, "There is no reason why a base, degenerate, immoral race should not make an enemy, far above them in quality the prostrate subject of their caprice and tyranny." Surely not an encouraging picture. When the outlook is bad, let us try the uplook. The Word of God is optimistic, but the basis for its optimism does not rest on the unregenerate hearts of men.

Occasional Fasting.

Dr. H. C. Menkel writes in the same magazine :—

Most individuals would profit physically, mentally, and spiritually by an occasional fast for at least one day, drinking freely of water during the period. There is a plan of modified fast which gives most of the advantages of a complete fast without the disadvantages. This is obtained by limiting one self for one or more days to only fruits and fruit juices. By this means a desirable period of rest is given to digestive, nutritional and eliminative organs.

It is now becoming well known that in fruits we have a desirable intestinal disinfectant and blood purifier due to the action of the fruit acids. These fruits also contain base or alkaline-forming salts by which the essential alkaline reserve of the body is maintained and built up. Another advantage of fruits is that they contain nourishment and cleansing properties in a form requiring little or no digestive work. Thus it is evident that an exclusive fruit diet for one or more days frequently repeated, would be of incalculable benefit. Abstemiousness in diet is rewarded by mental and moral vigour.

Indian Railway Workshops.

The Indian Railway Magazine says :—

One of the discoveries of the war was the capacity of India to produce her own articles required for Railways with purely Indian labor. The old

fiction that all important engineering work should be obtained from Great Britain has been exploded. With the Tata Company producing steel, it ought to be possible to manufacture the whole waggon in India. Mr. S. C. Ghose in his Lectures on Indian Economics says that the manufacture of engines and rolling stock in India has been successfully carried out in the R. M. Railway workshops at Ajmere. Railway workshops should be directed by Government to take a certain number of educated Indians to be trained in every branch of electrical and mechanical engineering in their workshops and if any contract has to be entrusted to any private firm, it must be a firm that entertains a certain number of Indian apprentices.

We hope the Government will see that suitable facilities are given in these workshops for training educated Indians. We should also consider it eminently desirable that Government should attach Mechanical Engineering schools to these workshops with a view to develop ultimately a faculty of Railway Engineering.

Improvement of Cattle-breeding in India.

Mr. M. Jamaluddin observes in *The Indian Veterinary Journal* :—

Some very fine breeds of both draught and dairy cattle, still found in different parts of the country, reflect credit on the knowledge of Cattle-Breeding of the ancient people of India, which even now is not very far behind the so-called modern investigation in the science. Cattle like Nagore, Cattle of Rajputana, Nellore Breed of Madras; Gujrat Breed, Amrit Mahal Breed of Mysore, Dhanni, Sarhival and Mariana Cattle of the Punjab, Panwar Breed of U. P., Karachi Cattle and many other breeds of cattle suitable to the different conditions of India could not have come into existence, and could not have been evolved to the present stage, without strictly observing the laws of Cattle-Breeding and without the fullest knowledge of different lines of cross-breeding.

The history of the ancient cattle breeders, wandering in search of good pasture and water for their cattle, shows that they were not unaware of the importance of feeding their cattle in as good and economical a way as possible. But the circumstances and the economic conditions of India have changed. The reservation of forests and the still increasing extensive cultivation, the extension of roads, railways and canals have limited the natural pasture area and pushed back cattle-breeding to a somewhat difficult and different situation.

For these reasons he makes various suggestions for the improvement of cattle-breeding in India.

Medical Education in Bengal.

Dr. B. N. Ghosh says in the *Indian Medical Record* that as the question of medical education looms large in the minds of medical men at present, he has discussed the subject in its different bearings, especially in relation to the following :—

1. The General Council of Medical Education and Registration.

2. The general standard of medical education.
3. The present medical curriculum.
4. Appointment of examiners and the system of examination.
5. General observations.

The Desire for Foreign Medical Degrees.

Dr. A. C. Ukil, M. B., writes in the *Calcutta Medical Journal* :—

There was a time when our students went to Great Britain to qualify themselves, i.e., to get some degrees or letters attached to their names, when such a recognition was perhaps a necessity. But the time has come when we are appreciating that the genius of our people must be preserved in all lines of national evolution. The writer had an opportunity of quite recently coming in contact with students and graduates of medicine from almost all parts of the world and of observing medical education in some of the most advanced countries of Europe. We do not remember to have noticed any foreign student on the continent craving for degrees. They come to the best centres of learning to supplement their knowledge of the medical science with a view to do good to their country and to increase the stock of human knowledge. We were so glad to see Japanese students (including some ladies) working in almost every important laboratory in England, France, Belgium, Germany and Denmark, and, so far as we remember, they never cared to get foreign degrees. We consider this mania for getting foreign degrees as a morbid expression of a slave mentality. We ought to be proud of our University and if she has any defects we ought to make them up. Our relations with the best centres of learning must be one of mutual co-operation and exchange and not of subservience. To bring about such a state we may do two things—(1) to modify the teaching of our Universities as to make it compare favourably with that of the most advanced countries of the world, and, (2) to discourage the mania for passing examinations during study in foreign countries.

Again,

Up till now our Universities have not taken any part in the post-graduate teaching of medicine. Special chairs may be created for research work on such subjects as Experimental Medicine, Experimental Therapy, Tropical diseases, Pharmacology, Bacteriology and Medical Bio-chemistry. Our universities ought no longer to continue merely as examining bodies in medicine. A time has come when they should take up in right earnest post-graduate medical teaching and research work which should be looked upon as important factors in contributing to the sanitary and economic welfare of a nation.

Humour and Inter-communal Unity.

All those who have been cudgelling their brains to discover means and methods for bringing about unity between the different religious communities inhabiting India are, without exception, bent on prescribing serious

edies. We have seen above that Mr. Gopal Mukherji would prescribe riding. Mr. Fredoon Kabaji, in his article on "Whitman, Humour and Swaraj," in the *Voice of India*, indirectly suggests the cultivation of the saving grace of humour as a cure for severe attacks of "communalities." Says he :—

Humour is a deep-rooted instinct—as deep as hunger and thirst and sex. "Peace on earth, goodwill among men" in whatever measure history has known it—might be traced in the last analysis to man's inborn humour. For what, indeed, does really bridge the hundred differences between neighbour and neighbour but—in the last resort—humour? How often friction is avoided by a timely jest! People would for ever be flying at each other's throats if it were not for their normal human quota of humour. Good health good humour, and a disposition to fatness seem to go together. Ill-health ill-humour, and a disposition to leanness and melancholy also seem to go together. Indeed, humour is so much an obvious saving quality of all sane, sound human beings that it seems absurd for me to be writing a sort of school-essay on it. But then, it is a common frailty of the same dear, sane, sound and intelligent human being we have been speaking of to be blind just to the most obvious things and much of the best humour of life is in the obviousness of things which needs to be pointed out!

Peace and the Spirit of Islam.

In a paper written by Mr. Mustafa Khan and printed in the *Islamic Review*, we read :—

"It is a fact that Islam has come to establish real peace in the whole world. In every Islamic institution, whether it is associated with the private life or public, the chief object aimed at is to bring about the eternal peace between man and his Maker, or between man and man."

We are quite willing to believe that the object of Muhammadanism is peace, as we are also willing to believe that the object of Christianity, whose followers have called their master the prince of peace, is also peace. But history records that no two other religions have caused more wars and bloodshed than these two Semitic faiths. It may be that the faiths have not been to blame, but that their followers have been to blame. If so, would it not be better for these followers to practise peace, instead of or in addition to continuing to preach peace?

Agricultural Education.

Mr. Gundappa S. Kurpad, B.A., Vice-Principal, Mysore Agricultural School, observes in the *Journal of the Mysore Agricultural and Experimental Union* :—

must have a definite aim in view, and must devote all its energies to attain that end. It is only when it concentrates its attention on a certain definite line of work that it can hope to attain satisfactory results. It can either train young men to become practical farmers or train them for research work in agriculture and to man the various departments of agriculture. Both of these can be done side by side, but they should never be mixed. The kind of training involved in these two cases, and the level of general education necessary in the case of students taking up these two lines of work are so different that to combine the two in a 'compromise course' seems to be an unwise procedure. It will then be a compromise between two divergent courses and cannot, in the very nature of things, be thoroughly efficient for either of the purposes. For the training of experts and research workers more attention will have to be paid to the theoretical portion and to the technique of experimental work of all kinds. For the training of farmers on the other hand, stress will have to be laid on practical work in farms of various kinds in different localities. Extensive opportunities for touring and continuous work on a farm run as a business proposition will be absolutely essential. It is superfluous to say that those who are in training to become farmers and who wish to have training in the research line can be allowed to have it if they have the requisite general knowledge for it, and *vice versa*.

Whatever purpose the institution is to serve, it seems to be a mistake to have it as an adjunct to a purely experimental farm.

Iqbal's Philosophy.

The philosophy of Iqbal is thus summarised in *The Aligarh Magazine* :

The philosophy of Iqbal may be epitomised in 'know thyself' and 'assert thyself.' Self-realisation is the secret of the rise of a race. Not only should it essay to gauge its weaknesses but its potentialities as well. If it is instinct with life and a desire to live it is capable of doing anything and everything. It is only an inert mass which falsifies all hope of progress. Nothing is impossible in this world, and what a man has done a man can and must do. Hence the ideal of our great poet is to develop the latent forces inherent in man. They may be dormant for certain reasons, but if an effort is made, they are sure to be roused and put into action once more. The duty of a man is, therefore, to unravel these, and realise the stumbling blocks which preclude their development. What was possible for our ancestors is possible for us as well, provided we exert in the same way as they did. Honest efforts never go unrewarded, as good trees always bear luscious fruits. So if we make up our mind for advance, all obstacles, whether natural or created by others, will vanish as if they never existed. An avalanche carries everything, great or small, before it. 'We can't' is to be eliminated from our vocabulary. Diffidence is to be extirpated from our character, and self-confidence, which infuses an indefatigable spirit, to be substituted in its place. This is the belief and the noble teaching of Iqbal.

The Marathi Novel.

In an article on modern Marathi literature contributed to *The Allahabad University Magazine* it is said of the Marathi novel :

The novel is not yet evolving out of its former type of a story of action, rather than a psychological study of the character that acts, and the subtle play of sentiments. Mr. Apte's novels lean on this side rather than on the other, but he cannot be said to have led the way. Such novelists have yet to come into prominence, and it is hoped not long after. The short story is as popular as ever but there is scarcely a variety of types. Mr. Gurjar's stories may represent the general type.

Ancient Public Works in South India.

An article in *The Central Hindu College Magazine* gives a brief account of works of public utility in ancient India. The following is part of what has been said regarding South India :—

The whole of early Tamil literature of the third academy, is full of references to the anxiety of the state's ruler in promoting the interests of the subjects. It is recorded of *Karikala*, the well-known Chola-ruler that noticing the annual ravages of rich harvests by the floods of the river Kaveri, he undertook and completed the huge task of building embankments to the river and by this step put an effective stop to the recurrence of annual damage to large areas of cultivated tracts. *Karikala* who flourished about the first century of the Christian era was only one among a host of Chola rulers who undertook huge irrigational works by digging branches of the Kaveri in various parts of South India. The name of some of the branches of Kaveri such as the *Mudikondan*, and the *Vira Solan*, indicate clearly that they owed their origin to these Kings.

Not only the Cholas, but the early and later Pallava sovereigns who ruled a good part of the Tamil Country for many hundred years bestowed great attention on matters of irrigation by the digging of lakes and tanks in areas where rainfall was sparse, and rivers absent. Among these, we may mention Mahendratataka, Paramesvaratataka, and Vayiramegatataka, all of which have survived to the present day after more than thousand years in the Chinglepet district. The responsibility of maintaining the tank intact was left with the villagers through their committee and the charges for annual or periodical repairs were drawn from a permanent Royal grant,

Lassen's History of Indian Commerce.

Messrs. K. P. Jayaswal and A. Banerji-Sastri have done good service by offering in the *Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal* a translation of Lassen's *History of Indian Commerce*. In their introduction to the translation the learned contributors state :

The subject of Indian commercial history has

become a popular study. The translators, have noticed that the researches of Lassen, the writer on the subject, were not, as a rule, availed by Indian writers, and students felt the necessity of giving an English translation of Lassen's chapters on the subject. In the translation, they have endeavoured to adhere to the original more than to the elegance of language which has to be sacrificed more or less in almost every rendering of a scientific nature.

Since Lassen's time, Indology has progressed much, but Lassen can never be superseded. Lassen is classical in the field of Indian history. Without Lassen, for generations after, no one could have easily conceived of producing an Indian History of Hindu times dealing with political, social and intellectual development. The wonder is that no other author, except Duncker on a much smaller scale, has since attempted a comprehensive work like Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*. The third volume of this work "which forms one of the greatest monuments of untiring industry and critical scholarship" as the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (XV, 236) has rightly put it, was published in 1858. It first chapter deals with the history of commerce (*Geschichte des Handels die Zeit von Vikramaditya bis auf die spätere Gupta*) from the time of Vikramaditya up to that of the later Guptas.

Charka and Increase of National Income.

Mr. M.N. Roy's second critique on "The Economics of Charka", published in the December number of *Welfare* is a well reasoned contribution to the subject. We have space for only one extract from it.

Dr. Ray's theory is that khaddar production will increase the national wealth, and the most alluring part of this theory is that this increase in national wealth will be equally distributed. He postulates that if one fourth of the population spins two hours daily, the national income will be increased by 90 crores of rupees a year. This will mean an additional half-anna per capita daily income. In view of the fact that average daily income of an Indian is one anna and a quarter Dr. Ray considers this additional half anna to be relatively not negligible. A forty per cent. rise in income is certainly not to be trifled with. But let us see how it will happen.

National wealth is increased when the total production of a given country is augmented. Saving in a certain item of expenditure does not necessarily cause increase of national wealth. It is argued that if the import of cloth is stopped, 60 crores of rupees annually paid by India on this account will remain in the country. But it is forgotten that these 60 crores are not sent out in money but in kind. India has something to sell to the countries which buy what India has to sell and cannot make the purchase if she is required to pay in cash. They must send their goods to be exchanged for our goods. India's disadvantage lies in the fact that at present, she has to exchange her raw products for manufactured goods. Her economic welfare urgently demands a re-adjustment of this relation. But this does not alter the fundamental law of international commerce, that export will always be paid in ready money, but in the shape of goods.

ted, and vice versa. Now it can be replied : a large quantity of Indian export is in food ; the people will have more to eat if these main in the country. The case, however, is not exactly so. Firstly, less than 30 per cent. of our export consists in food-stuff. The rest is non-able agricultural produce, raw materials, minerals

etc. Secondly, if the export is stopped, the price of these will go down and it will be the peasant who will ultimately get less money for the product of his land. On the other hand, suspension of import will force the prices of manufactured articles up ; so the peasant will be required to pay more for his necessities.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"Youth and the East"

A remarkable series of articles has recently appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* under the caption "Youth and the East". The writer's name is not given. We shall make some extracts from it. Of the Gurkhas, he writes :—

"If I had been a soldier, or a forest officer in contact with primitive hill-folk, the memories of my last few years in India would be happier. I could recommend a young man of the same tastes as myself, and free in the choice of a career, to get himself into a Gurkha regiment. I often have I met the Gurkha officer at the back of beyond with two or three of his *jwans*, as keen shikaris as himself, shooting, climbing, or merely trekking. And I have always envied him. The Gurkha is as friendly, natural, and unsophisticated as an English school-boy. He is a companion; one can forget race with him; there is nothing ulterior at the back of his mind. One has to spend one's life among Asiatics, the important thing is that one should feel at home with them. I do not wish to minimise the tie that binds the British officer to almost every class of Indian sepoy, but this attachment is not quite the same thing. Under exceptionally happy conditions, perhaps, it may be, or nearly so, but not as a general rule. The officer commanding Punjabi Mussalmans, Sikhs, Dogras, Mahratras, and, no doubt, one might say, Madrasi Christians, will not admit this. Still, I have seen a good deal of them all, and if I had to live my life over again in India, I should choose to serve with Gurkhas, and to be quartered at Abbotabad, on the borders of Kashmir, or at Dharmasala, or Bukloh under the Dhaola Dar."

But the writer's lot was not cast among the Gurkhas. He had to serve as a professor in Bengal at a troublous period.

"But I was not a soldier, or the next best thing, a civilian in charge of a district, but an educationalist. My work was almost entirely with the intelligentsia, and at a period of growing race consciousness, when our relations with the politically minded were becoming less and less genial. I had my Indian friends. Still, it is never agreeable to live among folk who regard you, though

it may be perversely, as one of a party who have wronged them.

"My first charge of a college was in Bengal; we will call the place Manikpur. It was in the period of the "Golden Bengal" movement, and I, as the hated Mleccha, was unpopular. Politics were officially banned in the student world, and it fell to me to see to it that the due restrictions were observed. My students were not allowed to attend political meetings; above all, they must not disgrace the college by public demonstrations. I had to expel one or two for this. Politics were the breath of life to them, and it was inevitable that I should appear to them as the ghoulis, impersonation of the foreign incubus."

"Until I found myself at Manikpur I had never tried to put myself inside an Indian's skin. When I came to think of it, my students' prejudices appeared very natural. If I were born in a subject country of an indigenous but "inferior" race, I should not love my foreign teachers or their text books about liberty. I should distrust their literary ideals, and no doubt I should think my own people every bit as good, and perhaps a little better, than theirs. If I were a young Bengali, I should frequent the shrine of Bande Mataram. I should revel in secret societies and feel myself exalted if any self-denying patriot spoke to me. My dreams would be of liberation, independence, sacrifice. And the more these visions were discountenanced by my foreign masters, the more ardently I should consecrate myself to them."

His observations on Nationalism are noteworthy.

"But I had been brought up to regard nationalism as a virtue in my own people, or even among foreigners in history books—as a disease in subject races. It was only at Manikpur that I began to realise that there might be a generous side to the revolutionary spirit in Young India, yet I do not know how it was, but somehow these young dissidents failed to engage my sympathies. To begin with, their heads were stuffed full of lies, and there was no truth in them. I got hold of some of their revolutionary literature and studied it. It was poisonous stuff. The venom in it made me feel physically ill. Malice in misrepresentation one expects, but clear-seeing malice deliberately falsifying things is not so repulsive as malice fortified by an incapacity to conceive of the decencies observed by the other side. It would be a

just Nemesis if the goddess of Liberty, invoked with so little understanding, were to turn on suplicants and cast them into chains. Garibaldi and Nana Sahib. Indeed! What profanity of association! No, I still belonged to the school who believe that Liberty is not intended for all sorts and conditions of men, but only for those who deserve it. And these people, subject to my people, did not deserve it. That, frankly, was my point of view."

The writer confesses that he came out to India quite ignorant of the history of the beginnings of British rule in India. That is perhaps the case with most Englishmen who come out to India. But such ignorance is inexcusable in those who came out as educationalists and missionaries. Let us, however, proceed with our extracts from "Youth and the East."

"Then among those poisonous vapourings I would stumble on half-truths. Our hands were not altogether clean. There was Clive, for instance. That dirty trick he played on Omichund was worse than a forgery. It was the first I had heard of it, and I was incredulous. I did not believe that an English sahib could be capable of such a *salette*. I must saddle the neglectful X with my ignorance, for we were not taught English history at school, and if we had been, it is doubtful if we should have been told the full enormity. All I know of Clive was the duel story in Browning's poem.

"...the man Clive--he fought Plassey, spoiled the clever foreign game, Conquered and annexed and Englished."

"Clive had been a beacon of chivalry. And now I learnt that he had behaved like any Bow Bazar-Vakil. And Clive was not the only one. Pace the writer, our Vakils, of Bow Bazar or elsewhere, are not as a class like Clive. Ed. *M. R.*]

"It is true that these things happened a very long time ago, that they were reprobated at the time, and that a century or more of straight (*sic*) dealing has done much to wipe out the stain; yet after reading the story of Clive and Omichund I have never felt the same cocksureness about the racial question. No doubt it is the privilege of the weak to be ruled by the strong, but the older and wiser one becomes, the more one lacks the courage to tell them so. I suppose this weakness is a reaction from the age of cant. One suspects one's motives when duty and interest and inclination march together; and when the spectre of altruism joins the band, and one is not quite sure that it is not funk, one suffers a kind of moral paralysis. If only we could put back the hands of the clock to the pious, confident, unquestioning days of John Lawrence, we should all be much happier."

The writer then takes refuge in John Lawrence and Carlyle.

"When I am distrustful of my judgment of nationalism in subject races, I fortify myself with good old John Lawrence. 'We are here,' he said 'by our own moral superiority, by the force of circumstance, and by the will of Providence. These alone constitute our Charter of Government. And in doing the best we can for the people, we are bound by our conscience, and not theirs.' And if

that is not a strong enough dose, I turn to Carlyle. 'Fraternity, liberty, etc., I want to explain, is the remedy at all; but true Government by wise, true, and noble-minded of the foolish, perverse, and dark, with or against their consent which I discern to be the universal law of the world.'

"Carlyle wrote that to Thomas Erskine, and when I came across the passage at Manikpur in Froude's volume, I was heartened. But the Englishman's conscience was not so robust as it was. 'No doubt it is good for them,' he says, 'but would one like it oneself?' That ought to be beside the point. Yet in our humanitarian age we have made it the whole point. The ultimate question has been solved. We have given India her independence. Our dissidents have brought it to that. And all that is left for us to do is to assist the sanest of the emancipated in averting immediate catastrophe.

"I have a great admiration for the British administrator who has stayed behind to help when he might have come away. The Juggernaut Car of Liberty is on the edge of the cliff; the reins have been flung to the self-devoted charioteers; but he can still poke stones under the wheels, pull at the brake, and be called for his pains the enemy of the people. All this means delay, and in the meanwhile the wheels of the car may be turned a little off the direct incline, and a sort *corniche* road may be engineered which leads at a less suicidal gradient towards the goal—or abyss, should we say—to which we are pledged. So long as there is no upward curve in the track, theoretic idealism and practical humanitarianism will be reconciled. And we shall have been true to our pledge."

In the writer's opinion, Indians have already got independence!

He then proceeds to make some observations on the Bengalis in a patronising spirit.

"But to return to my Bengalis. Much as they disliked a just but alien domination, there can be doubt that they preferred it to the rule of Gurkha or Pathan. Generalisations as to racial characteristics are, as a rule, only partially true, but I think it is safe to include the Bengalis among the non-military races of India. Not that they are wanting in courage. The Bengali Police and the Bengali anarchists have proved themselves very brave, individually quite as brave as the police and anarchists in other provinces. And those obscure Bengali surveyors of the secret service who penetrated forbidden Tibet, counting their paces by the rosary, deserve the Indian Order of Merit. They carried their lives in their hands. Kim's Huree Babu is not idealised. But, collectively, the military spirit is wanting. I met the regiment who volunteered for active service in Mesopotamia during the war.

"It was in Baghdad where they were detained for garrison duty, though they were very keen to get to the front and prove that the Bengali could fight as well as other races. In spite of this keenness, however, I was not convinced that they were a martial breed, though I could believe that they were ready to suffer death to prove it. They were braver, that is to say, than sepoys of a genuinely military stock"

After Bengal, the writer served in the Punjab as a professor. He speaks of this

as his "precipitate flight to the Punjab." He now gives us his opinion of some other Indian peoples than the Bengalis.

"I committed imprudence of throwing up Government service for a native State with my eyes three-quarters open. Naturally I was made to suffer for it in many ways, for imprudences have their Nemesis too; but taking all things together I have never regretted it. For eight years I ruled over as jolly a crowd of students as a Principal of a College can hope to collect, north-country lads—Sikhs, Muhammadans, and Hindus in about equal proportions. They played football with more conviction, though with less dexterity, than the Bengali, and with a great deal more backbone in adversity, though not quite enough perhaps for the John Bull standard. But when they were winning they were magnificent.

"At cricket they were equally good..."

He has, however, more to say of the Bengalis, though he evidently does not like them. But let us hear what he condescends to say as a patronising critic.

"Needless to say, the enigmatic heart of the Bengali was never unlocked for me. Like most other Englishmen, I was blind to his spiritual and poetic side. Rabindranath Tagore was hardly known then outside his own province. Englishmen did not read Bankimchandra Chatterji. It is only in the last ten years or so that the subtle genius of the Bengali has found expression in fiction. If I could read Saratchandra Chatterji or the sisters Santa and Sita Chatterjee at Manikpur, I should have known more about my students. No confidences, if any, had been obtainable, and no observation, could have given me a like clue to the world they disappeared into when they left the lecture-room....."

"...I think Bengal is the only corner of the East I have lived in for any time without learning a little about the people. Yet after reading Saratchandra and the Chatterjee sisters, I feel that I know as much about the Bengali as any class of Indian."

"The faithfulness of the picture is unmistakable. These Bengali satirists idealise nothing. The caste inhibition, the barter of women, the monstrous dowry system, child marriage, the living death of the young widow, are such familiar spectres on the threshold of life that few Hindus need go outside their own family for the material of tragedy. Nor for heroism. The Bengali social system is a stern school for devotion and piety. Sarat Babu pummels the idol of caste, that *diabolus ex machina* in Hindu life, which appears on the stage at every crisis to the paralysis of humane and natural impulses...."

"...Now-a-days contemporary Bengali literature is accessible in good translations, and a great deal of it is indigenous underivative stuff, and obviously genuine. Thus from being the most inscrutable of Indians, the Bengali has become the most intelligible, because he is the most articulate, and the articulate have portrayed the inarticulate. And faithfully, I think. Santa and Sita Chatterjee write with the ease and grace, and even the humour, of our own practised women writers. They may be Brahmo Samaj ladies; they are certainly social reformers; but they write of all classes with evident understanding. Propaganda is kept in its

place; they have nothing to learn in this respect from our *roman à thèse*. And they tell us what the Bengali feels and thinks, and what he suffers, and how hog-ridden he is by his traditions....."

In connection with the British educational system in India, the writer pays some left-handed compliments to the Bengalis.

"...I have joined in the derision that has been heaped upon our educational system in India, and deplored and commiserated its hybrid products, but I am now honestly persuaded that it is the best thing that could have happened to Bengal. Hardier races, I admit, have been spoiled by it. Take the young Jat from the plough and turn him to Pope's 'Rape of the Lock' or Shelley's 'Adonais,' make a comfortless harumfrohish amphibian of him. Probably an agitator; almost certainly a malcontent. Compare the clerical Sikh with the agricultural Sikh. The Sikh in the office appears witted, almost denationalised by contrast. He will probably think and talk a great deal more about his birthright as a Sikh, but it is his uninstructed brother who lives the part. The thing we have put into him is not half so wholesome as the thing we have taken out. Still, I suppose we cannot help that now. If the Sikh wishes to be babuised, babuised he will be. The loss is his and ours too. But in Bengal the case is different. We spoil nothing there. It is all nonsense to argue that a subtle, intelligent, inquiring, assimilative race like the Bengalis could have escaped Western influences. The impact of the two civilisations was bound to come, and it seems to me that the more sudden and staggering the shock, the better for the Bengali.

"After all, how much of their tradition is worth keeping? And it cannot be said that we have put nothing in its place. There must be at least a million Bengalis who know what is rotten in their social system, and who are in revolt against it; and even if they dare not to live up to their convictions—and some of them dare,—this at any rate is a start. The Bengalis have become the most literary people in the East; they are unsparing critics of their own society; and their novels, plays, and poems are read in all the bazzars and villages. We should have no more regrets for our part in this than the Calcutta Improvement Trust in driving wide avenues through the slums of the city."

Freedom or Authority in Education.

Mr. Bertrand Russell has contributed to the *Century Magazine* an important article on "Freedom and Authority in Education." He is not, of course, for absolute freedom.

Freedom, in education as in other things, must be a matter of degree. Some freedoms cannot be tolerated. I met a lady once who maintained that no child should ever be forbidden to do anything, because a child ought to develop its nature from within, "How if its nature leads it to swallow pins?" I asked; but I regret to say the answer was mere vituperation. And yet every child, left to itself, will sooner or later swallow pins, drink poison out of medicine-bottles, fall out of an upper window, or otherwise bring itself to a bad end. At a slightly later age boys, when they have

the opportunity, will go unwashed, overeat, smoke till they are sick, catch chills from sitting in wet feet, and so on, let alone the fact that they will amuse themselves by plaguing elderly gentlemen, who may not all have Elisha's powers of repartee. Therefore, one who advocates freedom in education cannot mean that children should do exactly as they please all day long. An element of discipline and authority must exist; the question is as to the amount of it, and the way in which it is to be exercised.

Education may be viewed from many points of view: that of the state, of the church, of the schoolmaster, of the parent, or even (though this is usually forgotten) of the child itself. Each of these points of view is partial, each contributes something to the ideal of education, but also contributes elements that are bad.

According to him, "the main reason for adopting universal education was the feeling that illiteracy is disgraceful." The State favoured this step because,

This institution, once firmly established, was found by the state to be capable of many uses. It makes young people more docile both for good and evil. It improves manners and diminishes crime: it facilitates common action for public ends; it makes the community more responsive to direction from a center. Without it, democracy cannot exist except as an empty form. But democracy, as conceived by politicians, is a form of *government*; that is to say, it is a method of making people do what their leaders wish under the impression that they are doing what they themselves wish. Accordingly, state education has acquired a certain bias. It teaches the young (so far as it can) to respect existing institutions, to avoid all fundamental criticism of the powers that be, and to regard foreign nations with suspicion and contempt. It increases national solidarity at the expense both of internationalism and of individual development. The damage to individual development comes through the undue stress upon authority. Collective rather than individual emotions are encouraged, and disagreement with prevailing beliefs is severely repressed. Uniformity is desired, because it is convenient to the administrator, regardless of the fact that it can be secured only by mental atrophy. So great are the resulting evils that it can be seriously questioned whether universal education has hitherto done good or harm on the balance.

He dwells in detail on the motives which govern those who want the child to be educated, and summarises his observations thus:—

Authority, if it is to govern education, must rest upon one or several of the powers we have considered, the state, the church, the schoolmaster, and the parent. We have seen that no one of them can be trusted to care for the child's welfare, since each wishes the child to minister to some end which has nothing to do with its own well-being. The state wants the child to serve for national aggrandizement and the support of the existing form of government. The church wants the child to serve for increasing the power of the priesthood. The schoolmaster regards his school as the state regards the nation, and wants the child to glorify the school. The parent wants the child to glorify the family. The child itself, as an end in itself, as

a separate human being with a claim to whatever happiness and well-being may be possible, does not come into these various external purposes except to a limited extent. Unfortunately, the child lacks the experience required for the guidance of its own life, and is therefore a prey to the sinister interests that batten on its innocence. This is what makes the difficulty of education as a political problem.

Mr. Bertrand Russell does not favour the teaching of any orthodoxy.

The habit of teaching some orthodoxy, political, religious, or moral, has all kinds of bad effects. To begin with, it excludes from the teaching profession men who combine honesty with intellectual vigor, who are just the men likely to have the best moral and mental effect upon their pupils.

I come now to the effect upon the pupils which I will take under two heads, intellectual and moral.

Intellectually, what is stimulating to a young man is a problem of obvious practical importance as to which he finds that divergent opinions are held. A young man learning economics, for example, ought to hear lectures from individualists and socialists, protectionists and free-traders, inflationists and believers in the gold standard. He ought to be encouraged to read the best books of the various schools, as recommended by those who believe in them. This would teach him to weigh arguments and evidence, to know that no opinion is certainly right, and to judge men by their quality rather than by their consonance with preconceptions. History should be taught not only from the point of view of one's own country, but also from that of foreigners. If history were taught by Frenchmen in England and Englishmen in France, there would be no disagreements between the two countries, because each would understand the other's point of view. A young man while he is at college should learn to think that all questions are open, and that an argument should be followed wherever it leads. The needs of practical life will destroy this attitude all too soon when he begins to earn his living, but until that time he should be encouraged in speculation.

Morally, also, the teaching of an orthodoxy to the young is very harmful. There is not only the fact that it compels the abler teachers to be hypocrites, and therefore to set a bad moral example. There is also, what is more important, the fact that it encourages intolerance and the bad forms of herd instinct. Edmund Gosse, in his "Father and Son," relates how, when he was a boy, his father told him he was going to marry again. The boy saw there was something his father was ashamed of, so at last he asked, in accents of horror, "Father, is she a pædo-Baptist?" And she was. Until that moment he had believed all pædo-Baptists to be wicked. So children in Catholic schools believe that Protestants are wicked, children in any school in an English-speaking country believe that atheists are wicked, children in France believe that Germans are wicked, and children in Germany believe that Frenchmen are wicked. When a school accepts as part of its task the teaching of an opinion which cannot be intellectually defended, as virtually all schools do, it is compelled to give the impression that those who hold an opposite opinion are wicked, since otherwise it cannot generate the passion required

for repelling the assaults of reason. Thus for the sake of orthodoxy the children are rendered uncharitable, intolerant, cruel, and bellicose. This is unavoidable so long as definite opinions are prescribed on politics, morals and religion.

Finally, arising out of this moral damage to the individual, there is untold damage to society. Wars and prosecutions are rife everywhere, and everywhere they are rendered possible by the teaching in the schools. Wellington used to say that the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing-fields of Eton. He might have said with more truth that the war against revolutionary France was instigated in the classrooms of Eton. In our democratic age Eton has become unimportant; now, it is the ordinary elementary and secondary school that matters. In every country, by means of flag-waving, Empire Day, Fourth of July celebrations, officers' training corps, etc., everything is done to give boys a taste for homicide, and girls a conviction that men given to homicide are the most worthy of respect. This whole system of moral degradation to which innocent boys and girls are exposed would become impossible if the authorities allowed freedom of opinion to teachers and pupils.

Regimentation is the source of the evil. Education authorities do not look on children, as religion is supposed to do, as human beings with souls to be saved. They look upon them as material for grandiose social schemes, future "hands" in factories, or "bayonets" in war or what not. No man is fit to educate unless he feels each pupil an end in himself, with his own rights and his own personality, not merely a piece in a jig-saw puzzle or a soldier in a regiment or a citizen in a state. Reverence for human personality is the beginning of wisdom in every social question, but above all in education.

Adult Education in England

Though there is very little illiteracy in England, mere literacy has not sufficed to make all the people educated. The Adult Education Movement has stepped in to achieve that object. The extent of illiteracy in India is comparable to the extent of literacy in England. Hence there is a greater need of an Adult Education Movement in India. But let us hear from the *New Republic* what has been accomplished in England.

When the social history of England during the first quarter of the present century comes to be written, one of its most important chapters will be concerned with educational reconstruction, and in that chapter a prominent place will belong to the movements devoted to adult education. In the course of the present year there have been several indications that they have reached in not maturity, at least a stage in their career from which it is possible to survey the ground which has been traveled. For one thing, the Workers Educational Association, the largest and most representative of the organizations at work in this field, has just been celebrating its twenty-first anniversary. For another, the Board of Education, which has always been both intelligent and generous in offering financial assistance, has this month considerably increased the grants which can be obtained by classes of adult students.

In the third place, there is a growing educational ferment in the labor movement, and the Trade Union Congress has recently appointed a committee to make recommendations as to the provision of increased educational opportunities for Trade Unionists. Adult education has in fact caught the public imagination. Naturally, there is still an immense field which has not been cultivated. But the idea has come to stay, and the organization needed to give it practical effect is steadily developing.

In its present form, the movement is the product of the last twenty years, and when it first started scepticism was common. The students, its pioneers were told, did not exist, and such as there were demanded popular lectures, not continuous and intensive work. To the first criticism the growth of the movement is a sufficient answer; to the second, the verdict of almost every educationalist who has been brought into personal contact with it. The Workers Educational Association, though the largest, is merely one of several bodies concerned in the work. But in the tutorial classes lasting for three years which it organizes in conjunction with the universities there are at present some 8,000 students, and in the shorter classes, lasting for one year, there are over 1,500; while if courses of lectures and study circles be included, the total number of persons who come under its influence is probably not far short of 50,000. Apart from the Workers Educational Association, there is Ruskin College, which was founded in 1899, and which does valuable work in providing education for trade unionists and cooperators who come into residence there for from one to three years. There are several more recently established colleges for adult students. There is the educational work of the Co-operative Movement, which from the very beginning has had an educational side and which has recently developed it with renewed vigor. There are the classes conducted by the Council of Labor Colleges. And there is much miscellaneous work carried on by bodies such as the Adult School Union and the Association of University Settlements.

The causes which have made all this educational activity possible cannot be reduced to any single formula. Lord Haldane spoke of the movement in his presidential address to the Adult Education Institute, as the product of a new demand for liberty and equality.

World-News About Women

The following items of news are taken from *The Woman Citizen*:—

The English election is over, and generally speaking women candidates for Parliament met defeat. Of the forty-one candidates only four won—just half the number that sat in the last Parliament. The conservatives re-elected Lady Astor, the Duchess of Atholl and Mrs. Hilton Philipson, and Labor put in a new candidate, Miss E. Wilkinson, of the East Middleborough division of London.

Five women who sat in the last House have disappeared: Margaret Bondfield, secretary to the Ministry of Labor and the first woman to occupy such a post; Susan Lawrence and Dorothy Jewson both Labor; Mrs. Wintringham and Lady Terrington both Liberal.

Out of the forty-one candidates, twenty-two ran on the Labor ticket, six on the Liberal, twelve on the Unionist, and one was independent.

Now that the women of Cochin, India, have won the vote, they are asking the government to allocate at least four of its fifteen nominated seats to women of the state. It is their belief that women representatives are necessary when laws affecting women and children are being made.

Through "La Française" we learn that for the first time a woman has been given a professor's chair in the literary college of a French University. Her name is Mlle. Villa and she is Professor of English Literature in the University of Lyons.

China also has its women's bank. From the columns of the *Vote* we learn that there is a bank completely staffed and financed by women in Shanghai.

And we hear that Peking has plans for a woman's bank, to be opened next spring. It will be known as the Peking Women's Commercial and Savings Bank. Thirty women are now training in the school of banking in Peking to fill the posts.

The Simplicity of Well-being

In *Chambers's Journal* Mr. A. W. Thomson tells the reader :—

If a couple of deep breaths twice per day, efficiently done and yet without straining to make a balloon of yourself, and in the purest air you can find, is going to oxygenate and clean out the accumulation of dirt in your lungs, it is indeed worth while. If gently done it will stimulate the tissues and blood-vessels, and bring no end of health to the lungs. The best and purest air is to be found on the house-top, so go up there if you can. You can work your way through each organ of your body in turn with some simple exercise. Certainly you can devise something to wind each of them up a bit, and help to keep them in a fair state of decent action, strength, and vitality.

You can, with a little thought, care and trouble, make of your life always and ever something a little better than it is. The greatest benefit is naturally to be had by starting your course of thoughtful care at the beginning of manhood but that is perhaps expecting too much in the way of old heads on young shoulders. It is happily never quite too late to begin. Make a little deity of yourself, an Ego, I, but don't do it without the humour of the thing. There is plenty of self in this world, and a lot of self-seeking, but there is mighty little of self-reverence. Don't do lot of things; but you need be neither a prig nor a vegetarian.

Adjust a balance between your appetite and your powers of digestion, thus adjusting the organs to their functions. Don't expect fifty horse-power from a twenty horse-power engine. You must acquire the power of extracting all the good obtainable from correct foods that suit you, and subsequently getting rid very effectually of the waste. No engine will work well and long that cannot effect easy and complete riddance of the exhaust steam. The same remarks apply to the mind. Find the pivot on which you can balance the real good you bring to it, its digestive power, and its power of discharging useless matter. One of the weaknesses of mortality is that few of us bring our minds to absorb the total good it is possible to assimilate; fewer still can get rid of the poisonous by-products and waste.

Buddhist Morality

Mr. H. A. Fussell characterises Buddhist Morality in the following way in *The Theosophic Path* :—

Buddhist morality is intensely practical, preserving, however, measure, dignity, and beauty, a union of qualities that is lacking, in large measure, in all other systems. Equally removed from laxity and morbid asceticism, it teaches "the middle way." "There are two things," says the Buddha, "to be avoided, a life of pleasure: that is low and vain; and a life of mortifications: that is useless and vain." The pessimistic note, a mark of decadence, is entirely absent. Along with genuine compassion for the sufferings of others and a surprising gentleness towards opponents, the prospect of deliverance kindles in the disciple a profound sense of joy, the typical expression of which is to be found in the oft-quoted stanzas from the *Dhammapada* :

"In perfect joy we live, without enemies in a world at enmity, healthy among the sick, unwearied among the weary. In perfect joy we live, we who have no possessions; gaiety of heart is our nourishment, as it is of the shining gods."

Europeans and Americans who have sojourned in the Orient have been struck by the benevolent disposition and 'gaiety of heart' of all classes of people among whom the lofty precepts of the Buddha have taken such deep root that the percentage of crime is astonishingly small among the Buddhist population. This is to be attributed in part to the fact that the Buddha insisted that morality, mental training, and wisdom must be pursued simultaneously. "Not to commit any sin, to do good, and to purify one's own mind, that is the teaching of the Buddhas" (*Dhammapada*, 183). To quote Mr. Anesaka again:

"Morality is an integral part of perfection; hence the epithet of the Buddha—'abounding in wisdom and goodness'... Mere knowledge or a solitary immersion in mystic contemplation, without practical moral actions, is not perfection; and in the same way morality without insight into the depth of truth is baseless."—*Buddhist Ethics and Morality*, p. 4.

"The Strongest Force in India Today"

In the concluding paragraph of the report of the interview which the editor of *The Review of Reviews* had with the Maharajah of Bikaner, occurs the following passage :—

Let me once more insist that the strongest force in India to-day is this irresistible impulse towards responsible government and full national status. No system of government, however efficient from the administrative standpoint, can be durable which does not take continuous account of it. Every act of the Government is keenly scrutinised, not only for its worth in itself, but for its bearing on this well-nigh universal ambition. The goal of Indian polity has been set forth not in words of mine, but in the deliberate words of the Cabinet sealed by Parliament and by His Majesty, the King-Emperor. We have to march steadily towards it, less rapidly, maybe, than impatient idealists may desire—there are impatient men in all communities but nonetheless surely. There are perhaps

risks in progress; there is not risk, but certain disaster in a static policy or reaction.

As is clear from the other parts of the report, the Maharajah believes in India remaining a part of the British Empire. That is his interpretation of "full national status." Ours is different.

Decrease of Lynching in America

We are glad to read in the *New Republic* that

The last few years have witnessed a sharp decline in the number of lynchings in the United States. Indeed, 1924 seems likely to prove the sanest year in lynching history. From eighty-three lynchings in 1919 we have dropped through a series of sixties to twenty-eight last year and only nine thus far in 1924. The credit for this achievement is claimed by James W. Johnson for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which he is secretary. The Association has been very active in combating lawlessness with publicity and in pressing for the passage of the Dyer anti-lynching bill which still awaits the action of the House. This is excellent work for which the country and not merely its colored citizens owe the Association a considerable debt. Still, it is doubtful if so conspicuous a change is due to any one cause. Probably the Ku Klux Klan has done as much if not more than Mr. Johnson's Association: it has made lynching unpopular. The persistence of lynching as an institution was possible only so long as it remained respectable. The Klan cheapened it, diverted the awful instrument of inter-racial terrorism to all sorts of trivial and even political ends, and so brought it into universal contempt.

The Japan-American Question

Mr. Naoshi Kato writes thus in part on the Japan-American question in the *Japan Magazine*:

In reviewing it, we cannot but recognize the fact that while the Japanese immigration question was at first economic it has gradually begun to assume the character of racial prejudice. A judgment given by the Supreme Court two years ago most frankly stated that the question was now treated as a purely racial matter. And it has at length culminated in the rejection of the Japanese immigrants because they are of an entirely strange race, quite unassimilable and without any right of naturalization. There has been no reference to any economic reason. In other words, the Anti-Japanese movement in the United States has now been transformed into a purely racial movement. Americans have been unlawful enough to treat the Japanese with racial discrimination. I think it is not my own dogmatic opinion alone that there lies the question of racial distinction at the bottom of the American-Japanese relations.

The solution of the question of racial discrimination is what the Japanese people desire to achieve. This ideal has been cultivated in our nation by

the theory of "equality" in Buddhism and was strengthened by the doctrine of "brotherhood of all races" of Christianity since the introduction of that religion into our country.

Now the conception of the equality of all human races is not a mere ideal but a reality. It goes without saying that by virtue of the propagation of education and culture all over the country and the progress of political theory the national awakening to the idea of equality of races has become more and more strongly rooted in the people's mind. All the more so, now that the other Oriental peoples have awakened to the conception of racial equality under the impetus of Japan through her national development and prosperity.

Who are the Wahhabis?

Doctor Wolfgang von Weisl gives in the *Neue Freie Presse* a brief history of the sect of the Wahhabis whose leader Sultan Ibn Saud captured Mecca some time ago. We take the following extract from the translation of his article in the *Living Age* :—

The first reliable account of this sect was brought back by the Danish explorer Niebuhr, after his journey to Arabia. In his classic work, written in 1773, he says: 'Within the past few years a new sect or a new religion has arisen in the province of El Ared which may in the course of time produce great changes in the religion and religious practices hitherto accepted by the Arabs. The founder of this new sect was called Abdu'l-Wahhab.' Niebuhr's forecast proved to be a true one. The sect soon became a mighty influence throughout the Arabian world, and beyond it as far as India, Java, and the Sahara. The Senussi are remotely associated with the teachings of Mohammed Ibn'Abdu'l-Wahhab.

This new doctrine is only a reaffirmation of the old teaching of the unity and omnipotence of Allah, stripped of the mysticism and refinements added by Persian and Greek philosophers. The Islam of the Caliphate, the Islam of the dervishes, with their saint and tomb worship, the Islam of Turkey's half-occidental culture, were rejected and anathematized. The old, wild, vigorous faith of the desert, which will have naught of mysticism, naught of intercessors between man and God, reasserted itself. The Wahhabis carried their regenerated faith at the point of the sword to the lands of their neighbours, as Mohammed, the Prophet of Allah, had done in his day; and as their ancestors followed the Prophet, so do now the tribes of Arabia follow the flag of the restorer of his faith, the flag of the Wahhabis.

Niebuhr erred in a single detail. Abdu'l-Wahhab was not the founder of a new religion; he was only its apostle. His doctrine was centuries old; he but repeated the preaching of the reformer, Ibn Taimiyya, who, in the eighth century after Mohammed, started a great campaign of protest against the corruption of the pure faith and against the worship of saints and holy places. Ibn Taimiyya was imprisoned, for the whole ecclesiastical organization of Mohammed, which lived by exploiting the holy places, was against him. His teaching was suppressed, until it was revived five hundred years later by Abdu'l-Wahhab.

The new reformer presented himself as a second prophet. Allah alone is worthy of worship. Mohammed, Jesus, Moses, Abraham—they were mere men who at times erred. To pray to them is to blaspheme God; to worship their sepulchres is to worship idols. Wine, tobacco—whatever deceives and intoxicates the senses, and leads men astray from the knowledge of God—are forbidden. Vice must be extirpated; its servants and its instruments must be destroyed. This explains the hostility of the Wahhabis to cities, especially to Mekka, which is 'a den of all vices.'

U'l-Wahhab, driven from his tribe on account of his doctrine, found refuge with Mohammed Ibn Saud, Sheik of Dara-iyya, an ancestor of the present ruling Sultan of Nedjed. Ibn Saud, and after him most of the other sheiks of Nedjed, espoused the purified faith. Other Mohammedans call the time before Mohammed the age of ignorance. The Wahhabis call the time before Abdu'l-Wahhab the age of ignorance. He inaugurated a new era—not only a religious, but also a political era.

South America

The November number of *The World Tomorrow* is a Latin America or South America number. The first article, on "Our Neighbors to the South," tells the reader, in part:—

South of this country there is a geographical expression called "Latin America." Within its bounds lie twenty republics. Their area combined is nearly three times that of the United States, and more than twice the size of Europe. Into Brazil alone our land could be put entire, and still leave room enough for a commonwealth as big as Texas.

When these nations started on their career of independence a century and more ago, they may have had twenty million inhabitants, about double the population of the United States at the time. Today they have upwards of eighty million. Most of their people are "real Americans," their original ancestors were born in the New World and not in Europe. They happen to be called "Indians," because Columbus mistook those forefathers for a folk living in southern Asia. Blended with Europeans, and in certain regions with Africans, the bulk of the population is composed of a mixture of races.

Though they differ among themselves in many matters, there are things upon which these Latin American republics and people are agreed. Regardless of the dimensions of their respective states, whether great or small, they believe themselves to be free and independent sovereign nations. In that capacity they have been recognized by the nations of the world at large. They consider themselves, accordingly, placed on a footing of equality in rank, dignity and privilege with other states. This entitles them to the immunity from interference by outsiders which such a status requires.

If these are rights that the Latin American republics possess by virtue of their official international standing, logically they ought to be allowed to work out their own destinies as they may see fit, and better than some European countries have done. Any limitation imposed upon them in the exercise of their rights would wound and possibly

destroy their consciousness of nationhood. Hence in case their behavior at any time were not in square with the rules of conduct laid down by international understanding and practice, the sole remedy in abstract justice applicable to them would be to subject them to an economic and political boycott until they had mended their ways.

Women or Pseudo-Men?

In a syndicated article Mr. H. G. Wells declares that women want to become pseudo-men. The drift of his article may be understood from the following extracts:—

As the life of man becomes more civilized and mental, his need for an adequate helpmeet increases. He can no longer get along with a woman bought or captured and set to her special business in the harem. But while his need for a free and willing helpmeet increases and his demands upon her expand, we find no corresponding disposition in able women to co-operate with men.

They seem to want to drop their sex and set up as imitations of the successful male types. They become a new sex of little aggressive pseudo-men. They want to wear the wig of the judge and carry the mace in just the same spirit that make the dressmaker adapt soldier's uniform and turn the djibba of a dervish into a coquettish garment. They want to substitute great women for great men in our histories and turn out Buddha and Mahome and Christ in favour of feminine equivalents.

They will presently want a lady God in a world in which the male will be a fading memory. . . .

To discuss the possible treaty that may at last end this instinctive breach between the sexes would take far beyond the limitations set to newspaper articles, Mr. Wells concludes.

A French Rival to Luther Burbank

We read in *Current Opinion*:—

Luther Burbank has a rival in Professor Lucien Daniel, of the University of Rennes, France, who has performed grafting operations on cabbages, lettuce, beans, potatoes and various flowers with such results that new species have been created, the life of plants prolonged and the perfume of flowers intensified. One of his first operations, recorded in *Science Service*, was to graft the black Belgian bean on a large white Soissons bean, obtaining seeds of an entirely new variety of bean which has remained fixed. He took a bitter variety of cabbage unfit for food, but which resists frost and grafted on it a variety having a good flavor, but being sensitive to cold. The seeds of the hybrid yielded a new variety that is said to taste good and to resist cold. Further:

"Some of his most sensational grafts were made on the family Solanaceae to which belong such useful plants as potatoes, tomatoes, tobacco and egg-plant. Sections of egg-plant have been grafted on tomato vines, the first grafts producing the regular ovoid egg-plant fruit and later on the same branch yielding other fruit resembling tomatoes. Finally a true hybrid, round in shape, was obtained.

"Professor Daniel has also grafted tomato branches

and belladonna on potato vines, and potato stems on egg plants and tomato vines. Potatoes, of course, are simply swollen stems or tubers which develop underground. He was curious as to what would happen when he grafted a potato stem on another plant. Would tubers continue to be produced? Yes, they were, but not underground. Large beautiful tubers hung from the branches like fruit. These aerial tubers when planted yielded a new kind of underground potatoes which were more resistant and developed more quickly than those of which they were the offspring."

A still more fantastic discovery was the finding, among these second-generation hybrids, of three plants which bore both aerial and subterranean tubers at the same time. These tubers being harvested and planted yielded a stable new variety rather late in developing, but delicious in flavor, extra large in size and very hardy.

The World's Most Insured Man

The same periodical says :

Rodman Wanamaker, the New York merchant, is the most insured man in the world, and yet he does not think himself insured enough. He is paying premiums on policies totaling \$6,000,000, and has agents scouring the world for firms which will add to this sum. Specialists having declared that the theoretical limit of insurance on any one man is \$7,200,000, Wanamaker is out to reach this limit.

According to Herbert Adams Gibbons in the *Eastern Underwriter*, Mr. Wanamaker has been more heavily insured than anyone else in the World for twenty-five years. He was the first man ever to apply for a million dollar policy, and it is especially noteworthy that in his case he pays personally all his premiums. In many instances prominent business men are insured by their corporations for the protection of the corporations ; but not in his case.

Some have seen in Mr. Wanamaker's desire to increase his policies indefinitely a kind of mania, but according to Dr. Gibbons he regards insurance as a sound and scientific investment. He holds that there is no better way of assuring to his estate liquid cash when needed, in sufficient amounts for taxes and other expenses, without the sacrifice of other invested assets. He is now sixty-one years old, but physicians find him in such excellent health as to be a good insurance risk.

which we have blackened ourselves in many ways. I mean that subtler touch of personalities, the dominating arrogance of the Anglo-Saxon upon the apparent passivity of the Oriental. How is it working out, and what have we to fear for the Chinese ?

Well, many things, superficially. I think first of this freedom of the sexes which is sweeping over us. It is an intoxicating thing to young men unaccustomed to even casual contacts with art-while shy and modest maidens to find themselves in the co-educational colleges which are springing up in the large centres in China. Girls are bobbing their hair and with their shorn locks are discarding the old downcast eyelids and ready blushes. I saw to-day a brilliant young woman, married by her parents against her will, who calmly wrote to her husband saying she no longer desired him. With which informal divorce she is going her way and making a remarkable record for herself in college. Of course the conservative folk are holding up their hands in righteous horror and we hear a great deal of the sanctity of the home to be preserved at all costs. 'What if there never was any sanctity ?' said the young woman grimly. 'Some one has to be the vanguard of the courageous young against old and criminal social usages.' I daresay she is right. Anyway, right or wrong, I place my vote of confidence in the young of any race and age. Their frank eyes are apt to see more freshly and clearly than our old ones, cautious and befogged with years.

Intoxicating, yes. So intoxicating that some of them are being swept off their feet into the mire beside the road. That is inevitable. The weak heads will have unsteady feet. But the strong ones will march on to force a better order. I believe, so that in the end, even the weak will be stronger. To be sure, they do strange things, these boys and girls.

'Where is Miss Wang ?', I asked my class yesterday, missing her keen young face.

'Oh, her fiancé is here, and she went to see him.'

'What ?' I cried aghast, 'Why, no western girl would do that. She should wait for him to come to her.'

'When he has come so far already ? Are not men and women equal ?'—was the simple answer. Old half-forgotten precepts of my young days rose to my lips, but on second thought I let them die. Who am I to superimpose my ideas of a mediaeval western chivalry upon these clear-headed young things ? Let them work out their own salvation freely.

"What the West Has Really Done to China"

Pearl S. Buck asks in an article in the *International Review of Missions* what the West has really done to China. Part of her answer, along with other questions, will be found in the extract given below.

Has the invasion of a foreign civilization a menace in it for this ancient and honourable race ? Is there danger of denationalizing them with the dazzle of our brilliant, effervescent life ? I do not think of the commercial pacts and treaties by

"Like a Red Rag to a Bull"

The following note is taken from *Psyche* :—

Proverbs, tags, and saws which have long been accepted by the layman are constantly being discovered or rehabilitated by the expert, and in Psychology this has been particularly the case. It would be interesting to collect examples and at the same time to compile a list of those exploded. A few months ago the successful mixture of oil and water was achieved, we understand, by an ingenious machine, but the latest casualty is the result of a psychological constataion and is due to

Professor G. M. Stratton. "Like a red rag to a bull" should, it is now claimed, mean "treated with indifference." The Professor endeavoured to interest various bulls, and a variety of cattle, tame and wild, in the colour problem. While bright and moving objects attracted a certain amount of attention among the beasts, Red, as red, failed to arouse their ire or to produce a rush. Moreover, 66 California cattlemen were searchingly interrogated on the subject, and their replies confirmed this negative conclusion. On the other hand, the smell of blood does, in their opinion, create "excitement," or at least curiosity and distrust; which need surprise nobody. What the historian may now profitably attempt is to discover the origins of the "red rag" legend, if legend it be. In general, too, the range of colour-vision in animals is still an almost untouched field.

Materialism

Mr. Bertrand Russell discusses, in the same quarterly, materialism as a theory of the world. Says he:

Materialism as a theory of the nature of the world has had a curious history. Arising almost at the beginning of Greek philosophy, it has persisted down to our own time, in spite of the fact that very few eminent philosophers have advocated it. It has been associated with many scientific advances, and has seemed, in certain epochs, almost synonymous with a scientific outlook. Accusations of materialism have always been brought by the orthodox against their opponents, with the result that the less discriminating opponents have adopted materialism because they believed it to be an essential part of their opposition. At the present moment, the official creed of one of the largest States in the world is materialism, although hardly any one in the learned world explicitly adheres to this theory. A system of thought which has such persistent vitality must be worth studying, in spite of the professional contempt which is poured on it by most professors of metaphysics.

His conclusion is:

That as a practical maxim of scientific method, materialism may be accepted if it means that the goal of every science is to be merged in physics. But it must be added that physics itself is not materialistic in the old sense, since it no longer assumes matter as permanent substance. And it must also be remembered that there is no good reason to suppose materialism metaphysically true: it is a point of view which has hitherto proved useful in research, and is likely to continue useful wherever new scientific laws are being discovered, but which may well not cover the whole field, and cannot be regarded as definitely true without a wholly unwarranted dogmatism.

Karma and Transmigration

In the same quarterly, Professor A. K. Sharma gives an interpretation of transmigration distinguishing it from the doctrine of Karma in the following way:

The doctrine of transmigration has been gener-

ally mixed up, and confused, with another interesting doctrine, that of *Karma*. The latter is ethical in character; it is based on a theory of value; it involves questions of merit and demerit, of reward and punishment; it is, above all, an attempt to express the way in which divine justice is immanent in human deeds; it is, in short, a philosophical formulation of what St. Paul meant when he said, "as you sow, so you shall reap." The former, on the other hand, is the statement of a natural law. That the soul has the tendency to pass through certain experiences, under certain circumstances, is as much a law of nature, as that a body continues to move in a straight line, unless interfered with by some other body. The two doctrines are distinctive, and belief in one does not necessarily involve belief in the other. As a matter of fact, there are people who believe in *Karma* alone; there are others who believe in transmigration alone; there are others, again, who believe in both; and there are still others who believe in neither. The followers of Buddhism, and to some extent, of Christianity, believe in *Karma*, while not believing in transmigration. Yet confusion is possible, and even likely. Both the doctrines have a common factor, viz., action, as one of their foundational elements; it is, therefore, natural for an unthinking mind to consider that there is, somehow, an intimate connection between the two. When, further, it is discovered that the doctrine of transmigration is probably the psychological basis of the doctrine of *Karma*, and, conversely, that the latter is the application of the former in the sphere of moral life, the confusion becomes more natural.

Airplanes for Afghanistan

The transfrontier "semi-independent" Pathan tribes manage somehow to procure the latest improved rifles and fight with them. They have, however, been at a disadvantage when bombed by the British from airplanes overhead. And now their kinsfolk the really independent people of Afghanistan have been also getting a supply of airplanes. Will the Pathans now be between the devil and the deep sea, or will they be able to procure airplanes in the same way as they procure rifles? We were led to this train of thought by the following piece of news in the *Living Age*:-

Last September a party of Soviet aviators flew from Tashkent to Kabul in two days, for the purpose of delivering a consignment of airplanes to the Afghan Government. During this flight the planes crossed a part of the Hindu Kush range, which attains a maximum altitude of nearly twenty thousand feet. Naturally there was no safe landing-place in this rugged, remote, and sparsely populated country in case a machine was forced down. The trip was made successfully via a pass through the mountains some twelve thousand feet high, and the planes and their supplies were duly delivered at the Afghan capital. *Pravda*, commenting on this feat, observes: "The transalpine flights over which the foreign press make such ado are child's play compared with this."

A Defence of the Labour Premier's Russian Treaty

The Outlook contained the following defence of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's treaty with Bolshevik Russia in a recent issue:—

It is said that by making a treaty with the Bolsheviks the Prime Minister has betrayed an inclination towards Bolshevism. Lord Curzon made peace with the Turks; is he thereby convicted of hankering after a harem? It is said that the guaranteed loan is a peace of folly. Yet it is admitted, on the one hand, that the resources of Russia are infinite, and on the other, that they cannot be turned to account except by means of a loan. It is also admitted that Russia, like Austria before her, cannot take the first step towards consolidation without the aid of some external guaranty. But we are urged to wait until some other Government is set up in Russia. That means that we must definitely turn our back on Russia in her need, for a Government which has overcome half a dozen rebellions and has survived the shock of Lenin's death must be regarded as firmly in power. Finally, it is objected that the Bolsheviks offer no proper security. On the contrary, they have definitely admitted the principle of debt-repayment, and are ready to accept conditions as to the expenditure of the proposed loan. In fact, alike on political and on financial grounds the case for the treaty is thoroughly sound.

The Fight against Opium

The following petition, for presentation to the opium conference at Geneva, was extensively signed in India and elsewhere:—

The undersigned, viewing in the growing addiction to narcotic drugs a deadly menace to individuals and to nations, an insidious, rapidly spreading poisoning of the human race, which can be overcome only by cooperation among all nations, respectfully petition the International Opium Conference assembling in November, 1924, to adopt measures adequate for *total extirpation of the plants from which they originate*, except as found necessary for medicine and science in the judgment of the best medical opinion of the world.

With reference to it, *The Nation* (New York) writes:—

We reproduce below a single page of the great petition which will be presented to the opium conference at Geneva this month. This page includes the names of several of India's most noted leaders, among them Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, R. Chatterjee, editor of the *Modern Review* of Calcutta, and K. T. Paul, President of the All-India Christian Council. The signature of C. F. Andrews, writer and friend of India, whose opinions of Gandhi are printed elsewhere in this issue of *The Nation*, appears below that of Gandhi. The Anti-Narcotic Society and the American representatives at the Geneva conference will fight for the abolition of narcotic drugs except in a limited amount for strictly medical use.

Unity of Chicago also prints an article

entitled Opium and the League of Nations from the pen of Mr. John Haynes Holmes in which the same petition, with some of the signatures, is quoted. Mr. Holmes adds:—

The names attached to this petition as thus received from India have great significance. Gandhi and Tagore are known to all the world. Mr. Chatterjee is the Editor of the *Modern Review* (Calcutta), Mr. Paul the President of the All-India Christian Council, Mr. Andrews the saintly Englishman, trusted and loved through all India, the others are men of importance and influence in the Eastern world. Together their names constitute a leadership in the question of opium reform of enormous moment.

The attitude of these men is of course the attitude of India herself. All responsible men in that country, backed unanimously by informed and unprejudiced public opinion, demand the complete suppression of the opium menace. They are agreed that the only effective way in which this can be done is to secure an international compact binding all nations without reservation to restrict the production of opium and other habit-forming drugs to medicinal and scientific purposes exclusively. They look to the League of Nations as the body which can accomplish international action to this great and beneficent end.

Opposed to this attitude is that of England, or rather of the British Government in India. The established policy is to allow the people to continue opium-eating, and thus not disturb the huge revenue acquired from this practice. Nay, the Government actually encourages the miserable business by advancing money without interest to Indian farmers who cultivate the poppy, and thus supply the traffic. In different provinces of India, the authorities allow individuals to keep in their possession 300 to 500 grams of opium apiece. These can be freely purchased at opium stalls licensed by the Government, which number about 7,000 in India to-day. According to Sherwood Eddy, the poor Indian women working in Bombay mills give opium regularly to their children when they go to factories and mills to work. This is only one little instance of the drugging of an entire nation. And of course what begins here does not end until it reaches the horizon of the world. All countries share in greater or less degree the misery and enslavement of this great people of the East.

India, fortunately, is awake, and is now calling to other nations, particularly America, to help her. The All-India National Congress, the supreme political organization of the Indians, adopted the following resolution at its recent meeting at Ahmedabad:

"In the opinion of the All-India Congress Committee, the opium policy of the Government of India is altogether contrary to the moral welfare of the people of India and other countries. The Congress Committee is further of the opinion that the people of India would welcome the total abolition of opium traffic for purposes of revenue and is also of the opinion that the production of opium is out of all proportion to the medical requirements of India."

Now comes the remarkable petition quoted above. It should be answered by Americans with one voice and one heart. The cause is hers, as well as India's, and, greater still, the cause of all humanity. Says

Mr. Taraknath Das, a distinguished Indian resident in the United States:

"The opium monopoly of the British Indian Government is the major factor in drugging the world. The people of India, devoid of the power of controlling the finance and government of the country have no authority to stop this monstrous crime against humanity and civilization, although they are most anxious to do so. It is the British Indian Government and the British Parliament which can stop the present opium policy of Great Britain. India appeals through America to all nations and particularly to the British people to stamp out the curse of opium from the world."

India has reason to be grateful to Dr. and Mrs. Taraknath Das for keeping the opium and other questions before the American public.

Refuges for Non-Smokers

Special rooms, compartments or regions where one may smoke must now be replaced by refuges where one must not smoke, suggests Dr. John H. Kellogg, editor of *Good Health* (Battle Creek, Michigan). Smoking is now the rule, and the inhalation of smoke from the surrounding atmosphere is compulsory if refuges are not provided. He writes:

"A hundred years ago smokers were still so much in the minority, and smoking was so little popular, that smoking upon the streets was not allowed in Boston. Violators of the law were arrested. Even smoking on the Boston Common was not allowed, except on the top of a certain mound southwest of the music field, a place known as 'Smokers' Circle.' The Smokers' Circle was still maintained as late as the middle of the last century, but now

the situation is reversed. Smoking has become so nearly universal among men, the few non-smokers are practically ignored and their rights are trampled upon. Even in our institutions of learning, where students should be trained in correct bodily habits as well as in sound mental and moral habits, smoking has become a veritable institution, and is so strongly entrenched that college authorities have, for the most part, abandoned all attempt at control. One college president has recently published an appealing little tract entitled, 'Why I am Opposed to Compulsory Smoking.'

"It seems to be high time that educators, especially the ruling authorities of colleges and universities, should take a stand against a practise which in recent years has come to be a menace physically, mentally and morally, to American manhood, and is even threatening an attack upon American womanhood. We are glad to note that a few colleges still maintain a defensive attitude against tobacco. We find in the Bulletin of Taylor University the following paragraph with reference to the use of tobacco:

"The tobacco habit being such an ubiquitous vice, condoned in so many schools, Taylor has been forced to fence against it with an inflexible rule. No exceptions are made. Students who claim the privilege to attend Taylor and use tobacco or cigarets during vacation or holidays are not desired. Our custom is retirement on first violation of this rule. Dismissal for the use of tobacco is not expulsion, since the average school admits tobacco-users. They are simply permitted to withdraw. Young people who have formed this habit should quit and try themselves out a few months before coming to Taylor and thus avoid falling under a temptation which would hurt them and embarrass us."—*The Literary Digest*.

ANATOLE FRANCE

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE*

THE history of human civilisation is the history of reason, knowledge and consistency struggling against man's instincts, emotions and sentiments. Man's reflective power has always stood in the way of his blind attachment to social training, faith, preferences and superstitions. Reason has slowly come to the front during a period stretching from the dawn of civilisation to this day.

* This paper was read before the Anatole France memorial meeting held at the Calcutta University Institute on the 19th of December 1924 in which the Consul General of France presided and many admirers of the great master spoke on his life and works.

The army of Reason which has fought against the hordes of blind belief has had many an outstanding general and we have assembled here to-night to honour the memory of one who, perhaps, was the greatest upholder of Reason of his time.

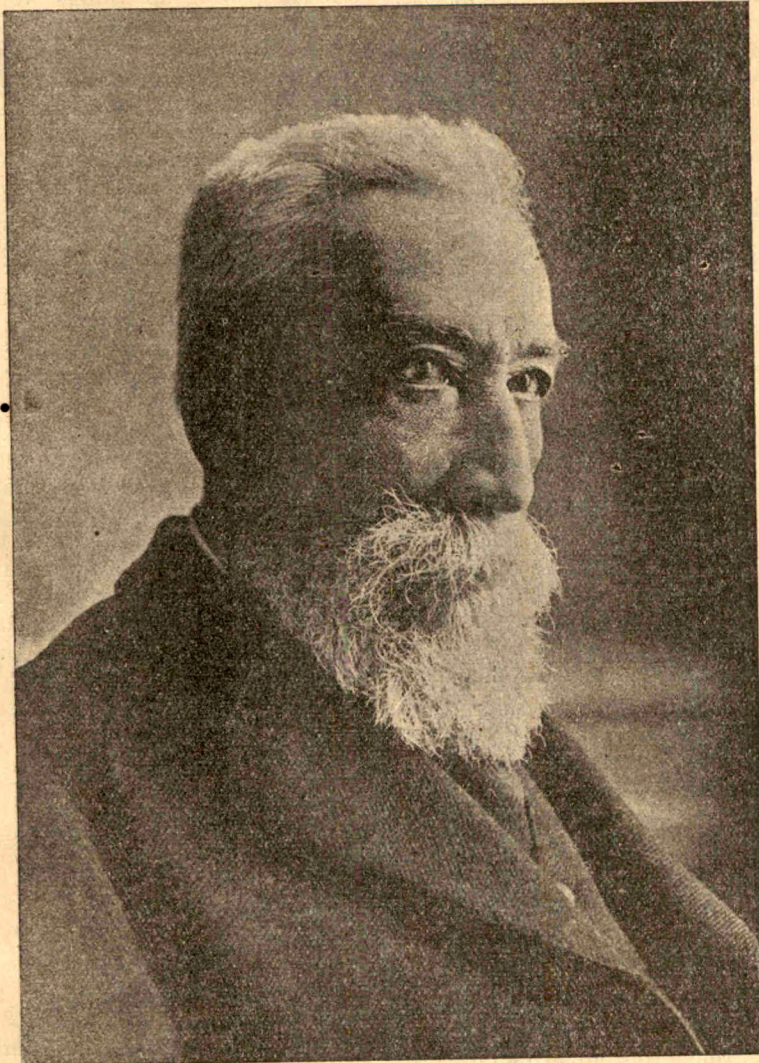
It was in France, that *La Raison* was raised to the dignity of a goddess and it was also in France that Anatole the greatest Logician of Life was destined to be born.

Anatole France lived during a period in which knowledge and reason gained unusual prominence in the life of man. Never before had there been on earth so many learned and rational men in such close touch with one

nother. I am referring to the universal spread of learning and the daring rationalism of critics in every field of thought and conduct who subjected all that had ever been sacred to mankind to a merciless dissection and laid bare for inspection things which had always been a sacrilege even to touch. It was the age in which stories of the most

fied as "useless", "for the benefit of vested interests," "illogical" "relics of the dead past" and so on.

So far as the theoretical development of knowledge and reason went these days could hardly desire any improvement. But when we turn to the application of knowledge and reason to life and conduct



Anatole France

convincing manifestations of divine agency were branded as the product of hallucination or concoction and in which divinity was driven into acknowledging defeat to its own laws and habits and had to relinquish for ever its right to be capricious. Moral Codes were reclassi-

we find a state of affairs organised along lines and based upon ideas traceable far back into the middle ages. In the days when people had faith to fall back upon and moral principles to live up to, they lived a more consistent life and were more true to their

selves than the theoretical rationalists of the days in which Anatole France lived. The people of former times were often checked in their evil thoughts or sinful deeds by an extremely wholesome emotion, known everywhere as the Fear of God. This fear of God though backed by nothing so solidly intellectual as the reflective procedure in modern brains, served, nevertheless its social purpose. In modern times, we have acquired some knowledge and got rid of much of our fear of God. But our knowledge and reason have not become perfect, nor have we developed a *Fear of Reason* to substitute our lost fear of God. As a result, modern life is fairly choked up with unreason, inconsistency and insincerity. We find people doing things *because they are done*, we find people advocating causes which they know are evil, we find people preaching democracy, civilisation and liberty while all that they are seriously attached to may be summed up in the one word Pragmatism in its worst sense. If the gods were ever made slaves of men, it was in the days when Reason and Learning were deified in order to overthrow established morality and religion and to be used as instruments of the grossest anti-social crimes and inhumanities. In the days of faith and religion men suffered and often gave all for what they cherished; but now-a-days we do not find that deep attachment and loyalty in people who profess Rationalism. They sacrifice reason whenever it involves some petty

gain. This has caused much of the degeneration we find everywhere to-day.

Anatole France was one of those few who professed reason and stood by it. He always knew what he was aiming at and with the help of his vast scholarship and that splendid logical machine, his intellect, he never swerved from his path. Thus we find him subjecting all things to a keen analysis and separating reason from folly everywhere. Let me illustrate my words: You want to paint the picture of Saint Catharine. Then why waste your energies and talent in giving prominence to the Physical charms of your Saint. It is the *saintliness* that you want to get at, so don't be a fool and end up by creating a study in *womanly perfection*. Such is Anatole's advice to artists who go in for painting *ideas* and cannot give up their obsession for *form*.

His cutting sarcasm and terrible expressiveness has often made me think that the day is not far off when Reason would put on the clothes of an avenging angel and people would start trembling with the *Fear of Reason* in their heart. Anatole France has done much to restore to Reason and Learning the respect which man had denied them. We look forward to the day when they shall completely get back their own, for the spirit of Anatole is not dead. It is slowly developing into a force which will in the near future dominate the heart of mankind and guide human endeavour to attain the Truth.

NOTES

Military Training for Students

The Universities in India which have been established by the Government or have received charters from the government are going in for compulsory military training for their students. As we write, one University has already adopted a resolution in favour of such training, and others are likely to follow the same course.

We do not know in what sense those who are for military training, want it. The ultimate object of military training is to kill or disable the largest number of one's

opponents in the shortest possible space of time. Is it the object of those who want such training for our students to make them experts in the science and art of manslaughter?

War is a relic of barbarism and is the epitome of all crimes. Disguise it as we may in the habiliments of heroism and glory, war is hell.

A cry has been raised in many countries demanding the outlawry of war. The nations are also discussing proposals for disarmament and the settlement of international disputes by arbitration. It may be

that there is some hypocrisy underlying these discussions—that some people want to remain armed to the teeth, whilst others are expected to reduce their armies, navies and air-fleets. But on the whole, it cannot be denied that those who form the vanguard of human progress are satisfied that war is a criminal, immoral, unspiritual and barbarous method. They are also satisfied that it is possible to have a better method, one which does not clash with our ideas of humanity, morality and spirituality, for the settlement of disagreements and disputes between country and country and people and people.

When such is the case, are those among us, who are interested in the proper education of youth, in favour of the adoption of inhuman, barbarous and immoral methods?

If good health, physical fitness and sense of discipline are all that are sought to be had for our young men, we do not object; on the contrary, we are entirely for such arrangements as would ensure these blessings. But we are not for compulsorily teaching anybody the science and art of killing men. It is no part of a liberal education. If any one wants to have such education and training, let him join the army.

We know we shall be called cowards and "vegetarian" patriots, and that by even some of those who are or profess to be followers and adherents of Mahatma Gandhi. We shall be told that we stand in the way of India's obtaining Swaraj;—for do not Englishmen twit us with a desire for being masters of the country whilst it is to be defended by them?

Well, our conviction is that it is Englishmen themselves who have deprived India of the power of self-defence and it is they who stand in the way of her acquiring that power. That we cannot defend ourselves is only a hypocritical excuse on their part to justify their withholding political power from us.

We do not mind being called cowards; but we will wait to see whether the mere passing of resolutions by the Universities will lead to arrangements being made for the training of our young men, irrespective of their race, caste or province of birth, in the science and art of war on land, on the ocean, and in the sky. Will our boys have artillery practice? Will they have any training in naval warfare? Will there be airplanes for teaching them aviation and how to fight in the sky? Mere military drill and

the handling of rifles do not mean much of military training in these days.

But supposing our young men had a complete training in killing men quickly and became soldiers of some sort, under whose orders would they kill? And whom would they kill? It should be borne in mind that the soldiers who were obliged to carry out General Dyer's order to massacre the crowd at Jallianwala Bagh were Indians.

Assuming that no questions of humanity, morality and spirituality were involved in soldiering, it would still be a question whether our young men should go in for military training before or after winning Swaraj.

Compulsory military training for young men is advocated, because it would enable them to repel *possible future* invasion. Those who object to compulsory military training are called faddists, idealists, dreamers, etc., and those who are for it have a good opinion of themselves as practical men.

Now in all matters practical men pay at least as much attention to the actual problem that faces them as to future problems.

The British occupation of India is a standing, actual, present invasion. Practical men will, we hope, admit that it would not be possible to repel this standing invasion by means of a body of militarily trained College students. For we are all non-violent in practice and thought and intention, you know. Moreover Englishmen are not such fools that they would allow a sufficiently large number of politically-minded young Indians to receive such effective military training as to enable them to *exert pressure* (of course, in a non-violent way!) for disposing of the standing British invasion of India.

If the present standing British invasion of India can be effectively disposed of in a non-violent way, without the help of our anarchists (whose existence in menacing numbers is guaranteed by Lords Reading and Lytton) and our would-be militarily trained youngmen, is it not just possible that some similar non-violent means may be found to dispose of *future possible* invasions?

In any case, we are against war; and we are faddists, idealists, dreamers and vegetarian cowards. "We" here means only the editor of this **Review**;—for we have no right to brand any other Indian with any kind of infamy.—We do not want anybody

to be unlicensed or licensed murderers or super-murderers.

As for the defence of our country, we have no plans ready. We have no right to say that just as in the past India has been victimised and martyred by foreign invaders, so in the future it would be better for her to undergo voluntary martyrdom than even in self-defence to go in for all the crimes and barbarities which constitute war, though we think that as such martyrdom would help in the ultimate outlawry and abolition of war, it would not be in vain but would be worth undergoing for the salvation of humanity. But so far as we individually are concerned, we would prefer the pusillanimous course of being killed to the heroic one of killing.

We do not want to discuss here the question of conscription in times of emergency, though ever in such times conscientious objectors have preferred imprisonment to enlistment. Nor do we want to discuss here the broad question of freedom in education in all its aspects. But we do say, that in times of peace in its ordinary sense and when there is a question of humanity and morality involved, young men ought to have the right to decide for themselves whether they would learn to kill, and if so, under whose orders they would want to kill and whom they would not want to kill.

"Baboo English" and Japanese English.

We are all familiar with specimens of "Baboo English", for the most part invented by Anglo-Indians. These gentry do not seem to be aware of the atrociousness of Anglo-Indian Urdu. However, as we are not an independent and politically important people, Anglo-Indians have been free to poke fun at us. But in presenting some specimens of Japanese English to its readers, *The Living Age*, while saying that "Japanese English has a quaint and curious quality entirely its own", admits that "it is probably not half so quaint nor half so curious as English Japanese must sound." The American paper then proceeds to describe the experiences of one Mr. E. V. Gatenby, an Englishman who teaches English in Japan, as recounted in *T. P.'s Weekly*.

On one occasion he asked for a prose paraphrase of Tennyson's 'Break, break, break.' From the replies that came in he has pieced together this version which, it is only fair to say, is a combination of mistakes of various pupils:—

"Rupture, rupture, rupture, on your stones of

low temperature, colored like ashes, I say, sea! I wish to vomit out all thoughts which come up me. How happy it is for the boy supported by the man who lives by fishing—the piscatory child shrieking with his sister at play! Ah well, the navigator's youth sings in his boat on the inlet. The dignified vessels advance to their paradisiacal destination beneath the eminence less than a mountain! How I long for the touch of a dead man's hand—the hand that vanished when I touched it—and the narrow passage of water of a voice that is quiet. Spray, spray, become discontinuous at the lowest point of your cliffs, O Ocean! But the tender grass which grows at the sea-shore is withered, so the grass never grows at the seashore."

Here are the replies in English of various pupils to questions asked in English:

Q. What do you light a cigarette with?

A. (1) Yes, I like it very much. (2) With hand.

Q. What is the last letter of the English alphabet?

A. (1) Yours truly. (2) Yours faithfully. (3) Zoological Gardens.

Q. Why do we use mosquito nets?

A. (1) To catch a bird. (2) It is used to protect the mosquito.

Q. What is an alarm-clock?

A. (1) Arm clock is tied by the arm. (2) If you put it at 6.20 to burst, it will be burst.

Q. Is lead very hard, or is it comparatively soft?

A. The legs are comparatively soft.

Q. What metre is Tennyson's 'Ulysses' written in?

A. (1) In diameter. (2) Thermometer. (3) It is written in meterphor."

The Cry for More Universities.

There is a cry in various parts of the country for more universities. The multiplication of Universities can be justified on one or both of two grounds: (1) that by such multiplication more students than now would receive higher education; (2) that by such multiplication the quality of education would improve and there would be more additions to human knowledge. We wish to say a few words on the second ground.

For the improvement of the quality of education and for making additions to human Knowledge, the professors would require to be men adequately equipped for such work. If such men there be already in the country and if they are already engaged in educational work in some colleges or other, would their efficiency as teachers increase by calling them university professors instead of college professors? If as college professors they cannot add to the sum of human knowledge, would they be able to do so if they were called university professors and got more leisure and higher salaries? When the present

writer was a student, and again, when he was a professor, college professors had less leisure than now. They have more leisure now. But the mere fact of having more leisure has not made any college professor a researcher who would not have been one without it. On the other hand, Sir P. C. Ray, for example, did most of his research work when he had to do much teaching work also as a college professor. It would be invidious to name persons (though we are in a position to do so) who did more research work as college professors when enjoying less leisure and pay than now when they enjoy more leisure and higher salary.

It seems to us that the quality of education cannot improve by merely renaming colleges as universities and giving the college professors the name of university professors, with a higher salary and plenty of leisure. We want high-grade men. If our present college professors are such men, they ought to be able to give good education, although not called university professors.

But supposing we have not got in India men sufficiently qualified to give real university education and have to import them, it is necessary to see whether we can pay for such men from abroad. It is wellknown that foreign professors whose intellectual equipment is not greater than that of many Indian professors, have to be paid much higher salaries than the latter. So, if we want foreign professors of higher qualifications, we must be prepared to pay salaries higher still. Are we in a position to do so? It is admitted that Calcutta University has done more teaching work than any other Indian university has yet done. But Calcutta has been in financial straits for years. Are the proposed new universities likely to have more money?

Every new university means some new buildings for a senate house, a convocation hall, offices, etc. It also means much recurring expenditure in the shape of salaries for a paid vice-chancellor, a registrar, office staff, etc. If in the case of any new proposed university, only an old college or colleges are to be called a university and the present College professors are to be called university professors and paid higher salaries, is there any or much justification for incurring the capital expenditure and the additional recurring expenses?

Something no doubt has to be said for better methods of teaching, etc. But if the same men are to work a university as

are now working the colleges, is there any insuperable difficulty in the way of these men doing their work according to the improved methods in question?

We must not be taken to be hostile to the establishment of new universities, or to the conversion of any old style Indian university into a teaching one. What we want is that poverty-stricken India should not be made to incur additional expenditure merely for the sake of some high-sounding names. We want the thing, not the mere name. If we can have the thing, let us pay for it by all means, if we can.

If by the establishment of any proposed university more students can be educated than now, there can be no objection to its establishment.

In the Bombay Presidency there has been some discussion about starting new universities according to linguistic regions. If the promotion of the philologies and literatures of the vernaculars of the areas in question be the object in view, cannot this object be gained equally by spending the sums required for the new universities, in the foundation of chairs for these philologies, etc., in giving to advanced students and others research fellowships, in the publication of journals relating to such subjects, and in such other ways as may be considered desirable and necessary?

Fastings and "Indirect Pressure".

In Mahatma Gandhi's history of Satyagraha, of which an English translation has been appearing in *Current Thought*, we find the following passage:

"The fourth struggle was that of the mill-hands of Ahmedabad..... Still I hold the victory in this case was not quite pure, as the fast I had to observe in order to sustain the labourers in their determination exercised indirect pressure upon the mill-owners."

We do not know whether Mahatma Gandhi intended to win or actually won any victory by means of his latest fast, which extended to twenty-one days. But there is no doubt that it "exercised indirect pressure upon" the public. What was the character and what the result of this indirect pressure?

The man who in India sits *dharna*, or the man who in Japan committed suicide when the American immigration act, shutting out Japanese among others, was passed, may be credited with the intention to exercise indirect pressure. What is the character of this sort of pressure?

"Anti-Christian."

More than one Christian person has written to the editor of this REVIEW asking complainingly why it is or has become anti-Christian. We do not feel called upon to answer this question. But we have some counter questions ready. The editor of this journal is not and never has been or pretended to be a Christian. This journal also never was, nor was ever intended to be a Christian journal. So we do not see why it should be expected to be pro-Christian or even neutral;—fair we have always tried to be. We will take it for granted that this monthly is anti-Christian, and on that assumption ask, are Christians pro-Hindu or pro-Muslim? On the contrary, if they are pious Christians, are they not anti-Hindu and Anti-Muslim, at least to the extent that they want all Hindus and Muslims to become converts to Christianity? Do they not want that Hindus and Muslims should, in any case, give up what Christians consider errors, and accept Christian truths? Similarly, is not a non-Christian to be allowed to desire that Christians should give up what he considers their errors? May he not point out these errors? Of course, Christians will protest that these are not errors and will also criticise the method of pointing out these errors. But so may Hindus and Muslims protest that what Christians consider errors in the beliefs of the former are not errors, and that Christians also adopt wrong methods in pointing out non-Christian errors. It is strange that having a thousand and one means of criticising all non-Christian faiths, and having criticised them for centuries, Christians should feel aggrieved when their faith is subjected to criticism.

Mahatma Gandhi's Congress Presidential Address.

There is one merit of all literary productions of Mahatma Gandhi which his Congress Presidential address also possesses. It is brevity. This will be particularly appreciated in this season, specially by editors, when there is an avalanche of addresses, resolutions and speeches.

For one who has for so long a time constantly written and spoken on topics of public interest, it would not be possible to say much that is new or strikingly new. It is not a matter for surprise, therefore, that there is not much in the address which is new. But it is always worth while to read

what Gandhiji writes and hear what he says; because he is so sincere and so earnest.

Mahatma Gandhi began by paying a well-deserved compliment to Shrimati Sarojini Naidu. In his opinion, the unique honour of election to the presidential chair should have been bestowed upon her, "who did such wonderful work both in Kenya and South Africa."

The address proper begins with a brief history of the non-cooperation movement.

From the September of 1920 the Congress has been principally an institution for developing strength from within. It has ceased to function by means of resolutions addressed to the Government for redress of grievances. It did so because it ceased to believe in the beneficial character of the existing system of government. The breach of faith with the Musalmans of India was the first rude shock to the people's faith in the Government. The Rowlatt Act and O'Dwyerism culminating in the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre, opened the eyes of the people to the true nature of the system. At the same time it was realised that the existence of the system depended upon the co-operation whether conscious or unconscious, and whether voluntary or forced, of the people. With the view therefore of mending or ending the system it was decided to try to begin withdrawing voluntary co-operation from the top. At the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta in 1920 the boycott of Government titles, law-courts, educational institutions, legislative bodies and foreign cloth was resolved upon. All the boycotts were more or less taken up by the parties concerned. Those who could not or would not, retire from the Congress. I do not propose to trace the chequered career of the non-cooperation movement. Though not a single boycott was anywhere near completion, every one of them had undoubtedly the effect of diminishing the prestige of the particular institution boycotted.

All this is true history. The following passages on the boycott of violence and the adoption of non-violence are no less true.

The most important boycott was the boycott of violence. Whilst it appeared at one time to be entirely successful, it was soon discovered that the non-violence was only skin-deep. It was the passive non-violence of helplessness, not the enlightened non-violence of resourcefulness. The result was an eruption of intolerance against those who did not non-cooperate. This was violence of a subtler type. In spite, however, of this grave defect I make bold to say that the propaganda of non-violence checked the outbreak of physical violence which would certainly have broken out, had not non-violent non-cooperation come into being. It is my deliberate conviction that non-violent non-cooperation has given to the people a consciousness of their strength. It has brought to the surface the hidden powers in the people of resistance through suffering. It has caused an awakening among the masses which perhaps no other method could have.

Though, therefore, non-violent non-cooperation has not brought us Swaraj, though it has brought about certain deplorable results and though the

institutions that were sought to be boycotted are still flourishing, in my humble opinion, non-violent non-cooperation as a means of attaining political freedom has come to stay and that even its partial success has brought us nearer Swaraj. There is no mistaking the fact that the capacity for suffering for the sake of a cause must advance it.

We think that even the opponents of non-co-operation will admit that "non-violent non-co-operation has given to the people a consciousness of their strength. It has brought to the surface the hidden powers in the people of resistance through suffering. It has caused an awakening among the masses which perhaps no other method could have." That "the capacity for suffering for the sake of a cause must advance it," is also an obvious truth.

As regards the boycott of foreign cloth, Mr. Gandhi says that out of regard for the sentiment of an English friend, the word "Boycott" has been changed in the agreement with the Swarajya party into 'refusal to use foreign cloth,' as "there is no doubt a bad odour about the word Boycott." "It usually implies hatred." But it is so convenient and telling a word that throughout the section of the address devoted to and entitled "Foreign Cloth Boycott," the boycotted word has been used again and again! Mahatmaji says, "so far as I am concerned I have not intended the word to bear any such meaning," namely, that implying hatred. That is undoubtedly true. But when British cloth was frequently spoken of by non-cooperators as impure and unclean and was burnt, there was perhaps some hatred.

Considering that India produces so much of the raw material and can produce more, we think, with regard to the boycott of foreign cloth, Mahatmaji is right in observing:—

That boycott is not merely a right but a duty. It is as much a duty as boycott of foreign waters would be if they were imported to substitute the waters of the Indian rivers.

With regard to the results which the refusal to use foreign cloth is intended to produce, Mr. Gandhi says:—

Revolutionary crime is intended to exert pressure. But it is the insane pressure of anger and ill-will. I contend that non-violent acts exert pressure far more effective than violent acts, for that pressure comes from good-will and gentleness. Boycott of foreign cloth exerts such pressure. We import the largest amount of foreign cloth from Lancashire. It is also by far the largest of all our imports, sugar being next. Britain's chief interest centres round the Lancashire trade with India. It is the one thing more than any other that has ruined the Indian peasant and imposed partial idleness upon

him by depriving him of the one supplementary occupation he had. Boycott of foreign cloth is therefore a necessity if he is to live. The plan therefore, is not merely to induce the peasant to refuse to buy the cheap and nice-looking foreign fabric but also by teaching him to utilize his spare hours in carding and spinning cotton and getting it woven by the village weavers to dress himself in khaddar so woven and thus to save him the cost of buying foreign and for that matter even Indian mill-made cloth. Thus boycott of foreign cloth by means of hand-spinning and hand-weaving, i. e. khaddar, not only saves the peasant's money but it enables us workers to render social service of a first class order. It brings us into direct touch with the villagers. It enables us to give them real political education and teach them to become self-sustained and self-reliant. Organisation of khaddar is thus infinitely better than co-operative societies or any other form of village organisation. It is fraught with the highest political consequence, because it removes the greatest immoral temptation from Britain's way. I call the Lancashire trade immoral, because it was raised and is sustained on the ruin of millions of India's peasants. And as one immorality leads to another, the many proved immoral acts of Britain are traceable to this one immoral traffic. If therefore this one great temptation is removed from Britain's path by India's voluntary effort, it would be good for India, good for Britain and, as Britain is to-day the predominant world-power, good even for humanity.

With what has been quoted above, we are in general agreement. We may, however, be allowed to point out that the Indian peasant (of the male sex) was not generally a spinner as far as we are aware;—his womenfolk were. In drawing attention to this fact, we do not mean to say or suggest that spinning is an undignified occupation for the male sex or that men should not or cannot spin. We simply state a historical fact. There is also another fact which requires to be borne in mind. Owing to the decay of the hand-weaving industry, large numbers of weavers have been thrown entirely upon the land. In their case, it is quite correct to say, that the Lancashire textile trade with India has ruined them and imposed partial idleness upon them by depriving them of the one supplementary occupation they had. In the case of other peasants, such an observation would not be quite accurate.

As regards the immorality of the Lancashire trade, there would be general agreement, at least among Indians and other non-British peoples who do not exploit India that the Lancashire trade having been established by wicked methods upon the ruin of the Indian spinning and weaving industries, was immoral in its origin and progress. It is also correct to say that as the cotton excise duty has to some extent hampered the growth of the Indian mill industry, Lancashire

has been to blame. But as it is always profitable to look at matters from the angle of those whom we criticise and to find out to what extent we and not these others have been to blame, we should try to imagine what Lancashire may have to say. Lancashire may say: "You have had some four years at least—if the period were reckoned from the days of the Swadeshi agitation consequent upon the partition of Bengal, it would be well-nigh two decades—to show what you can do to clothe yourselves by handspinning and hand-weaving with which we have not interfered in recent years. But we do not see that you have made much headway. So we may claim that we are supplying a real need. But if you think that hard words will do the you, you are welcome to use them."

The concluding portion of Mahatmaji's observations on the refusal to use foreign cloth are worth quoting and pondering upon, particularly on account of the principles, enunciated by him, which ought to govern international trade relations.

I do not endorse the proposition that supply follows demand. On the contrary, demand is often artificially created by unscrupulous vendors. And if a nation is bound, as I hold it is, like individuals to comply with a code of moral conduct, then it must consider the welfare of those whose wants it seeks to supply. It is wrong and immoral for a nation to supply for instance intoxicating liquor to those who are addicted to drink. What is true of intoxicants is true of grain or cloth, if the discontinuance of their cultivation or manufacture in the country to which foreign grain or cloth are exported results in enforced idleness or penury. These latter hurt a man's soul and body just as much as intoxication. Depression is but excitement upside down and hence equally disastrous in its results and often more so because we have not yet learnt to regard as immoral or sinful the depression of idleness or penury.

BRITAIN'S DUTY

It is then I hold the duty of Great Britain to regulate her exports with due regard to the welfare of India, as it is India's to regulate her imports with due regard to her own welfare. That economics is untrue which ignores or disregards moral values. The extension of the law of non-violence in the domain of economics means nothing less than the introduction of moral values as a factor to be considered in regulating international commerce. And I must confess that my ambition is nothing less than to see international relations placed on a moral basis through India's efforts.

There is no doubt that

The fruition of the boycott of foreign cloth through hand spinning and khaddar is calculated not only to bring about a political result of the first magnitude, it is calculated also to make the poorest of India, whether men or women, conscious of their strength and make them partakers in the struggle for India's freedom.

But it is a pity that this fruition has been long in coming, and there is no knowing when, if at all, it will arrive.

So far as we are concerned, the following words spoken by Mahatma Gandhi with reference to some of his critics—we do not know who they are—have no application, though they are true:—

To say that it is merely an old woman's occupation is to ignore facts. Spinning mills are a multiplication of spinning wheels. They are managed by men. It is time that we got out of this superstition that some occupations are beneath the dignity of men. Under normal conditions no doubt spinning will be the occupation of the gentle sex. But the State of the future will always have to keep some men at the spinning wheel so as to make improvements in it within the limitations which as a cottage industry it must have. I must inform you that the progress the mechanism of the wheel has made would have been impossible, if some of us men had not worked at it and had not thought about it day and night.

As regards civil disobedience, Mr. Gandhi says:—

I swear by Civil Disobedience. But Civil Disobedience for the attainment of Swaraj is an impossibility unless and until we have attained the power of achieving boycott of foreign cloth.

Gandhiji's views on Hindu-Moslem unity are wellknown; but some of them, repeated in the address, will bear reproduction here.

Hindu-Muslim unity is not less important than the spinning wheel. It is the breath of our life. I do not need to occupy much of your time on this question, because the necessity of it for Swaraj is almost universally accepted. I say 'almost' because I know some Hindus and some Musalmans who prefer the present condition of dependence on Great Britain if they cannot have either wholly Hindu or wholly Musalman India. Happily their number is small.

There are also others who, like ourselves, would rather not have Swaraj if its implication be that "concessions" would have to be always and permanently made under the open threat of the Musalmans walking out of it and buttressing up or founding some other *raj* and the covert menace of "religious" riots.

Mr. Gandhi adds:—

Interested persons who were disappointed during the palmy days of non-cooperation, now that it has lost the charm of novelty, have found their opportunity and are trading upon the religious bigotry or the selfishness of both the communities. The result is written in the history of the feuds of the past two years. Religion has been travestied. Trifles have been dignified by the name of religious tenets which the fanatics claim must be observed at any cost. Economic and political causes have been brought into play for the sake of fomenting trouble.

All this is true. But did not the Khilafat

movement itself, and did not also the repeated appeals to the religious sentiment by non-co-operation leaders revive and strengthen "religious bigotry"?

We are glad to find ourselves in complete agreement with Mr. Gandhi with regard to "our goal."

Our goal must be removal, at the earliest possible moment, of communal or sectional representation. A common electorate must impartially elect its representatives on the sole ground of merit. Our services must be likewise impartially manned by the most qualified men and women. But till that time comes and communal jealousies or preferences become a thing of the past, minorities who suspect the motives of majorities must be allowed their way. The majorities must set the example of self-sacrifice.

Mahatmaji speaks of minorities and majorities. But the difficulty lies in this that most Musalman leaders want that they should have the advantages of a majority in the provinces in which they are in a majority and also have the advantages of a minority in those provinces in which they are in a minority. In other words, even where the Hindus are in a minority, they are not to have any of those concessions which are to be made to the Musalmans where they are in a minority. And of course the Hindu majorities also are nowhere to have the advantages of a majority.

But this is not so serious a difficulty as another. The sacrifices which are to be made for conciliating and allaying the suspicions of the Musalmans ought to be temporary and impermanent in character. But we have not yet seen any document proceeding from Muhammadan sources in which any time-limit is set to the special and separate communal treatment which is claimed on behalf of that community. Apparently it wants communal representation, communal apportionment of the services and of educational facilities, etc., for all time, or at least for an indefinite period. What is required is some arrangement, agreement, or constitutional device (such as that recommended in the Mysore Constitutional Reform Committee's Report) by which communal representation may automatically be inoperative or come to an end when no longer needed.

Mr. Gandhi's views on untouchability are wellknown, but we will note some of them again.

This is an essentially Hindu question and Hindus cannot claim or take Swaraj till they have restored the liberty of the suppressed classes. They have sunk with the latter's suppression.

Historians tell us that the Aryan invaders treated the original inhabitants of Hindustan precisely as the English invaders treat us, if not much worse. If so, our helotry is a just retribution for our having created an untouchable class. The priests tell us that untouchability is a divine appointment. I claim to know something of Hinduism. I am certain that the priests are wrong. It is a blasphemy to say that God set apart any portion of humanity as untouchable.

This is quite true. But untouchability has arisen out of and is only the worst fruit of the Hindu caste system and the Hindu caste spirit. So untouchability cannot be totally eradicated so long as its roots in the Hindu caste system and the Hindu caste spirit are not destroyed.

Those who use the word *shuddhi* and perform the *shuddhi* or purification rites, should bear in mind the following words of Mahatma Gandhi :—

The purification required is not of untouchables but of the so-called superior castes. There is no vice that is special to the untouchables, not even dirt and insanitation. It is our arrogance which blinds us 'superior' Hindus to our own blemishes and which magnifies those of our down-trodden brethren whom we have suppressed and whom we keep under suppression. Religions like nations are being weighed in the balance. God's grace and revelation are the monopoly of no race or nation. They descend equally upon all who wait upon God. That religion and that nation will be blotted out of the face of the earth which pins its faith to injustice, untruth or violence. God is Light, not darkness. God is Love, not hate. God is Truth, not untruth. God alone is Great. We His creatures are but dust. Let us be humble and recognise the place of the lowliest of His creatures. Krishna honoured Sudama in his rags as he honoured no one else.

We are glad to find the Mahatma repeating his conviction that

Whether we win Swaraj or not, the Hindus have to purify themselves, before they can hope to revive the Vedic philosophy and make it a living reality.

We reproduce below in full Mahatmaji's points for a Swaraj scheme.

1. The qualification for the franchise should be neither property nor position but manual work such for example as suggested for the Congress Franchise. Literary or property test has proved to be elusive. Manual work gives an opportunity to all who wish to take part in the government and the well-being of the State.

2. The ruinous military expenditure should be curtailed to the proportion necessary for protection of life and property in normal times.

3. Administration of justice should be cheapened and with that end in view the final court of appeal should be not in London but in Delhi. Parties to civil suits must be compelled in the majority of cases to refer their disputes to arbitration. The decisions of these Panchayats to be final except in cases of corruption or obvious misapplication

of law. Multiplicity of intermediate courts should be avoided. Case-law should be abolished and the general procedure should be simplified. We have slavishly followed the cumbrous and worn out English procedure. The tendency in the Colonies is to simplify the procedure so as to make it easy for litigants to plead their own cases.

4. Revenues from intoxicating liquors and drugs should be abolished.

5. Salaries of the Civil and Military Service should be brought down to a level compatible with the general condition of the country.

6. There should be re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis with as complete autonomy as possible for every province for its internal administration and growth.

7. Appointment of a commission to examine all the monopolies given to foreigners and, subject to the findings of the commission, full guarantees to be given for all vested rights justly acquired.

8. Full guarantee of their status to the Indian Chiefs without any hindrance from the Central Government subject to the right of asylum to subjects of these States who, not being offenders against the Penal Code, may seek it in Self-governing India.

9. Repeal of all arbitrary powers.

10. The highest post to be open to all who may be otherwise fit. Examinations for the Civil and Military Services to be in India.

11. Recognition of complete religious freedom to various denominations subject to mutual forbearance.

12. The official language for provincial governments, legislatures and courts, within a definite period, to be the vernacular of the province; of the Privy Council, the final court of appeal, to be Hindustani; the script to be either Devanagari or Persiar. The language of the Central Government and of the Central Legislature to be also Hindustani. The language of inter-national diplomacy to be English.

All the suggestions are worthy of consideration. There will be general acceptance of most of them.

There is much to be said for making manual work a qualification for the franchise at least for some time to come. But we are not in favour of that by disfranchising forms of labour other than manual.

As regards suggestion No. 8, we would add that though the status of the Indian Chiefs should be guaranteed by the Central Government, they would not be given any help by it against their subjects if the latter exercised the natural right of rebellion against oppression, preferably non-violent rebellion.

Regarding the official languages. Mr Garchi's suggestion would require every Indian who wanted to be in touch with the whole of India and the world outside to know (1) his own vernacular, (2) Hindustani in the Devanagari script, (3) Hindustani in the Persian script, and (4) English. This would be thought by many too tall an order.

As regards India's political goal, Mahatma is for interdependence on the basis of perfect equality. He is for a "federation of friendly inter-dependent States", for "universal interdependence rather than independence."

I would throw the burden of separation on the British people. It should rest with Britain to say that she will have no real alliance with India. I desire the ability to be totally independent without asserting the independence. Any scheme that I would frame, while Britain declares her goal about India to be complete equality within the Empire, would be that of alliance and not of independence without alliance.

But why "within the Empire"? Whose Empire? If there is to be "Universal interdependence," it must be interdependence with other countries also, not with Britain alone. But can there be universal interdependence of an India within the British Empire? If France wishes to be interdependent with America, for example, she will decide for herself without any reference to Britain. But if India wished such interdependence with America, and Britain did not want to be interdependent with America, would India be able to decide for herself, remaining within the Empire, without reference to or against the desires and interests of Britain?

We think universal interdependence, which is a highly desirable and attractive consummation, can come only after and through universal independence.

Seeing that our religious, social and political history and traditions, and our culture and languages, are different from those of England, our ultimate goal cannot lie within the *British* Empire or the *British* commonwealth of nations. We are too big and different a people to be swallowed up in that way.

We wonder that the coiner of the expression, "a satanic Government," is not yet satisfied that "it has become perfectly manifest that Britain really means subjugation in spite of her declaration to the contrary." What is that "declaration to the contrary"? In this connection we would draw attention to Mr. C. F. Andrews' note on 'Repression, a Symptom.'

As we do not belong to any party, we do not want to discuss the pact with the Swaraj party in detail. But we do not think other parties will or should agree to the Swaraj party alone using the name and authority of the Congress for their council policy and other policies, whilst these other parties are also to be members of the Congress

in name. Such collective self-abnegation seems to us unnatural and undesirable.

Regarding the Congress constructive programme, Mr. Gandhi says:—

It has been suggested that this programme turns the Congress into a purely social reform organisation. I beg to differ from that view. Everything that is absolutely essential for Swaraj is more than merely social work and must be taken up by the Congress.

From this point of view, the Indian National Social Conference has been doing much Congress work. Whether the Congress be turned into a *purely* social reform organisation or not, its constructive programme would make it very largely a social reform and economic organisation,—much more so than a *purely* political organisation. While saying this we do not suggest that social reform and economic progress have no bearing on politics. They have such a bearing.

Regarding National Educational Institutions Mr. Gandhi says:—

These institutions to be truly national must be clubs for promoting real Hindu Muslim unity, they must be also nurseries for training Hindu boys and girls to regard untouchability as a blot upon Hinduism and a crime against humanity.

They should be also factories for khaddar production. This is not to say that the boys and the girls are not to have any literary training. But I do maintain that the training of the hand and the heart must go hand in hand with that of the head. The quality and the usefulness of a national school or college will be measured not by the brilliance of the literary attainments of its scholars but by the strength of the national character, and deftness in handling the carding bow, the spinning wheel and the loom.

I should have not the slightest hesitation in closing down a school or college, that is indifferent to the admission of non-Hindu boys or that shuts its door against the entry of untouchables or that has not carding and spinning as an indispensable part of the training.

It would not be a bad thing if national schools and colleges of this kind existed. They would at least correct our too bookish tendency.

The religious sentiment and the religious motive are very strong in India—at least in external observances. And both the Hindu and the Moslem scriptures and customs are against the use of intoxicating liquors. There is no such similar prohibition against foreign cloth or Indian mill-made cloth. Still Mahatma Gandhi believes that he will be able to universalise the use of khaddar *before* having Swaraj; but as regards the disuse of liquor (and of opium), he says:

We must, however, realise that we would not

be able to eradicate the evil till we have Swaraj.

Why has his abounding optimism left him in this case?

As Mr. Andrews has written a note on 'Repression, a Symptom,' we need not write on that topic.

With respect to repression in Bengal, Mr. Gandhi has admirably summarised "the national contention" in the following words:—

1. That the situation they describe has not been proved to exist;
2. That assuming that the situation does exist, the remedy is worse than the disease;
3. That the ordinary law contains enough powers for dealing with the situation and lastly
4. That even if extraordinary powers were necessary they should have been taken from the legislature which is of their own creation.

But one feels that Mahatma Gandhi ought to have written "the situation which they and Mr. C. R. Das describe has not been proved to exist."

We shall conclude this rapid survey with reproducing Mr. Gandhi's "My Faith":—

As a Congressman wishing to keep the Congress intact, I advise suspension of non-cooperation for I see that the nation is not ready for it. But as an individual, I cannot, will not do so as long as the Government remains what it is. It is not merely a policy with me, it is an article of faith. Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience are but different branches of the same tree called Satyagraha. It is my *Kalpadrūm* — my *Jam-i-Jam* — the Universal Provider. Satyagraha is search for Truth: and God is Truth. Ahimsa or Non-violence is the light that reveals that Truth to me. Swaraj for me is part of that Truth. This Satyagraha did not fail me in South Africa, Kheda, or Champaran and in a host of other cases I could mention. It excludes all violence or hate. Therefore, I cannot and will not hate Englishmen. Nor will I bear their yoke. I must fight unto death the unholy attempt to impose British methods and British institutions on India. But I combat the attempt with non-violence. I believe in the capacity of India to offer non-violent battle to the English rulers. The experiment has not failed. It has succeeded, but not to the extent we had hoped and desired. I do not despair. On the contrary I believe that India will come to her own in the near future, and that only through Satyagraha. The proposed suspension is part of the experiment. Non-cooperation need never be resumed if the programme sketched by me can be fulfilled. Non-violent non-cooperation in some form or other, whether through the Congress or without it, will be resumed if the programme fails. I have repeatedly stated that Satyagraha never fails and that one perfect Satyagrahi is enough to vindicate Truth. Let us all strive to be perfect Satyagrahis. The striving does not require any quality unattainable by the lowliest among us. For Satyagraha is an attribute of the spirit within. It is latent in everyone of us. Like Swaraj it is our birthright. Let us know it.

The Eight-Hour Day.

Shorter working hours for labourers all over the world is an ideal against which we have nothing to say. On the contrary, we consider shorter hours to be essential in view of the great nervous and muscular strain involved in modern industrial life, the cultural value of leisure and the growing prosperity of the nations of the world.

It is well known that specialised work done under conditions of factory discipline causes more fatigue than work of a general nature done in the household, or in a small cottage workshop. Fatigue, in most cases, is fatigue of the nervous system, and routine and monotonous work causes more of it than work which gives the nerves variety and occasional rest.

As to the cultural value of leisure, we hardly need say anything. If all one's time were used up in production of wealth and in rest for giving the fatigued body a chance to regain its working power, the quality of human life would be considerably lowered and democracy would become practically meaningless. "Idling", if properly done, is the most elevating thing that man can do.

Then we have to consider the reward that man has earned from nature by ceaseless thinking and activity during thousands of years. Man has not created machinery and method as his harness. It is but natural that man should look forward to days when his wants will be removed more easily than has been the case so far, for has not man done sufficient in the past to claim a little more leisure in the future?

The above are in short the arguments in favour of shorter hours. The International Labour Organisation which works for "labourers" all over the world is attempting to get all the nations of the world to sign the Eight-Hour Convention which has been in existence since 1920, in which year Greece ratified it. The *Political Science Quarterly* for September 1924 says regarding the activities of the Organisation :

The direct and visible result thus far has been that five States have ratified the Eight-Hour Convention—Greece in 1920, Rumania, India and Czecho-Slovakia in 1921 and Bulgaria in 1923.

The countries mentioned above are by no means the most industrially advanced countries in the world. With the exception of Czecho-Slovakia, they may be classed, rather, as backward. What forces made them ratify the Convention before Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland and the United

States had done so, are not known to us. In the case of India, of course, we know that the ratification had little to do with the Indian nation.

Industrially backward nations are behind the times in education and other cultural arrangements. Their people are less adaptable to strict discipline and working at a high pressure. So that shorter hours for the workers of such nations will mean, not profitable idling but waste of time and loss of productivity. Until it so happened that such workmen were brought up under proper training and discipline since their childhood and arrangements were made for using their leisure to any good, any shortening of working hours will mean less production and degeneration. Should such a state of affairs come about the employers would have, either to lower their wages or increase the price of their goods. In the first eventuality, comment is not necessary, and in the second the ability of such goods to find a market in the face of foreign competition would be greatly diminished.

We think that as factory labourers in India are not subjected to the extreme specialisation and strain which the workers of industrially advanced nations have to undergo, they do not require as short hours as the latter to keep up their efficiency. What they want just now are higher wages, better dwellings, cleaner factories, purer supply of food, facilities for education and such other things and not more leisure to pass in the grog shop or the gutter. By shorter hours they are bound to suffer one way or another; either through lower wages or through unemployment due to the loss of market at their produces will surely suffer as a result of paying them the same wages for working less hours. The chances of their keeping intact or bettering their productivity are little; for they will not, with the shortening of the working hours, automatically become more disciplined, more skilled and more honest.

In some of the industrially advanced countries we already find the Eight-Hour Day in force, not through ratification of International Conventions, but through the more rational means of Collective Bargaining by working men. In Great Britain, nearly ninety per cent. of the industrial workers put in only eight hours a day. But there are others who work longer hours, because they do not require more leisure or cannot afford to produce less for the wages they require

to live a decent life. We think that the State should, after paying proper attention to national conditions, fix some sort of a maximum beyond which working hours may not extend. But the maximum should not be fixed on an International basis when all nations do not show in their industrial life similar conditions of specialisation, factory discipline, speed and efficiency, honesty and educational and other welfare institutions.

A. C.

The Opium Conference at Geneva.

Private letters, which I have received from Geneva during the Opium Conference, have told me a lamentable story concerning the attitude taken up by Mr. John Campbell and Mr. Clayton, representing the Government of India, before the League of Nations. Everything that was possible has been done to obstruct and impede progress. The American delegate presented a clear-cut formula, that the opium cultivated should be restricted to the medicinal and scientific requirements of the world. This has been stoutly opposed by the Government of India on the ground that it will involve a great hardship on the Indian people, who need the opium for their own domestic uses and know well how to handle it without causing any serious harm to themselves or their children. All this has been done, in spite of the fact that a thousand times over the people of India have protested against such an attitude in the columns of the press, and in spite of the fact also that it has been proved by verifiable figures that in Assam opium addiction of a very serious character has prevailed for generations past, and is still prevailing to-day. Nevertheless the Government of India has continually insisted on this outrageous misrepresentation of the wishes of the Indian people. Up to the present, the greater powers of Europe have stood on the side of Great Britain and the *Government of India* in objecting to the American proposals. On the other hand, the lesser powers of Europe and of other continents, whose interests are not directly affected by the opium traffic, have stood alongside America. The final session of the Conference has been postponed till January 20th. Those who were there, representing the cause of humanity, have told me that they are greatly disappointed and have very little hope of a satisfactory settlement at the final session at Geneva on January 20th. It

is encouraging however to note that the Draft Report of the Opium Enquiry in Assam, carried out by the National Congress, has proved of very great service indeed during the Geneva Session.

C. F. A.

The Last Straw.

The Governor General of the South African Union has now himself certificated the Natal Ordinance depriving Indians in Durban, of the municipal franchise, and thus making them without any citizenship rights at all. There can be no doubt that that will soon mean the deprivation of citizenship rights to all Indians in Natal. Thus only the few Indians in the Cape Province will have any citizen rights in the whole of South Africa. This new act, which has now been sanctioned by the Governor General, is the most flagrant breach of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, which has yet been recorded. It is surely "the last straw which breaks the camel's back."

C. F. A.

The Assam Government and Opium.

It came as a great shock to me to learn from Mr. Rohini Kanta Hatibaruah that the Assam Government has in reality never pledged itself to abolish the sale of opium in Assam (except to registered addicts) within ten years. A resolution demanding this was passed in the Assam Legislative Council by 26 votes to 13. Among the thirteen, who voted against the resolution, were official members and title-holders. The vote itself was a clear expression of unanimous *popular* opinion in Assam. The resolution demanded the abolition of opium sales in Assam within ten years at the rate of 10 per cent per annum, making at the same time allowance for the registration of those who had contracted the opium habit. The Rev. Herbert Anderson of Calcutta and many others have again and again congratulated the Government of Assam and Government of India heartily on the fact that this resolution, which had commanded such popular support had been accepted by Government. I have never seen in the press any contradiction of all these congratulatory statements. I was actually present in London when Mr. Anderson

commended the Government of India on this forward step which had been taken by the Reform Councils. Though there were those who were in close touch with the Government of India present on that occasion there were no contradictions offered to this statement thus made in public in all good faith by Mr. Anderson. Yet now a question recently asked in the Assam Legislative Council has elicited the fact, that all these congratulations are vain, and that the Government of Assam has done nothing of the kind, but is holding on to its opium revenue to the very end, just as the Government of India itself is holding on to its opium revenue policy at Geneva. When I heard this for the first time, it came, as I have said, as a great shock. I had mentioned myself several times to Government officials my own satisfaction for what I supposed to be the step taken by the Government of Assam, and I have myself spoken in public congratulating that Government, just as Mr. Anderson has done. If this question had not been asked in the Assam Council, and if I had not received a copy of their answer from Mr. Hatibaru, I should have been under the same misapprehension to-day. Mr. Campbell, at Geneva itself, has spoken again and again of opium in India being a 'transferred' subject; yet we find out, from this one vital instance, how absolutely futile the Reform Councils are, whenever they are met by the Government of India's executive opposition.

C. F. A.

German Efforts to Regain Her Colonies in South-West Africa.

Mr. Scholz, a pioneer German Chemist in Africa, has recently presented a memorandum to the League of Nations suggesting recovery of German Colonies in Africa for Germany.

Scholz submitted a written memorandum to the Commission and interviewed personally the principal members, who received him courteously. He contended that the successful working of the Dawes plan obligated the return of the German colonies, because the plan emphasized the necessity of Germany's economic freedom. Voicing what he said was the opinion of the German people and the German Government, he insisted economic freedom involved economic colonial liberty.

Germany, Scholz declared, should be allowed the possibility of growing her own raw materials to feed her industries, since the value of German money would be decreased if Germany were obliged to purchase her raw materials elsewhere.

Contending that conditions in the German colonies were not nearly as bad as they had been represented at the Peace Conference, he asserted that the mandatory powers had not created better conditions affecting the welfare of the native in regard to education, sanitation, labor, land reserves and construction of railways. Moreover, he declared Germany had had no militarization of natives as, he said, now existed in West Africa. Under German rule there had been a policy of absolute free trade, whereas now free trade was restricted to members of the League of Nations.

The German representative further protested that six years after the armistice Germans still were excluded from all of the former German colonies except South-west Africa. He said thousands of German colonial pioneers who had dedicated their lives to the development of new areas in Africa, New Guinea and the South Sea Islands were unable to return there.

Scholz was informed that the Mandate Commission had no power to intervene in the question and no authority to grant his request that it transmit his appeal for the convocation of a colonial conference to the Council of the League.

The German representative said that he was not abandoning hope that the council would form a special sub-committee to study the question. He declared that if the return of the former German territories was found impossible, then Germany would ask for some equivalent—for instance a large tract of land in the heart of Central Africa.

The visit of Scholz to Geneva is regarded as the opening move of German efforts to obtain the return to her of the Colonial possessions she lost in the World War. (*New York Times*, Nov. 7, 1924.)

Mr. Scholz's activity should serve as a lesson to Indian leaders who wish to create international public opinion regarding India's just claims against other nations, particularly those who are members of the British Empire. Indian statesmen should notice that although Germany had been defeated in the World War and lost her colonies in all parts of the world the German government as well as the people are doing their best to make their defeat a victory. The Germans are demanding their colonies back. Has not the time come for India to demand that Kenya and German East Africa which have been developed by the Indian people be reserved as the legitimate field for Indian colonization and as a return for the lives lost in the battle-fields and the hundreds of millions of pounds sterling spent by the Indian people and government to win the World War?

T.D.

Need of an Up-to-date Library for The Visva-Bharati.

For a true university facilities for research work are essential. The object of the Visva-

Bharati is to have a world culture centre in in every sense of the expression. The Visva-Bharati needs a first class library. Those who are interested in the intellectual regeneration of India should take note of the following news item from Washington, D.C. :—

Washington, Sept. 27—One of the largest university libraries in the country will be constructed as an addition to Catholic University here, with the use of \$ 750,000 donation to the institution by John K. Mullen of Denver, Col. The structure, to be known as the John K. Mullen Memorial Library will have a capacity of 1,000,000 books.

This means that the Catholic University will have a library which will have the capacity for ten lakhs of books and one man has donated over Rs. 2,250,000 (twenty two lakhs and fifty thousand rupees) for building the library. In connection with every American University and in every important American city there are first class libraries. If the Visva-Bharati is to fulfil its functions adequately, one of the primary needs is a first class library.

We hope that some one among the Princes, merchant-princes and wealthy sons and daughters of India will donate an adequate sum of a few lakhs of rupees to provide for a first-class library for the Visva-Bharati. "There is no gift higher than the gift of knowledge." Liberation of India depends upon the strength of knowledge.

T. D.

Repression, a Symptom.

On the first reading of Mahatma Gandhi's presidential address at the National Congress, one paragraph has struck me with special force by its cogency and exactness. It is called 'Repression, a Symptom.' There, he has put the whole issue between Britain and India with dramatic conciseness.

He says: 'European dominance and Asiatic subjection is the formula' for the new repression. He gives the examples of Kenya and Natal, Egypt and Bengal.

The strange thing to me is this. It is not yet realised, that the phrase, which is used in the King's Proclamation of 1917, stating that India shall remain 'an integral part of the British Empire' is tainted with the same evil formula of European domination and Asiatic subjection. Canada may 'remain an integral part of the British Empire, if it likes ; because Canada is British and European, and Canadians are imperialists.

But India cannot,—first of all, because India is not British or European ; and secondly, because India is not imperialist.

C. F. A.

Egypt and Britain.

Mahatma Gandhi's words about Egypt are fully justified. Anarchical crime is no less detestable in Governments than in individuals ; and it is a crime of anarchy to tear up solemn treaties of obligation under the cover of resentment for a murder. The worst sign of all is to find that such an act has called forth practically no protest from the civilised peoples of the West because it is done against an Eastern people.

C. F. A.

The Motive Behind British Imperial Preference and Indian Merchant Marine.

"The result of the opportunities won overseas by the British were consolidated by their *monopoly* of their interimperial trade through the Navigation Acts, which were repealed only in 1854, after two hundred years of operation under them had given the British such an incomparable 'going concern' in intercommunications by sea as to promise their continuance of virtual monopoly. And now that new conditions threaten such control, a plan to strengthen it by a system of interimperial preference tariffs was agreed to at the recent Imperial Conference in London."

The above is the opinion expressed in the Atlantic Monthly of April, 1924. Undoubtedly the motive behind the British scheme of Imperial Preference is to have the monopoly of the trade and intercommunications. India is to be sacrificed for British interests, by making her a party to Imperial preference. It is time now to denounce any and every suggestion of Imperial preference, so far as India is concerned, and take steps so that India may be able to develop her own merchant marine which will be adequate to her own needs and national commerce. The first step to secure this is to have the coast-wise trade of India so regulated that the Indian ships will have preference. Second thing that is essential for India is to have proper training of Indian young men in all branches of naval engineering and the Government should be induced to make suitable arrangements for this. It is desirable to have an Indian National Naval College established at the earliest opportunity.

T. D.

Civic Righteousness among Canadians

We have been often told that the Indian people are not capable of self-government and civic righteousness is the exclusive virtue of the so-called white-people if not the superior Anglo-Saxons. The Canadians have been enjoying self-government for generations, like the people of the United States of America. We often hear of whole-sale graft in the United States; and the following news-item, published in the *New York Times*, throws some light on the spirit of civic righteousness among the Canadians.

SENATOR TAYLOR OF VANCOUVER SAYS THERE IS 'ORGANIZED RASCALITY' IN RAIL DEPARTMENT.

Special to The New York Times.

Ottawa Ont., May 8.—“Organized rascality” exists in the National Railway and Steamship Departments of the Pacific Coast, declared Senator J. D. Taylor of Vancouver in the Senate to-day. He preferred these charges:

That the Government merchant marine was used for rum-running on the Pacific Coast;

That Government officials conspired to defraud marine insurance companies;

That the railway department at Vancouver was reeking with graft;

That honest employes who protested against the graft and fraud were dismissed;

That dishonest employes were retained and promoted.

That Sir Henry Thornton, head of the National Railways, and the higher officials has “bucked” or resisted all inquiries.

Senator Taylor claimed to have affidavits supporting all his charges and assumed full responsibility for them. He read a mass of correspondence, extending over a year, with Sir Henry Thornton and other officials, in which he had sought a searching inquiry.

In support of the charges of graft in the Railway Department, he quoted from a document which he claimed was a copy of a private memorandum made by the acting national investigator to Sir Henry Thornton.

So serious are the accusations regarded that Senator W. H. Bennett gave notice that he would move for a special Senate committee to investigate them.

This proves that neither the spirit of civic righteousness nor “rascality of high officials” is a special trait of any nation. Indian people should take notice of it and do their best that they may surpass other nations in matters of “civic righteousness.”

T. D.

Degeneration of India's Building Art.

We publish elsewhere an article by Mr. Srish Chandra Chatterjee A. M. A. E. on the

Revival of Indian Architecture. Mr. Chatterjee is an architect and a civil engineer of experience and ability. His reflexions on the sad state of our National Architecture are coloured with genuine feeling and a desire to revive in Indian Architecture its lost spirit and grandeur. We have often noted with sorrow growing ugliness of modern Indian buildings. They remind one of housing accommodation or floor space, but never of beauty or of the yearnings in the heart of the architect. Worked out like formulae of soulless usefulness, modern buildings smother aesthetics by the faultless precision of their construction; by their agreement with principles which have hardly anything to do with beauty. We invite the attention of all thinking people to this article.

A.C.

Can Untouchability be Defended?

One Babu Kalishankar Chakravarti of Chittagong has addressed a letter to Mr. C. F. Andrews which appears in the *Young India* of December 11, 1924. In this letter Babu Kalishankar Chakravarti attempts to justify untouchability on sociological grounds. He accuses Mr. Andrews of ignorance regarding “our social customs” and challenges Mr. Andrews’ statement that there is “oppression and practical serfdom” in India. In his letter Babu Kalishankar has not made clear why he accuses Mr. Andrews of ignorance regarding India’s social customs. His oversight may be due to his enthusiasm to prove untouchability to be a marvel of sociological acumen. He calls this system a “devilish system” elsewhere, but idealises it when he finds it absent in Jagannath, Visveswar and Chandranath. It is a bit puzzling to find Babu Kalishankar going into ecstasies over the fact that Hindus occasionally disregard the implications of social laws which in the opinion of Babu Kalishankar “preserve the purity of the nation” and save it from corruption and destruction. He also cites one or two instances of low-caste people who made good in life, in order to support his case. It is certainly for the sake of brevity that Babu Kalishankar refrains from citing the millions of instances in which untouchability had made life perfect hell to Hindus. He concedes, however, that untouchability is “vicious” “when attended with hatred and oppression, but with them very good.” He

also says, "It was designed to keep the people separate whose character, habit and intellect are not similar, and this kept the society in peace and contentment for thousands of years, and saved it from corruption and destruction." He refers to British immorality and comments, "the sooner you remove the restrictions of untouchability the sooner you can expect to have those scenes (of immorality) enacted here."

It seems that in the opinion of Babu Kalishankar Chakravarti immorality must of necessity be inter-caste. His other contentions are also equally alive with subtleties. It is seen everywhere that untouchability is attended with hatred, contempt, oppression, injustice and inhumanity; then what good is it to say that it would be an ideal thing without these? So would small-pox without its ugliness, misery and fatality. He says that India's past contentment and peace were due to their system. If it is so, why are we miserable although we still have got the caste system? Moreover Indian History does not tell us the same story as Babu Kalishankar. How often have Indians bled and suffered to break away from the torture of *Varnasramadharma*?

Mahatma Gandhi commenting upon this letter writes.

In my opinion Mr. Andrews is over-considerate to Babu Kalishankar Chakravarti. Whilst the condition of untouchables in the south is no doubt much worse than that of the untouchables in Bengal, it is bad enough in Bengal and admits of no defence. Namasudras can better speak of the effect of untouchability than its defenders. Let us learn from the English rulers the simple fact that the oppressors are blind to the enormity of their own misdeeds. The untouchability of Hinduism is probably worse than that of the modern imperialists. We have made it hereditary with a rigidity not yet observable about its Imperial edition. Will Babu Kalishankar please remember that the English Imperialists offer for their untouchability the same defence that he does for the Hindu untouchability. The safer course therefore is not to find out which is worse but to recognise the evil of our own system and endeavour to root it out.

M. K. G.

We quite agree with Mahatmaji.

A. C.

A Final Pronouncement on General Dyer.

We do not know exactly the aims and objects of the Royal Asiatic Society, but we have an idea that it takes only a severe academic interest in things Asiatic. We do not think that there is anything to prevent

the Society from adopting a point of view somewhat different from that of cold-blooded scholarship. This idea has recently been stimulated by a review which appeared in the Society's Journal of October 1924.

Sir Verney Lovett K. C. S. I., M. A., has written a book on India which has been reviewed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society by R. P. Dewhurst, who credits Sir Verney with achievements which any author might envy. We have not read Sir Verney Lovett's New History of India and are not in a position to offer any opinion on the quality of the book. It however appears from the review that the greatest triumph of Sir Verney is in his treatment of the period of India's history between 1914 and 1923. In dealing with this period, we are told, he has displayed wonderful *judgment, logic, impartiality, and fairness*. The reviewer says, "As a typical example of the judicial spirit which characterizes the book, a few sentences dealing with the thorny Amritsar question may be quoted." And he quotes the following fair and impartial lines.

"It appears that all through those terrible minutes his (General Dyer's) mind was filled to overflowing with three considerations, the futility of all previous measures, the continuous attempts to isolate his force, the certainty that if it were swept away, massacre and destruction would reign unchecked far and wide. We must deeply regret that the thoughts which possessed him left no room for cooler observation or for the natural compassion which must otherwise have interposed. But there can be no doubt that he was confronted by a terrible and highly critical emergency, and by a wide impression that the arm of the Government was paralysed."

The reviewer was so deeply moved by this keen and impartial analysis of Dyer's psychology at the moment of wantonly shooting down inoffensive and helpless men, women and children that he could not help commenting. "It would be very difficult, though these words were written before the recent ventilation of the Amritsar affair in the law courts, to improve on them as a final pronouncement on the matter."

The Amritsar affair was no doubt "ventilated" artificially in the law courts to make things sanitary for dame Prestige to live in, but will *ventilation* ever remove the stench?

We congratulate the Royal Asiatic Society on its endeavours to carry on the work of ventilation to a successful end. Ventilation works wonders!

A. C.

Lord Haldane on Indian Philosophy.

In the course of a private letter to Professor Surendranath Dasgupta, Lord Haldane, whose right to speak on philosophical matters is admitted on all hands, says :—

"You have done a great piece of work. Nowhere else I have seen such a systematic review of the Indian systems, simultaneous as well as successive. And you have brought to your endeavour not only great knowledge of Eastern Idealism, but also a wide acquaintance with the idealism of the West. The result is a view of development which is fresh, at all events so far as I am concerned."

But we are more concerned with what Lord Haldane says of Indian philosophy than with his pronouncement on Prof. Dasgupta's book. Says Lord Haldane :

"Indian philosophy has a larger history than that even of Grecian thought, which it precedes. I am struck, at the same time, with the way in which some of the most complete developments of post-Kantian objective idealism in Europe are anticipated in several of the Indian systems which you describe. Where the West, however, appears, to have been stronger is in the strenuous effort which it has made, since the days of Bacon to avoid losing touch with actual experience. It is difficult to think, for instance, that Einstein or Niels Bohr could have done their work under any but European moulding influence."

But with general ideas it is not so. It is remarkable to notice how in more than one Indian system the idea of relativity is obvious. There is even undualism of the notion of the Invariant.

"I have liked particularly your final chapter with an account of the Sankara doctrine of Vedanta. Here one gets the teaching of the East worked out in its application to special problems."

Bishop Fisher on Racial Adjustments.

The other day Bishop Fisher was allowed to give a talk to the staff and students of Visva-Bharati at Santiniketan. A few other persons were also present.

As was anticipated (and predicted) by some, but not by the authorities of the institution, the Bishop improved the occasion by doing a bit of Christian propagandist work:— we say, anticipated, because as men of the imperialist and capitalist species have the habit of political and economic intrusion and invasion, so men of the religious propagandist species have the habit of religious intrusion and invasion. Hindus, however, like it immensely; for though the giving of unsought advice in every other matter is looked upon as officiousness, the giving of unsought advice in matters religious is considered by them the pink of polite behaviour,

—particularly as they themselves are lacking in this accomplishment. But this is a digression.

The subject of Bishop Fisher's talk, which he had himself chosen, was modern racial adjustments. What he said on his subject proper was well said and quite reasonable. Certain things, however, which he considered as specially European, or as specially Christian, may possibly prefer to be named simply human. Such preference however silly, may, it is hoped, be excused.

It was obvious that the Bishop wished very much that Indians would become Christians. We have no quarrel with such a wish. But we have not been able to see how racial relations of the kind that the Bishop spoke of would improve by the Christianisation of Indians. Racial discrimination is at present practised in the most invidious manner, not by any non-Christian nation, but by Christian peoples. For example, Americans, Canadians, South Africans, Kenyan whites, etc., who exclude Asiatics, are all Christians. In the second place, the exclusion is made on the ground of race, not on that of religion. If it were the fact that Christian Asiatics were admitted and non-Christian Asiatics excluded, then of course by the conversion of all Asiatics to Christianity the problem could be solved. Leaving Asiatics apart, even among the white Christians of Europe, the Nordic races are given preference in America as immigrants over the southern peoples.

There was, no doubt, an indirect suggestion in the Bishop's talk that by becoming Christians in spirit, if not also in name, Indians would be able to so influence humanity as to improve racial relations. It is not clear, however, how that which people who have not been able to accomplish, could be brought about by people who have been pagans from time immemorial. As practice is always said to be better than precept, if Indians became Christians they might follow the example of Christian peoples and try to exclude all those white peoples who exclude Asiatics from their countries. "Do unto others as you are done by", might become Christian India's inference from the practice of great Christian peoples. That might not improve racial relations. The present untaught practice of pagan Indians of turning the right cheek to those who smite them on the left, is more convenient and conciliatory.

Spain and the Riffs in Morocco.

It is to be hoped that just as a century ago Spain was convinced by the hard logic of fact that it had done its work in South



Abd-El-Krim, the Leader of the Riffs

America, and therefore, gave up a hopeless struggle with the people of that continent, so will it retire from Morocco and leave the Riffs to work out their destiny under their leader Abd-El-Krim.

The Archaeological Discoveries in Sindh and the Panjab.

Archaeologists may be left to discuss and settle the cultural and historical affinities of the people tokens of whose civilisation have been un-earthed by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni in the Panjab and Babu Rakhaldas Banerji in Sindh. These prove that, much earlier than has hitherto been supposed, a high state of civilisation had been reached in India by some Indians—no matter whether they were Dravidians or belonged to some other Indian stock.

It is interesting to learn in this connection that more than twelve years ago, Professor Devadatta Bhandarkar concluded

that the ruins at Mohen-jo-Daro, where in Sindh such remarkable things have been dug out, were of comparatively recent date. The Professor wrote:—



Babu Rakhaldas Banerjee

".....I also visited what is called *Mohen-jo-daro*, seven miles south-east of Dokri in Larkana district. We had received glowing accounts of this spot, and I had great hopes of finding it to be as interesting as the ruins of the Mirpur Khas *stupa* before they were dug out. But on visiting the place I was greatly disappointed. Here are spread the remains of an old place for about three-fourths of a mile. Near the western edge is a tower on a mound nearly seventy feet high from the ground-level, from which the mound gradually rises. Of the top portion only the inner core has remained consisting of sun-dried brick work. The bottom of it appears to have been reached most probably by treasure-hunters, who, I was told, frequently excavated the most promising spots here. Close by towards the west and south are six mounds, but of a far less height, and there seems to have been a river once running between the tower mound and the other heaps. On the north side of the tower again are vestiges of an old brick road running up. The bricks as a rule are of modern type and are not of large dimensions like the old. There are no doubt some here which look old, but they are few and far between. Not a single carved moulded brick I was able to discover here. What a contrast to the Mirpur Khas *stupa* where cart-loads of such bricks were found before it was

excavated! The probabilities, therefore, are that the *Mohen-jo-daro* does not represent the remains of a Buddhist stupa or of any ancient monument. According to the local tradition, these are the ruins of a town only two hundred years old; and the *daro* or tower itself a part of the bastion guarding its west side. This seems to be not incorrect, because the bricks here found, as just said, are of the modern type, and there is a total lack of carved terracottas amidst the whole ruins.....”*

D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.
Superintendent, Archaeological Survey.
Western Circle.

Poona, 30th June, 1912.

*Extract from Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1912. (Part I.) IX Excavation, pp 4-5.

The Kohat Tragedy.

Government deputed a special magistrate to enquire into the Kohat disturbances and submit a report. He did so. The Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province reviewed this report, and sent it along with his review to the Government of India. The Governor-General has published this report and this review with a resolution thereupon. The whole cycle of red-tapism is now complete. The whole thing is as futile and unsatisfactory as it could possibly be. What was wanted was an independent and open enquiry by a Committee of officials and non-officials, the non-officials being chosen by the Legislative Assembly. If such a Committee held an open enquiry and published their report with the whole evidence on which it was based, there would have been some chance of arriving at the truth.

As we stated in our last number, even if the Hindus at Kohat were the first to give offence, or even if they alone were to blame, it was nothing but the height of barbarity on the part of the Musalmans, who were in an overwhelming majority, to have behaved in the way they did, compelling thousands of Hindus to flee for their lives. Should the Hindus behave in a similar manner in any place, they would also deserve similar condemnation.

It has been alleged that two scurrilous poems, one written by a Musalman and another by a Hindu, were among the causes of the atrocities. Discussion of religious doctrines or dogmas or of the characters of religious teachers, prophets, etc., should be carried on, if it becomes unavoidable, in dry, passionless prose like that which is used

in scientific works. Poetry, which rouses emotions and stirs up passions, is not at all a proper instrument for such discussions.

At the same time, the leaders of both Hindus and Moslems should constantly tell their respective communities not to get excited and lose their heads, even if their doctrines, prophets, teachers, etc., are unjustly attacked or defamed. The remedy should be sought calmly in a reasonable way. No man, and no dogmas and doctrines are greater than God. But, though there are and have been atheists in opinion and atheists in conduct, God has patience with all of them.

There is nothing to show that either the Moslem lampoonist or the Hindu lampoonist wrote what they did at the bidding or with the approval or connivance of their entire respective communities. Therefore, the offence of one ought not to have been visited on the heads of all members of any community.

As the Hindu lampoonist had apologised to the Moslems in a public meeting, the matter ought to have ended there.

The Musalman Assistant Commissioner who tried the Hindu lampoonist ought not to have yielded repeatedly to the threats of the Moslem mob. He ought to have done his duty courageously and calmly. If he felt that he had not the strength to do so, he ought to have at once sought and obtained the help of the higher authorities.

In the report of the enquiring magistrate and in the chief commissioner's review thereof, there is some disposition to lay some blame upon some servants of government. But the Governor-General's resolution whitewashes all the public servants concerned. It even praises the "coolness and courage" of the officials on the spot! The servants of the most powerful empire in the world, within hailing distance of troops, are unable to prevent murderous riots, incendiarism and plunder, though they had ample warnings of what was coming. Though the executive and the police have been known to fire on inoffensive, unarmed and peaceful crowds in numerous places, at Kohat they did not fire on armed mobs on destruction bent. The representatives of the most powerful empire in the world, whose strongest plea for holding the people of India in subjection is that of maintaining "law and order" and of preventing Hindus and Moslems from flying at one another's throats, are unable to maintain law and order, and look on, helplessly, as it were, while Hindus and Moslems do fly at each

other's throats. Not only that, they actually provide facilities for the Hindus to leave their hearths and homes for distant uncertain destinations. The frontier constabulary are called in, though the members thereof belong to Moslem tribes accustomed to looting and having no moral scruples against it, *and though Hindu Dogra soldiers, who have no such plundering instinct, were near at hand.* Holes are made in the wall surrounding Kohat, though cavalry was posted round it and the city-gates were closed to prevent the ingress of frontier tribesmen in quest of loot. The frontier constabulary, far from preventing plunder, actually themselves take part in the loot. These are some of the facts which have convinced Lord Reading, former chief justice of Britain and present governor-general of India, that the officials at Kohat acted with coolness and courage! Precious coolness and courage! It is so precious that, for safe custody, it ought to be transferred to London to be kept with India's precious gold standard reserve.

As holes were made at thirteen places in the wall surrounding Kohat in spite of cavalry having been posted there, as non-official plunderers entered through those holes, and as those who ought to have been protectors became themselves plunderers, the presumption becomes irresistible that the cavalry either did not do their duty, being either asleep or away from their posts, or they looked on while the wall was being breached, or they actively assisted the non-official plunderers in making the holes. For we do not find it mentioned that any cavalryman was wounded, disabled, or killed in attempting to prevent the wall being breached. Therefore, these official plunderers or aiders and abettors in plunder ought to have been punished in an exemplary manner. But we do not find that any punishment has been inflicted on the cavalry stationed outside the wall.

Lord Reading has put in a curious plea in defence or extenuation of the guilt of the official plunderers. He says in effect that finding valuables scattered in front of them, they could not control their acquisitiveness. Ravishers can be similarly defended. Hence it is hoped that Lord Reading would get the Indian Penal Code amended, so that all robbers, ravishers, etc., acting under irresistible impulses, might not be punished.

We have not found in Lord Reading's resolution a single word of regret for the

shameful and lamentable events which form the subject of it, nor a single word of sympathy for the sufferers.

Unless the Moslem majority at Kohat can satisfy the Hindu minority that the latter's honour, lives and property would be henceforward safe, the latter cannot and ought not to return to Kohat. Government also must make amends for the want of foresight, the incapacity or the disinclination, and the guilt of its servants. It may be that as both the Moslems and the Hindus were to blame, they ought to pay for the upkeep of a punitive police force at Kohat. But as government was also to blame and as in our opinion the greater part of the blame must rest on its shoulders, it being paid for shouldering the responsibility of maintaining law and order, it should bear the greater part of the cost of the police force. As the Musalmans are in a majority at Kohat, there should be a majority of non-Moslems in the military and police force and staff of executive and judicial officers at Kohat. Government should compensate the sufferers for their losses. The two local communities should also voluntarily make good the losses for which each is responsible.

New Repressive Legislation for Bengal.

The Bengal Government is going shortly to place before the Legislative Council a bill for enabling it (the Government) to do during the next five years what it has recently done by way of repression. We hope the Bengal M. L. C.s will not be party to any lawless law by means of which the executive and the police would find it easy to deprive men of their liberty and punish them without open trial according to the ordinary forms of law.

Swaraj Week Collections.

Though the Swaraj week was extended to a fortnight, the total collections are said to amount to only Rs. 2,25,003-7-11½. Yet we were told that there was great enthusiasm and that the people of Calcutta were so eager to pay that, in the rush, one week was not found sufficient to give and receive!

There are some significant figures in the "Detailed Account," as it is called.

It is admitted by all that Mr. C. R. Das made a very great sacrifice by giving up his practice as a lawyer. And the legal fraternity are certainly in a better position to appreciate the extent of this sacrifice than the lay public. Yet we find that the High Court Vakils' Library has paid only Rs. 77-8-9, the High Court Indian Barristers *nil*, the Attorneys *nil*, the Small Cause Court Rs. 164-9-0, and the Alipore Bar Library Rs. 199-7-0. We do not know why there has been this poor response from the lawyers. Perhaps most of them do not believe in the *bona fides*, or the soundness, or the practicability of the Swaraj Party's village reconstruction and organisation scheme or perhaps these hardheaded men know better how to receive than to give or is it that they did not believe in the miraculous powers claimed for the scheme in such big-type mountebank cries as, "You may be the next victim of the ordinance. Pay to kill it," "Are you for repression? Pay to destroy it?"

There are two big items. One is Mr. C. R. Das's personal collection, from various wards of Calcutta and Howrah, amounting to Rs. 144,945-2-9; and another, Mr. A. N. Mullick's contribution of Rs. 10,000. Deducting these from the total sum of Rs. 2,25,000 we get a sum of Rs. 70,000 in round numbers which represents the total collection of all of Mr. Das's followers. As we have been told that only or mainly poor men have paid, Mr. C. R. Das singly must have asked double as many men as all his followers put together, for a rupee or so each. The mere physical energy and activity which this feat implies, must excite the envy of even champion Marathon runners.

"In Mother's Memory."

Maulana Mohamed Ali has been publishing in *The Comrade* a series of articles with the caption "In Mother's Memory." These articles are so good that we do hope they will be published in book-form with as many good portraits as can be procured of the revered lady whom the Indian public called Bi Amman. If for no other reason than simply being the sons of such a mother, Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Mohamed Ali would deserve to be held in high respect.

It is difficult to choose any passages from these articles for reproduction. But we will give one long and one short extract. We

will remind our readers by way of preface that Bi Amman became a widow when she was a young woman of twenty-eight.

During her last illness, and only a couple of weeks before her death, mother was asked if she would not prefer to get shorter *kurtas* or shirts made for her, now that she was not moving about, and the many creases of the long *khaddar kurtas* she wore had to be smoothed away every now and then to make it comfortable for her to lie in bed. But she refused, and the refusal brought to light an incident that had happened just when father had died. In those days it was the fashion for Muslim ladies to wear *kurtis*, which were short sleeveless shirts, or rather blouses, and it was only old ladies who had been on a pilgrimage to the Hejaz that would occasionally substitute for these garments and the voluminous bifurcated skirts of Lucknow the long *kurtas* and trousers in imitation, more or less, of the fashions of Mecca and Medina. Mother, who had not yet been on a pilgrimage to these holy places, had got a couple of these *kurtas* made some time ago, but had never worn them. On father's death she took one of them out; when she was about to put it on, an old lady of her family asked her to consider the implications of this change of garments. It was all very well for old women, who had lived their lives, and had gone for the Haj almost as the last great event in all their existence, and had practically renounced the world. But for a young woman of eight-and-twenty, who would in all probability marry again if only for the sake of her children's upbringing, it was a foolish fancy. So the old lady tried quietly to dissuade mother from adopting a fashion in dress that she could not keep up for long. What was mother's answer, it was our sister who was privileged the other day to hear from mother's own lips. She told the old lady: "This long white *kurta*, dear mother, would now be taken off only on the *takhla*"—the wooden board on which a Muslim's corpse is washed for the burial. That is why she preferred her long *kurtas* of *khaddar* with all their rough creases, which hurt her frail bedridden body, to the shorter ones suggested by our sister, and it was only on the *takhla*, almost half-a-century after father's death, that this fashion had to be discarded—for the shroud.

The Prophet had himself always married widows—except once, when he married Hazrat Ayesha—no doubt to establish the humane custom of widow remarriage, and good Musalmans always recommend to the young ladies of their family who are unfortunate enough to become widows so early in life to marry again. Mother's relations also pressed a second marriage upon her, and many of those who had seen her almost fearless on father's death felt sure she would remarry before long. But she herself knew better than that. The cholera that had taken father away had not spared her son, our eldest brother living. The minute father passed away mother left his bedside, and went over to tend and nurse her son, because, as she used to tell us herself, she had done her duty by the dead, and she must thenceforward do her duty by the living. The loud lamentations in which the women of her time indulged on such occasions, and in which, in fact, many to this day indulge, did not seem to accord well with a sorrow that was too

deep for such outward expression. Besides, she was anxious to spare as much sorrow as possible to her children, and so she kept her own feelings in leash. That is why she appeared callous to those who remarked only her reticence, but who could not not peep into the heart that was bursting with grief.

The next passage which we are going to quote gives us a glimpse of the good lady's *sadhana* (spiritual discipline) in *nivrittimarga* (the path of self-restraint and renunciation), as Hindus call it.

Maulana Mohamed Ali says that, being accustomed to meat diet, even the servants of his family turn up their noses if they get *dul* too often. *Chaulai* being a vegetable which grows wild, even they would not touch it. But for the sake of "simplicity and studied economy," Bi Amman would sometimes pluck some *chaulai* leaves and prepare *bhujia* for herself.

"But on one occasion I found that mother, who had been thinking for some days past of plucking *chaulai* from the terrace, and had at last prepared it herself, in oil for choice, and with heaps of chillies, did not turn up at dinner, and even her favourite *bhujia* could not tempt her. When pressed hard she told us she did not feel inclined to eat anything, and beyond feeling concerned a little about her indisposition, as we thought, we would have taken no further notice of it. But a few days later she told us she had simply yearned for that *bhujia*. 'Then why didn't you have it?' we all asked, adding: 'It couldn't have hurt you much after all.' 'That's all right,' she told us, 'for I was not indisposed.' 'Then what else was the matter with you?' we asked in utter surprise. 'Ah, *everything* was the matter with me. My heart was so set on it, and it smelt so savoury when I was preparing it. But then I said to-myself: 'What does it matter if thy heart so yearns for it? Wilt thou satisfy thy heart's cravings if tomorrow it yearns for a husband?'"

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar's Return.

We extend a cordial welcome to Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar on his return to India after an absence of nearly eleven years. He comes back well equipped for promoting the cause of culture, and of the study of economic development and political science and allied branches of Knowledge. His travels and investigations comprise Egypt, England, Scotland, Ireland, the U. S. A., Hawaii Islands, Japan, Korea, Manchuria, North China, France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and North Italy. His literary output during this period has been enormous, being five thousand pages in Bengali and three thousand in English. All this was printed in journals. A small portion remains yet to be published in book-form.

He has lectured at various places and institutions. We shall mention only some of those institutions which are worth while for India from social and scientific standpoints: in English—Royal Asiatic Society (North China Branch), Columbia University, Clark University, Amherst College: in French—University of Paris, Societe Asiatique, Academie des Beaux Arts, Academie des Sciences morales et politiques: in German—University of Berlin, Deutsche Gesellschaft, Deutsche Morgenlaendische Gesellschaft.

He has contributed to the following journals among others: Journal of International Relations, International Journal of Ethics, Political Science Quarterly, Scientific Monthly, School and Society, Revue de Synthese Historique, Seances et travaux de l'Academie des sciences morales, Deutsche Rundschau.

He is an elected "membre correspondant de la Societe d'economie politique" of Paris.

For the last few years he has been studying the methods and problems in economic development with special reference to post-war Europe.

A Limit to 'Ahimsa.'

So far as individually a man is concerned, he may be a thorough-going *Ahimsaist*—he may refuse to strike down even the man who attacks him with murderous intention.

But a woman cannot and ought not to be an *Ahimsaist* in all circumstances—she should kill, if need be, any one who tries to dishonour her. That sets limit to her non-violence. Similarly, if a man sees any one attempting to dishonour a woman, it is his bounden duty to prevent the outrage even at the cost of his own and the assailant's life if need be.

Such being our conviction, we are glad to find Mahatma Gandhi writing as follows in *Young India* for December 18, 1924:—

My *dharma* teaches me for the sake of others to give my life without even attempting to kill. But my *dharma* also enables me to say that where choice lies between running away to the neglect of one's charge and killing the would-be ravisher, it is one's duty to kill and be killed, never to desert the post of duty.

Prof. Thorpe on Chemical Research in India

Professor Jocelyne F. Thorpe, F. R. S., has contributed to *Nature* an article on chemical

research in India. It deals with such chemical research as would be calculated to promote the development of chemical industries. He begins the article by saying:—

The Indian Industrial Commission, presided over by Sir Thomas Holland, issued its report in 1918. It had been formed in 1916, and was "instructed to examine and report upon the possibilities of further industrial development in India, and to submit its recommendations" with special reference to a number of specific questions of which two only concern us here. These were "a. to ascertain whether and if so in what manner, Government can usefully give direct encouragement to industrial development,...

i. By rendering technical advice more freely available.

ii. By the demonstration of the practical possibility on the commercial scale of particular industries."

The Commission made a number of recommendations. It recommended, for example, the formation of several scientific services built up on lines which, it was hoped, would give an impetus to the development of industries based on the great natural resources of the country.

Among the services the formation of which was recommended was one dealing with chemistry, and as this subject was rightly regarded as one of the foundations of all industrial development, the first effect given to the Commission was to appoint a committee with instructions "to formulate proposals for the organization of a Chemical Service for India and for the location and equipment of research laboratories." I was asked to act as chairman of this committee, and with the object of obtaining an insight into the actual conditions, I toured through India during November and December of 1919 and January and February of 1920. In the course of the tour I visited all the important centres and was able to discuss the problems involved with many prominent officials and business men. I saw all the leading educational institutions and noted the facilities for research present in the chemical departments attached to them.

His conclusion was that

"India is at present poorly equipped to meet any demand for properly trained chemists, and cannot be expected to supply recruits for a chemical service unless the service itself can act as the research trainer."

This conclusion is quite correct, if by "properly trained chemists" Prof. Thorpe means chemists with proper training in industrial chemistry; otherwise it is not correct. He then passes on to observe—

"The scheme suggested by the Industrial Commission was a comprehensive one, and well fitted to meet the immediate industrial requirements of the country. It provided for the establishment of a central Government research institute where both fundamental and practical research would be carried out to serve as a nucleus from which chemists could be drawn to fill the various chemical posts throughout the Empire."

The history of industrial chemistry says something quite different. More fundamental and important research work and training in industrial chemistry has been done by enterprising firms with capable and alert directorates than by any Government institute in the world. Government departments of this nature *as a rule* lack in enterprise and tend towards stereotyped routine work. There is nothing, however, to prove that such a department as is proposed is an impossibility.

The provinces, however, were not in favour of a central Government research institute. They wished to do things on their own behalf, "unhampered by any restrictions which might be exercised by a central Government institution such as that suggested by the Industrial Commission. The Provinces were quite right in fearing that work might be hampered by such a central Government institution. Government work in this country usually means very discouraging red tape and bombast, both deadly poisons for the spirit of research.

The writer then proceeds to say:—

Still, a modified scheme by which each province would have its own research institute seemed practicable and, indeed, even an improvement on the original idea, provided that each provincial institute undertook to confine its activities, both fundamental and practical, to its own local immediate industrial needs leaving a central institute under the Government to carry out those fundamental researches which underlay the industries of the countries as a whole.

This appears to be more practicable.

Professor Thorpe observes:—

"There are very few consulting chemists in India, most of the consulting advisory work, where such exists, being carried out in the Universities."

In this matter the Professor appears to have been misinformed. No University in India has the necessary equipment for consulting advisory work in industrial chemistry. We do not know of a single competent industrial chemist in any one of the Indian Universities. Of course there may be some unknown to us.

The writer holds out an expectation regarding the proposed research institute which would be very difficult, to say the least, to fulfil. Says he:—

The chemist or chemists who had solved problems in the research institute submitted by a manufacturer would be loaned to the manufacturer for a sufficient period of time to enable him to place the new process on a working basis in the factory.

If chemists are to be loaned out to factories for the purposes mentioned above, then their supply in the research institute would have to be enormous.

Dehra Dun was recommended as a "convenient central place" for an industrial research institute by the Industrial Commission, and the recommendation was endorsed by Professor Thorpe's Committee, he says. The idea is quite exquisite !

In the following sentence what the writer calls the final problem is really the main and the most vital problem :—

It is the final problem, that is, how to supply the training in works practice, and what is still more important, how to pick out the men most suited by temperament to profit by this training, which has to be solved not only in India but in Great Britain also.

But we do not agree with him in what he says in the next sentence, quoted below.

In the proposed chemical service this very real problem of type would be met by a frequent interchange between the individuals comprising the junior personnel of the research staffs of the various institutes. Each man would, therefore, obtain his training in works practice.

We fail to see where in this proposed system the men comprising the junior personnel would acquire training in works practice. Works practice *cannot* be got in any research institute whatsoever unless it is part and parcel of an industrial concern. Prof. Thorpe is absolutely wrong here. We doubt whether he can cite one single instance of any industrial man who has been trained thus and has shown efficiency in practice.

When the writer says that

These proposals imply that, besides the main chemical staff, each institute would have to be provided with a suitable staff of engineers, whose main duty would be to act as instructors in general engineering practice

he is quite right.

In the opinion of the writer, "the proposed scheme for the establishment of a chemical service would have to start in a small way." This is easier said than done. Can he formulate any scheme which can show any usefulness commensurate with its cost, that can be regarded as comparatively inexpensive when considered from the viewpoint of provincial finance ?

Prof. Thorpe concludes his article thus :—

No doubt, in many of the provinces use could be made of some existing institute to act as the provincial research institute, until funds were available for the erection and equipment of a building especially

designed for the purpose. The chief initial cost would be incurred by the erection and equipment of the new Government Research Institute at Dehra Dun, but it is understood that some money, at any rate, has been allotted for this purpose. Indeed, it is likely that a large capital expenditure and a considerable income would be necessary in order to start the scheme and to place it initially on a sure financial basis, because it is not proposed that any attempt should be made to make the service self-supporting and the equipment of the new laboratories would have to be completely up-to-date. If the service is to succeed, the Government must take the long view, and bear in mind, chiefly, the increase in wealth to be obtained by the development of the natural resources of the country. The opportunity is a splendid one, but to take advantage of it effectively requires courage and vision.

It is not only "likely" but certain that the expenditure would be very very large, and most of it useless expenditure on costly buildings, designed by expensive British architects, erected by costly British firms, etc.

"The increase in wealth" promised by the professor would mean in Indian parlance the draining away of wealth by foreign exploiters. Would Indians benefit in the main ? Or would vested British interests gain ?

The whole thing has been considered from the standpoint of a man of science of vast and deep erudition and brilliant research capacity, but of no experience of the problems which beset industry in this country and possessed of only a rather detached knowledge of the industrial problems of his own country. In short, it is a professor's solution of a business man's problem.

Is there any necessity for such services as have been proposed by Sir T. H. Holland ? Industries of the kind that would be helped by the proposed services are of two classes : (a) those that are owned or controlled by British interests ; (b) those that are owned and controlled by Indians. Of these, the first do not need any help. They are as a rule well able to afford and conduct the necessary research work. Their own means, added to the Bank support invariably given to them, obviates the poor Indian tax-payer being bled to serve their purpose. As regards the second kind, Indian owned and controlled concerns, their difficulties, *taken in order of importance*, are as follows :—

1. Difficulties of finance form approximately forty per cent., of the sum total of difficulties. Private capital is shy as regards such concerns, and as most of the banks are foreign, bank facilities are practically *nil*.

2. Lack of experience and training in management may be said to form twenty-five per cent., of the difficulties. Directorates in such Indian companies are generally composed of incompetent and ignorant persons devoid of directing capacity.

3. Fifteen per cent. of the difficulties of such concerns may be said to spring from absolute disregard of their needs by British monopoly interests such as Railways, Electric Works, Gas Works, etc., and scant and tardy attention from state departments.

4. Ten per cent. of the difficulties are due to public apathy, as shown by lack of sympathy of political bodies and the tendency towards victimisation of Indian products evinced by Indian selling organisations and middle men.

5. The remaining ten per cent. may be said to be due to want of research facilities.

In our opinion, unless remedies are found for the first four and major evils, there is no necessity to combat the fifth and minor one.

In case of government help being given to Indian technical concerns, the line of work should be as follows in our opinion:

I. Establishing technical libraries (of the same type as at the Patent Office, Chancery Lane, London) at all provincial headquarters, with a staff of translators available for work at very moderate charges; and a Central Library, fully stocked with scientific and technical literature, situated, say, at Delhi, having the same kind of translating staff. Translations not only from the languages of all the leading industrial countries into English but into as many leading Indian languages as possible should be done at the Central Library.

II. Establishing a fully equipped central technical laboratory at a place where the minimum amount of expenditure is needed for the provision of gas, electricity, water, staff quarters, etc. Expenditure on buildings should be as small as possible. A good library should be available. The staff should be just sufficient for direction of work, but the work should be done mostly by men deputed by industrial concerns, jointly or separately, and there should be adequate arrangements for such men to carry on their research work efficiently and economically. In case of such concerns being in need of help but being unable to pay for it, the work is to be done by the staff with the help, if necessary, of research scholars temporarily engaged. These scholars can be got and should be got—from the various Indian universities, and arrange-

ments should be made for their work at the central technical laboratory to be recognised by the university concerned as work for a degree or doctorate.

III. The giving of government help to industrial concerns in sending out men for special training abroad.

IV. Establishment of provincial laboratories, as in II, only when the demand justifies it, and then only in the department of industry in demand.

V. The staff at the central laboratory must be composed of experienced and efficient men. And they must be taken from countries where the line of industry concerned is most progressive. The Japanese system of getting specialists for terms of three to five years on high salaries would be the best.

VI. The entire department must be under non-official control. A new "Heaven-born" service would be worse than useless.

INDUSTRIALIST

A Chair of Municipal Government

As the Calcutta Municipality is under the control of the Swaraj party, it can and should make arrangements for contributing, say Rs. ten thousand per annum to the Calcutta University to found a chair of Municipal Government and a Bureau of Municipal Research. We need comparative knowledge in the field of Government in general, and Municipal Administration in particular. Calcutta Municipality can do great and permanent good to India by creating facilities in connection with the Calcutta University for training experts in municipal government.

Contract for Foreign Coal

The Indian Mining Federation has in the course of a letter to the Secy. to Government of India, Department of Industries and Labour, refers to the recent announcement in the press of a contract having been placed for the supply of South African Coal for the Sukkur Barrage requirement for one year. The letter states.—

The action of the authorities in purchasing foreign coal to the extent of some 60,000 tons, at a moment when the Indian coal industry is on all

mission passing through a period of grave depression is fraught with important considerations of public policy. As the Government of India are well aware, one of the most decisive elements in the present depression of coal industry is the serious competition which Indian coal has had to face with foreign, particularly the bounty-fed South African coal in both the home port markets and the neighbouring foreign ports which until a few years ago were its legitimate overseas markets.

The Legislative Assembly by a resolution passed on the 7th of February last, urged a countervailing duty on South African coal and the Honourable Commerce Member speaking in the Assembly on the 15th March last declared the intention of the Government to refer the question of an increased duty on foreign coal to the examination of Tariff Board. Though the actual reference to the Tariff Board has been deferred owing to the appointment of a Coal Export Inquiry Committee, the Government of India nevertheless stand committed to this reference. At all events, the attitude of the Government was sufficiently pronounced that nothing would be done meanwhile to directly stimulate foreign coal gaining an additional ground in the Indian market. The present purchase of 60,000 tons of foreign coal by the Stores Department gives, however, the lie direct to such an expectation. The Committee venture to think that the action not only constitutes an outrage on the Indian coal industry but an insult to the Indian legislature and is, further, a flagrant violation of the Government's own declared intention.

It will also be recalled that it is only three years that Government in violation of their definitely pledged stores purchase policy purchased one million tons of British coal, thus eventually involving the Indian taxpayers in an avoidable loss of seven crores of rupees. It is needless to stress on the obvious truism that a Government Department is not as free to arrange its purchases as a private buyer. If the actual stores purchase policy which your Department control is at variance with the assurance of the Commerce Department, a declaration of Government's policy will cease to inspire any public confidence. If despite a serious depression in the Indian coal industry, the Stores Department would extend its custom to South African coal, the dignified mockery of a Coal Export Committee might as well be avoided and with it the prodigious waste of the tax-payers' money.

I am next to examine the transaction in question on its own merit, considered as a business proposition. The Committee have in their possession complete analysis of the coals of the various Transvaal mines and they are, from these materials, in a position to assert that they are in no way superior to 11, 12 seam Jharia coals, which were tendered by at least half a dozen parties at Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 F. O. R. ton for thus exhibiting an under-quotation of the accepted rate of the South African coal by at least Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 per ton, if sea-borne, and by a higher figure, if carried by rail.

In the circumstances, I am desired to express a hope that the Government of India will still find it possible to rescind the contract already entered into for the supply of South African coal on weighty considerations of public policy indicated in the previous paragraphs.

No elaborate comments are needed on the facts revealed in this letter.

As South Africa discriminates against Indian human beings, the Government of India's discrimination in favour of South African coal, even at a pecuniary sacrifice, is only too logical and legitimate. It also shows in quite a delightful manner that the government of India thinks that what hurts the self-respect of India enhances the self-respect of India's government. Finally, it demonstrates irrefutably that the government of India is a Christian government: for does it not offer the right cheek of India to those who have smitten her on the left cheek repeatedly, and does it not also offer her cloak of State patronage to those who have already taken her coat of private custom by means of bounties?

Tagore on the Moscow Stage

The Bombay Chronicle states:—

A recent issue of the "Prager Presse" gives an interesting account of the popularity of Tagore's plays with the Russian artists. Madame Germanova, the queen of Russian tragedy, who was the leading lady at the Moscow Art Theatre is now at Prague, where she is celebrating her twenty years' activity on the stage by appearing in the "Brothers Karamazov" the play based on the famous novel of Dostoevski. She says that as a change from the usual repertory, her troupe of players decided in the year 1918, the darkest period of the Russian Revolution, to produce a play which would give the audience a higher vision of life than the drab atmosphere which surrounded them. Rabindranath Tagore's "King of the Dark Chamber" was selected. Madame Germanova portraying Sudarshana. The play was a tremendous success, and since then the Moscow Art Theatre and other institutions interested in putting on the boards plays which will give the audience something different from the typical problem play of western life, are exploring the works of Eastern dramatists. India naturally feels proud to find that Tagore is selected with universal approbation in Germany, Denmark and Russia by a number of enterprising producers.

As Rabindranath Tagore's "*King of the Dark Chamber*" is a symbolical spiritual play in which the King is God and Sudarshana, the Queen, is the human soul, the popularity of the play shows that the Russians have not become rank atheists and materialists, as we have been repeatedly told they have: a sufficiently large number of them in any case retain their primeval spiritual instincts to be able to appreciate a play like the "*King of the Dark Chamber*."

Evidence on the not totally unsatisfactory religious condition of Russia comes from a

different quarter also. In the December number of *The Socialist Review* Major D. Graham Pole quotes the following from a letter which appeared in the press in England on 29th September last:—

"Our Baptist Churches commonly report increases of membership in the past five years or so of 500 or even 1,000 per cent., and the total membership of our churches in Russia is now probably second only to the United States of America. There are evidences that this is only the small beginning of a movement which may be of greater historic importance than the Protestant Reformation itself."

Lala Lajpat Rai's Suggestions

Lala Lajpat Rai has thus summarised the suggestions contained in the series of plain-spoken letters contributed by him to various dailies:—

- (1) Free your minds from the pernicious doctrine of absolute rights.
- (2) Purge your politics of "religion" (dogmatic religion).
- (3) Rationalise religion as much as possible, and lay emphasis only on essentials.
- (4) Remove social barriers which separate and estrange one community from another.
- (5) Love India above any other country in the world and be Indians first and last.
- (6) Concentrate all efforts on improving conditions at home. That does not debar you from sympathising with your fellow-religionists abroad and helping occasionally provided that your duty to your own countrymen permits of it. In this respect follow Turkey and Egypt.
- (7) Don't fret at Shuddhi. It has come to stay.
- (8) You can try "Sangathan" and "Tanzim", if you can purge them of Anti-Muslim and Anti-Hindu feelings, which, in my opinion, is very difficult.
- (9) Have proportional representation in Legislatures, if you may, but do not insist on separate electorates.
- (10) Divide the Punjab into two Provinces to make majority rule effective.
- (11) Don't insist on population being the rule of representation in local bodies. But if you must, you may.
- (12) Have Public Services Commissions to regulate the filling of Government posts on certain general broad principles.
- (13) No communal representation in Universities and educational institutions. But special facilities for backward classes may be provided with special grants from public revenues for their benefit.

Compulsory Education for Muslim Girls Demanded

It is a healthy and significant sign of the times that

At an extraordinary meeting of the Mohamedan Educational Association of South India under the presidency of Dr. Syed Abdul Khader Saheb Jelani, M. L. A., a resolution to address the Corporation of Madras and the Government to include the Muslim Girls under their scheme of compulsory elementary education in the city was passed.—(A. P. I.)

Riff Relief Fund.

The Associated Press of India has sent the following message from Lahore to the press:—

In response to an appeal to His Highness the Aga Khan and Syed Ameer Ali on behalf of the women and children of the Muslim Riff, the Muslim Outlook Lahore, opened a subscription list and has already remitted to England three instalments of subscriptions received from all parts of India. Responses are now being made by Muslims of all shades of political opinion. The Provincial Khilafat Conference of Amritsar collected a sum of money in response to appeals endorsed by Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan, President of the Conference. The Punjab Muslim League sanctioned a subscription to the fund and the Anjuman Islamia has done likewise and has also formed a Committee to collect further subscription from the Muslims. Nawab Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan announces that he is appealing to his friends to support the Muslim Outlook Riff Relief Fund as he has received a special appeal personally from the Aga Khan and Syed Ameer Ali. Many Muslim ladies of Lahore have already subscribed to the Fund for relief of their sisters wounded in Morocco. The Outlook urges the Governments of India and Britain to discountenance French intervention in the Riff country.

Whether our fellowmen abroad are co-religionists or not, help should always be given to them when in distress, they stand in need of it. After the terribly destructive Japanese earthquake India, along with other countries, sent a little help to Japan in token of her sympathy. Though we are not Moslems, our sympathies are wholly with the Riffs in their struggle for liberty against Spain. They, therefore, deserve all the help that can be sent from India.

What is deplorable is that though Bengal contains more Mussalmans than any other province of India, than in fact many independent Moslem countries, yet on no occasion when these Bengali Musalman millions have been stricken with famine, flood, earthquake or epidemic, have the Aga Khan, Syed Amir Ali (who is himself a Bengali) and other big leaders opened a relief fund for them, or themselves contributed a pice to the relief funds opened by non-Muslims. What is the explanation? Non-Muslims are to keep alive

he occasionally starving Muslim peasantry of Bengal, and the big Muslim leaders are to exploit these co-religionists of theirs for their own purposes—does the division of labour run along these lines? If so, one must admit that these big men are very cute and deep.

Abolition of Slavery in Nepal

We rejoice to learn that the government of Nepal has arranged for the total abolition of slavery in Nepal. Though it was only domestic slavery, not like the slavery whose horrors were exposed in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, yet, as it clashed with the ideal of human freedom, it deserved to be destroyed root and branch. The Nepal government will have to pay the owners of the slaves forty lakhs of rupees as compensation.

Pandit Sivanath Sastri's Vows

The following is taken from a report of Babu Bipin Chandra Pal's speech on the late Pandit Sivanath Sastri :—

A cry for political emancipation was but the inevitable consequence of this idealistic realisation of the spirit of freedom. The ideal government in our estimation was the government under which the people had the capacity of making or unmaking laws of the land. And from this point of view Sastri used the word Swayatta-Sasan (self-government) in one of the items on which we took our oaths. The sentence ran as follows ;—"We recognise Swayatta-Sasan as the only divinely-ordained government". Mr. Pal said that according to Sastri a Government not influenced by divine laws could never have the bindings of religion. But from this, the speaker said, the audience might conclude that Sastri was a revolutionary and an anarchist, which he was decidedly not. Then he drew the attention of the audience to the next sentence, which ran as follows :—"But in the present condition of the country and for its future welfare we shall be guided by the prevailing laws of the established Government". Then came the last and the most fiery of all the oaths and it was this :—"But if we are even racked with pain, poverty and misfortune, we shall never accept any kind of service under this Government." The debt of bread, Mr. Pal said, was the worst kind of indebtedness, and the great Bhishma of the Mahabharata fame had to fight against the Pandavas even knowing for certain that the Kauravas were in the wrong simply because he was in debt of bread to the latter. The speaker then referred to the unique performance conducted under the inspiration of Sastri and said that this was celebrated long before Bankim Chandra could conceive of his "Anandamath". The genius of

Sastri, Mr. Pal said, was all-comprehensive, and he eulogised the whole-hearted devotion of Sastri to Truth and Freedom, the catholicity of his nature, his imperturbable patience, his simplicity and liberality.

State Help Again for Tata Iron and Steel Works

The duty levied on certain classes of goods imported from abroad not being sufficient to keep the Tata Iron and Steel Works, on its legs the Tatas again applied for State help; and on the recommendation of the Tariff Board, the Government of India has agreed to help them with bounties not exceeding fifty lakhs of rupees per annum. It has been computed that consumers in India of the class of goods produced by the Tatas would have to pay per annum one and a half crores of rupees more than before owing to the increased duties. The addition of the bounty of fifty lakhs to this huge sum makes up a total of two crores per annum.

What are the advantages which the Indian nation would derive in exchange for this large sum? India ought not to be taxed merely to enrich the Tata shareholders and their foreign fat-salaried employees. Arrangements should be immediately made to gradually but rapidly Indianise the concern from top to bottom, the necessary facilities being provided for the training of specialists and experts. Even the labourers should share in the profits and the management.

From what appears in the press from time to time, it appears that the concern is not managed economically but with extravagance. Even for effecting economies a very high-salaried European has been or is being imported.

As specimens of what appears in the press, we quote below some passages from a letter signed "B. R. S. Bhalla" and published in *The Bombay Chronicle*.

Many suitable and qualified Indians (who qualified in this branch of the trade in America) are working their way at the lowest rung of the ladder as compared with their European contemporaries who are not only paid handsomely but are actually their Masters and the former have of necessity to look to them for their future prosperity.

Besides, whenever there are any vacancies, advertisement to fill up the same is issued in America and England, India being totally ignored, the intention to monopolise this firm for foreigners against the wishes of Indians is therefore too clear to need any elucidation.

It is understood that 60 Europeans are being recruited from America on monthly salaries varying from Rs. 600 to Rs 1000 P. M. for "New plant containing Merchants Mills etc., galvanized sheets and iron sheets" (a branch of the Tata Iron Works) they have executed a three years' agreement and will share the profit as well, which may go to any extent. In other words they will draw a part of the profit which must otherwise fall to the share of Indian Shareholders.

It is a pity that in an Indian Factory like the Tata Iron Works a foreigner should control the establishment and its capital to the best advantage of his own nation. In the Railway Workshops and Government Factories etc., Indians have already met with their fate very miserably and if in Indian Factories they have to come across a still worse fate, it is clear that the Indian must go to the wall.

Burman Students' Protest against Bible Teaching

A Rangoon telegram, dated the 17th December; states that

Some Buddhist Burman students of Cushing High School, managed by the American Baptist Mission went on strike as a protest against Bible teaching and religious exercises. The Education Minister convened a Conference of school authorities, the Director of Public Instruction, leading non-official Buddhist Burmans, including the editors of the Burmese newspapers, with the object of making efforts for arriving at an amicable settlement to end the strike and to acquaint the public with steps taken in that direction by the school and the Government.

The statement made at the Conference by school authorities showed that the school authorities would exempt from religious teaching those pupils whose parents so desired.

In Calcutta, the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal at its last session passed a resolution against the compulsory study of the bible in schools and colleges. Now that Sir Asutosh Mookerji is dead, the Mahamandal has mustered courage to raise its voice against compulsory bible-teaching ! To understand why this protest has been thought necessary, the reader should know that in Bengal and Assam, where the majority of the inhabitants are Musalmans and Hindus, all candidates for the matriculation, intermediate, and B-A. examinations of the Calcutta University have to read neither the Koran nor the Hindu Shastras but selections from the bible. In the opinion of the Calcutta University, the Hindu, Jaina, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Moslem, Sikh and other scriptures are worthless, and do not require to be read even by Hindu, Jaina, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Moslem and

Sikh students respectively ! But the bible must be read. No wonder that padres generally voted with Sir Asutosh Mookerji.

Sir J. C. Bose's Panjab Convocation Address

At the last convocation of the Panjab University, Sir J. C. Bose delivered a very heartening address. The whole of it deserves to be quoted, but we have space for only a few sentences. He said :—

The present crisis in human history is a call for all the idealism and strength of youth for ensuring the continuity and permanence of civilisation. You are seekers after truth ; I will tell you of the discipline through which you must pass for the discovery of truth. In this, the heritage of the past will help you ; but you are not to be mere slave of the past but the true inheritors of its wisdom.

MAN, ARBITER OF HIS DESTINY

In regard to the pursuit of research, a complaint is often made that there is no sympathetic atmosphere, and that all activities are paralysed by adverse circumstances. It is not for man to complain of circumstances but bravely to confront and dominate over them. You have not forgotten the account given in our great epic, the Mahabharata, of the tournament that was held before the court at Hastinapura more than twenty centuries ago. Karna, the reputed son of a charioteer, had challenged the supremacy of Prince Arjuna. To this challenge Arjuna had returned a scornful answer : a prince could not cross swords with one who could claim no nobility of descent. "I am my own ancestor," replied Karna, "and my deeds shall win the patent of nobility." This is perhaps the earliest assertion of the right of man to choose and determine his own destiny. If you make yourself entirely dependent on others, you will merely lead a parasitic life. Strength comes only out of struggle and it is by your own efforts that you will win that for which you have set out. In the realm of knowledge also, some of the greatest contributions have been made by those who undismayed by difficulties had persisted in spite of repeated failures.

FAILURE AND SUCCESS

It is no easy life that lies before a scientific investigator. There is to be for him no life of ease but one of unending struggle. He has to cast his life as an offering, regarding gain or loss, success or failure as one. But the lure that draws a heroic soul is not success which can be easily gained but defeat and tribulation in the pursuit of the unattainable. Where lies the secret of that potency which makes certain efforts apparently doomed to failure rise renewed from beneath the smouldering ashes ? When we look deeper we shall find that as certain as is the sequence of cause and

effect, so inevitable must be the sequence of failure and success. We shall find that failure must be the antecedent power to lie dormant for the long subsequent dynamic expression of that we call success.

Professor Bose concluded his address with the following inspiring sentences :—

It was a woman in the Vedic times, who when asked to take her choice of the wealth that would be hers for the asking, inquired whether that would win for her deathlessness. Many a nation had risen in the past and won the empire of the world. A few buried fragments are all that remain as memorials of the great dynasties that wielded the temporal power. There is, however, another element which finds its incarnation in matter yet transcends its transmutation and apparent destruction; that is the burning flame born of thought which has been handed down through fleeting generations. Not in matter, but in thought, not in possessions but in ideals, are to be found the seed of immortality. It is not through material acquisition but through active service and through generous diffusion of ideas and ideals that the true empire of humanity will be established.

The Proposed New Howrah Bridge

An article on the proposed new Howrah Bridge by Dr. B. N. Dey, D. Sc. Eng'g- (Glasgow), etc., which appeared some time ago in *Forward*, has not probably attracted the attention that it was entitled to. Dr. Dey is a great engineer who practises in Britain and has made his mark there. According to him, the Sydney Harbour Bridge in 1924 would cost a little over £6 per foot super, but the new Howrah Bridge would cost about £20 per foot super! He gives all the figures in detail to prove his assertion. He says, in part :—

Without going into the merits of the Cantilever Type Scheme for the new Howrah Bridge, and assuming same as necessary, one cannot help noticing glaring extravagance of the estimate. A cantilever bridge for the Sydney Harbour—offered by Messrs. Dorman Long & Co., (the accepted designers and contractors)—having a total length of 2400 feet (1600 feet span, and 2 anchor arms of 400 feet each), formed part of one of the total tenders (£4,300,000) for the Sydney Harbour Bridge. This cantilever type is similar to that adopted for the new Howrah Bridge. Comparing the costs the new Howrah Bridge estimate is clearly 150 per cent. over the present-day price as determined so recently by international competition held by the New South Wales Government. The Bengal Government ought to follow the example set down by New South Wales Government and not try to rush a bill for 4 million sterling estimate for a bridge which could be built at much less than half the amount, by the boat bridge builders in the world selected by competition.

The Apotheosis of the Chimpanzee

They have succeeded at last in discovering their exact ancestor. It is the Chimpanzee. They have also discovered that they are fundamentally different from the coloured peoples of the earth. How they could wish that the discovery had been made before the abolition of slavery in Europe and America! Still it will render yeoman's service to Asiatic exclusionists and others of the same kidney.

We read in *Psyche* for October that Dr. F. G. Crookshank has started "the remarkable theory" of the "Correlation of the Chinese with the Orang, the White races with the Chimpanzee, and the Black with the Gorilla." We read in the same quarterly :—

Hitherto anatomical evidence has been scanty for those who have had access to the skulls of the Oriental and the Orang have been curiously negligent of essentials. But in a number of the official organ of the German anatomists, the *Anatomischer Anzeiger* (Vol. 58), just to hand, independent and apparently conclusive testimony is now available. For eight years (1911 to 1913) Professor Kurz, of Munster University, was on the look out in Shanghai for the chance of anatomical observations on the brains of Chinese (embryonic, infant, and adult, in whom the element of racial intermarriage was unlikely to have complicated the problem. On the basis of a careful study of such brains he has reached conclusions which confirm those of Klaatsch, namely, that the brain of the Yellow races shows marked differences from that of the White, and that the characters in question are for the most part distinctive of the Orang as opposed to the other types of Higher Ape. As a result he is led to adopt the view that the human race could not have arisen from a single pre-human stock (as Sir Arthur Keith and others still maintain), but that there are three distinct types of Man corresponding closely to the three main types of Higher Ape. In addition to Klaatsch, he cites the authority of Ardit, Boas, Buschan, Hors and Sergi in favour of the polyphyletic view though he seems to be unaware of the more recent work of Sera and other anthropologists confirming Dr. Crookshank's general contention.

The formula of white domination and coloured subjection is no doubt unalterable. But we hope it does not extend to and include every white man's theory. And, consequently, we hope, too, that though as many white men as are so minded are welcome to salute their father which is in the Central African forest, the non-white peoples of the earth will be suffered to disown their putative fathers in the jungles.

Belgaum Congress not a United One

We are sorry to find from an Associated

Press message that the Belgaum session of the Indian National Congress has not been such a united Congress of all political parties as it was proposed to make it. "Although invitations had been issued to the Liberals, the Muslim Leaguers and several representatives of the Indian Christian community, there were practically none representing these organisations." Mr. Gandhi's complete surrender only to the Swaraj party may have been the main cause of this disappointing result.

Other Conferences, etc.

Not having received the necessary material in time, we are unable in this issue even to refer to the other public gatherings held during the last week of December. We propose to do so in the next issue as far as practicable.

Protection.

The dictionary definition of Protection is preservation or shelter from loss or injury. In Economics this term is specially applied to the doctrine of fostering the industries of a country by means of imposts upon the products of such industries imported into that country thereby hampering and discouraging foreign competition.

From the point of view of an Industrialist, it is self-evident that no infant industry can grow in any country without the help of some such measure. The additional help of a bounty is also required in certain cases, otherwise it becomes impossible to face the fierce competition from powerful and well-organised foreign rivals.

Protection for industries has become the order of the day now in India. There is a lot of talk and a lot of resolutions etc., flying about.

Therefore it seems to be fit and proper that a few points about this question of protection be put forward for the consideration of the readers of this Review. The welfare of India is wrapped up in the development of its national industries, specially of those regarded as essential or "key" industries. Every Indian who is worthy of the name of a citizen should give such matters of national interest as Protection, due and careful atten-

tion and do all he can to see justice done. The nations' representatives at the legislative bodies should also be warned to watch and guard the country's interests. If they fail to do so it should be made plain to them that they shall have no further chance of being returned country's nominees.

The points to be remembered are :

1. That Protection is a measure, to help a struggling infant industry, that is doing its best to stand on its own legs, and as such should not be utilised for.

(a) Increment of the profits of the industry concerned.

(b) Making good the losses due to the incipient inefficiency of the organisers and the conductor of the industry, unless they are willing to lay themselves open to control and correction.

(c) Firmly establishing *foreign* vested interests in the country.

2. That Protection is *always* a burden to the consumer, and therefore can only be justified if it has sure promise of future benefits for him or his kith and kin.

Therefore whenever any industry asks for protection, the points to be considered are as follows.

1. Whether there is any likelihood of the industry being reasonably successful from the economic point of view, under the local conditions and with local resources.

2. What are the reasons for the industry, in its unprotected state, being threatened with failure. Is it due to any of the following causes?

(a) Ignorance or inefficiency of its present controllers.

(b) Lack of natural facilities available to its foreign rivals.

(c) Unfair foreign competition by means of "dumping" etc.

(d) Unfair treatment at the hands of vested interests, native or foreign, inside the country, such as unfair treatment at the hands of Railway, electric and other companies.

(e) Any special artificial barrier towards success such as inconsiderate legislation, taxation etc.

3. Who are the people likely to benefit most by a Protective measure? And who are to bear the burden of increased costs?

4. Whether the contemplated Protective measure adopted for the sake of one industry and likely to be so injurious to another so as to kill it or to permanently stunt its growth. In the case of such an event taking place what is the *net* loss or gain to the nation.

5. Whether the industry is really a national one as shown in the concerns asking for protection. One should enquire:

(a) Who owns the greater part of the capital invested in them?

(b) Who are the people in management.

(c) Are Indian interest fully looked after in the directorate and the management?

(d) Whether there is any attempt at paying just and fair wages to Indian labour employed in it.

(e) Whether there are any Indians in the higher Staff. If so what is the percentage in the total number of men in the higher Staff.

(f) Whether there is any attempt at Indianisation of the Staff and management, that is to say, are the highest posts open to Indians and is there any real attempt at training up proper candidates.

6. Whether the concerns asking for protection encourage Indian concerns by placing orders with them. And do they give any facilities to Indian businessmen?

All evidence obtained in the search for answers for the above questionnaire should be tested for accuracy. Mere statements do not constitute conclusive evidence, no matter whatever be the source.

Then comes the question of suitability of Indian conditions for the industrialisation of the country. There are factors both for and against the success of industry in this country. They may be stated in short as follows—

For—

1. Plenty of raw materials of fair quality, available here for most "Key Industries".

2. Labour plentiful and cheap.

3. India itself a very big market for the producer.

4. A substantial customs barrier (7 to 30 p. c. against most imported articles. A higher amount of Protection against a few such as 15 p. c. against matches)!

AGAINST—

There are two classes of such factors.

A. General.

1. Raw materials inaccessible under present conditions in many cases and very costly due to the exacting of heavy freights by Railways etc.

2. Labour inefficient due to poverty, want of education and lack of training.

3. Transport rates are as a rule favourable towards imported goods. This arbitrary ruling is most frequent in lines owned by Monopolist foreign concerns.

B. Special for Indian owned and controlled concerns.

1. Lack of financial help.

(a) Private Indian capital is shy, partly because there is not much capital available and partly because Indian capitalists are not remarkable as a rule for enterprise or far-sightedness.

(b) British capital is not only not available but is decidedly antagonistic in most cases.

(c) Bank help is not available. Indian banks are mostly not in a position to help. Foreign banks are the reverse of helpful.

2. It is very troublesome for an Indian group of industrialists to acquire and work any source of raw materials be it a forest or a mine. The laws of the land are supposed to be impartial, but it would be ridiculous to think that there is no discrimination made by the powers that be between the British and the Indian. The Arms Act as it is administered is an additional source of difficulties for an Indian concern if the raw material has to be worked for in any place where there is danger to life or property.

3. Properly trained and experienced Indian manager and technical men are very rare. Cost of foreign experts (usually British) is so high as to exclude possibilities of profit in any modest concern. Foreign experts are

as a rule out to get all they can and have neither sympathy nor consideration for Indian concerns.

4. Powerful and subtle opposition from vested foreign (mostly by British) interests.

5. Lack of sympathy from Middlemen (mostly Indians to our shame).

6. Ignorance and in some cases actual dishonesty on the part of the promoters.

It can be easily seen from the above, that Protection is no remedy for the B group of disabilities which affect all Indian concerns.

It is equally evident that no Indian industry has much of a chance unless the B group be eliminated.

Finally a few words about the results of Protection without specific help for Indian industries.

A sufficiently high wall of Protection will foster an industry in the beginning but it will soon result in the foreign concerns coming over and settling *inside* the barrier. And once they come, with all their facilities for capital and trained and experienced men, and also without being hampered by the artificial difficulties created for Indians by discrimination on the part of officials and vested interests, Indian concerns are bound to go to the wall.

In the case of Match Industry, a huge foreign combine, engineered by the Swedish Match Trust and capitalised partly by the British and partly by the Swedish people have come over to start work in India.

NET GAIN TO INDIANS THEREBY:—

(a) A high price for matches, the market being ruled by the price of the imported match.

(b) Establishment on a firm footing of a group of foreign interests who will see to it that no Indian concern ever gets going in the same line after the few sickly young concerns now in existence are killed out.

There will be the same result in the case of every other industry unless Protection means special help to genuine Indian concerns in the shape of bounty, monetary aid, discriminative excise duties and similar measures.

K.

The National Flag of India.

The following letter addressed to Mahatma Gandhi has been published in the *Young India* of December 11, 1924 :—

We are grateful to you and other leaders for giving us that great symbol of self-respect, a national flag. Our Swaraj colours are now red, white and green. Various interpretations are given of these colours. One popularly accepted is that red represents Christianity, white Hinduism, and green Islam. It has also been suggested that red stands for Hinduism, and white for religions and cultures of India other than Hindu and Moslem.

We beg to approach you with a suggestion about the proper colour to represent Hindu or Indo-Aryan culture and religion. We suggest the ochre colour (*Gairika Geru or Gerua*). It is the colour of *sannyasa*, of *tyaga*, of *ahimsa*, the highest ideal of our Indian civilisation. It is the colour of most Hindu sects—Brahmanical, Buddhist, Sikh. Shivaji's flag, the *Bhagwa Jhanda*, was the *Gairika Uttaraya* of Sri Ramadasa. Rabindranath in many a magnificent poem has sung of *Gairika Uttaraya of Bharata*, who is the great *Tapasa*, the great Ascetic. We suggest that in India's national flag, the *Gairika* of the Brahmachari and the Rishi, of the Bhikshu and of the Yati, of the Sadhu and the Vairagi, and also of the Indian Darvesh and Pir, be given its proper place.

Red is a colour we do not usually associate with Hinduism. In Bengal and elsewhere, red is used by certain Hindu sects, the Saktas specially. The red *Jawa* flower and red sandal paste are sacred to Kali and red silk garments are worn in *Sakta* ritual. Red or saffron is the colour of war with Hindus. It does not strike the Hindu note of *ahimsa*.

White, again, is not specially associated with Hinduism. Further, red, white and green are already the national colours of some other countries, Italy and Portugal for instance.

Could we not have red, ochre and green for our "*Hindusthan-ka-tranga Jhanda*" the tri-colour banner of India? If the colours do not harmonise, we could have ochre, white and green, ochre for Hinduism, green for Islam, and white for other faiths and cultures of India. Or we can have a "*Chauranga Jhanda*"—red, white, ochre, and green?

We respectfully request you, revered Mahatmaji, and also other leaders of the country, to give your opinion on this suggestion of ours, and if you think fit, the matter may be brought before the coming Congress at Belgaum, for discussion and final acceptance. Opinion from Hindus and others who have brought about this question is respectfully invited.

Yours Most Respectfully,

DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE
VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA
SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI
KALIDAS NAG
NEPAL CHANDRA RAY
BHIM RAO SHASTRI
J. J. VAKIL
PREM SUNDAR BOSE
MARICHI
N. AIYASWAMI

A national flag for India should represent something that symbolises the highest

idealism of India, something which will enable those who shall stand by the flag to forget their narrownesses and their individuality and merge their beings into the National Being. The flag must express something for which individuals will gladly give all, suffer all and fear nothing. We think that if in human history there has ever been anything which elevated men to the plane of ideals, it is the spirit of renunciation. It is something, before which high finance seems too low to be touched, pompous self-display too insignificant to be thought of, earthly power a frailty and luxury a burden. *Gairika* stands for renunciation. If we are going to have a national flag, let it not be a catalogue of our religious or such other characteristics. A poor, suffering nation needs sacrifice from everybody high or low. *Gairika* will fire our hearts with the spirit of sacrifice, wash away our sordid desires and purify our souls. Let it be *Gairika* !

A.C.

A Circulating Library

The authorities of the Madaripur Sevasram (Faridpur Dist.) have just organised a free circulating library with the object of disseminating modern thought and culture throughout Bengal. They intend to organise a sufficient number of libraries for a proper realisation of their ideals as soon as the necessary books and funds are procured.

The libraries will be organised on the lines of the Baroda libraries and properly

managed they have every chance of doing great good to this province.

The organisers have already been approached by the people of districts other than Faridpur to start libraries in their districts also. At Madaripur the library has been welcomed by one and all and attempts are being made to start further libraries elsewhere. Many well-known publishers and individuals have helped the library with books and the organisers will be grateful to sympathetic ladies and gentlemen if they would help the movement with either books or donations or both. A card to the Circulating Library, Madaripur, Dist. Faridpur, Bengal, would get further information.

A. C.

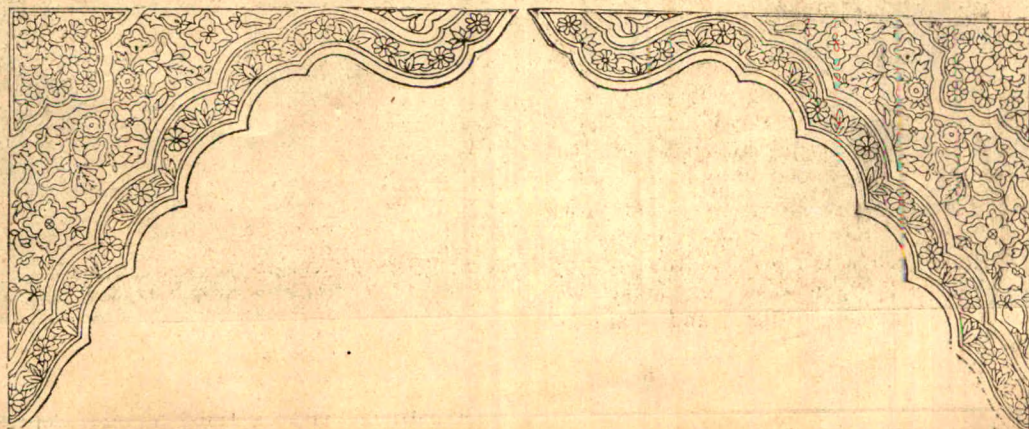
A New Brahmacharya Vidyalaya

The Bharat Sevasram Sangha has lately started a Brahmacharya Vidyalaya at Madaripur. Here they want to train up boys into disciplined and cultured manhood by means of reviving the ancient system of Brahmacharya and combining it with up-to-date and scientific teaching. Every attention will be paid to all-round cultural development.

No tuition fee will be charged as a rule, only a charge of Rs. 10. p. m. will be made for boarding and lodging.

The organisers are appealing to the public of Bengal for supporting their institution with donations. All sums, however small, will be gratefully acknowledged by the Secretary, Brahmacharya Vidyalaya, Madaripur, Bengal.

A. C.



ERRATA

In THE MODERN REVIEW for December, 1924.

Page 685, column 2, line 3 : for "unnecessarily," (in some copies), read "necessarily."
 " 685, " 2, " 40 : " "to banish calculated," " "Calculated to banish."
 " 727, " 1, " 48 : " "518, 663 crores," " "518.663 crores."
 " 727, " 1, " 58 : " "24.29 crores," " "24.29 crores,"
 " 734, " 2, " 14 : " "Moslem," " "Moslems."
 " 752, " 2, " 4 : " "lowered," " "covered."

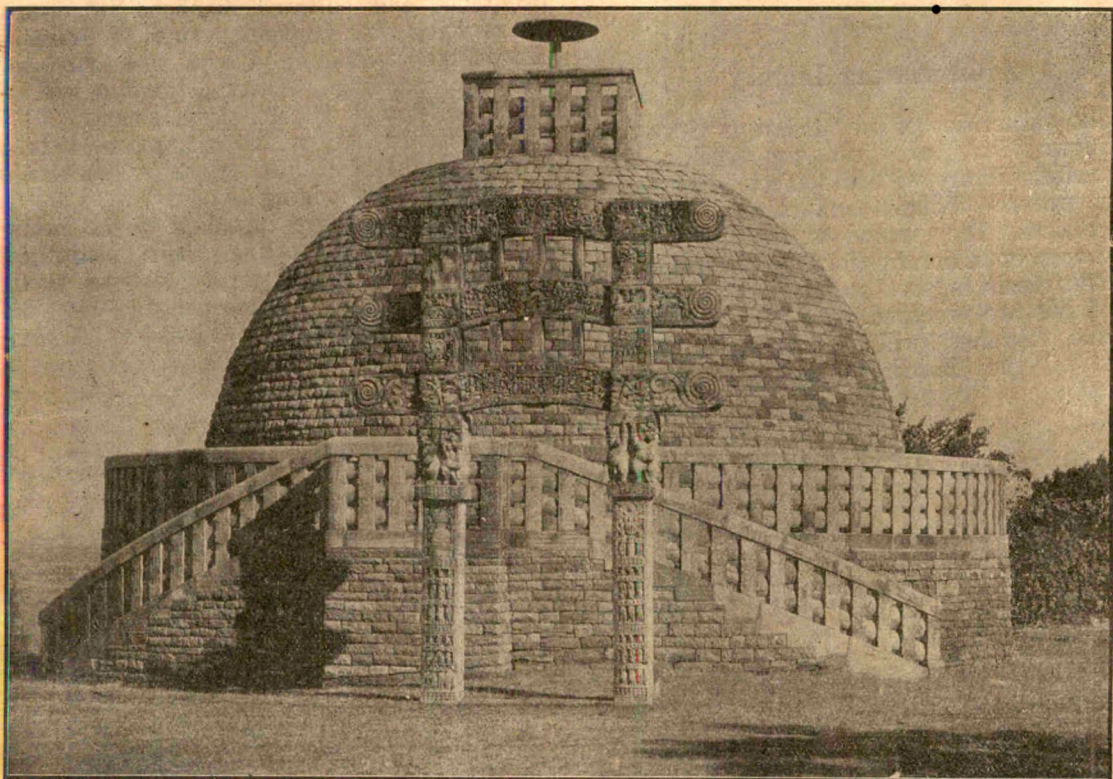
In THE MODERN REVIEW for January, 1925.

Page 58, column 1, line 14 from the bottom, for ante-clerical read anti-clerical

" 1, " " " 14 from the bottom, for ante-mystic read anti-mystic

" 58 " 12, " " " " " " or divisions " and vision

" 70 " 2, " last line for FAN SHAN-TAN TSZE read FAN SHAN-TAU TSZE





Hara-Parvati

By the Courtesy of the artist—Srimati Pratima Devi

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WHOLE NO.
218

POVERTY AND PROGRESS

By MANU SUBEDAR,

B.A., B.SC. (ECON., LONDON), BARRISTER-AT-LAW

FROM the time of the Greek philosophers the idea of money has been held in contempt and decried by those who dwell on the higher aspects of life. Somewhere it has been called "filthy lucre." In India the first place was assigned to spiritual and moral guides, and next to that to the warrior class or the defenders of the race. Trade, commerce, industry and other economic pursuits were placed next and well below, and there is every indication that the distribution of social honour and prestige did not depend on the idea of money, but was determined by notions of service. Wealth was not, therefore, the most desirable of all possessions and there were at least as good other fields for satisfying man's ambition as the possession of jewels and other valuables offers. There are few records to show how far this attempt to give the third place to wealth succeeded, but it is not improbable that the lower side of human nature broke through on many occasions the moral fabric which had been with great forethought and skill built up. The precedence of wealth has been resented by cultured men and Sanskrit Subhashit abounds in cynical references to "Sarve Gunah Kanchanam Ashrayante." In the Mussalman era there was no marked condemnation of worldly things as such, and as a matter of fact there would be found by various poets verses praising wealth as such. In recent times the widespread boast of India about the possession of spiritual merit as a justification for the disregard of business and other enterprise securing economic advance

being made. Schemes of social alleviation programmes of political parties and the place in the hierarchy of power of different classes have been made or marred by the financial resources available to push them forward or otherwise. The estimation of the individual amongst fellowmen has also been growing in proportion to his bank balance. In this connection, it is indeed sad to reflect that neither skill in handicrafts nor the possession of considerable learning in any direction secures that degree of precedence or honour which they should secure in a properly organized society. The possession of wealth undoubtedly dominates the considerations and the search for high income has absorbed the best talent of the country. Ideals of service, which ought to prevail, do not supply the same incentive because the stage on which an individual works out his life's activities, does not provide the necessary background, and a perverted public opinion makes it impossible to secure whole-hearted devotion to the financial side of life. It was the late Mr. Gokhale who deplored the absence of "full time workers" and predicted that political advancement of the country was not possible until such men were forthcoming. The India of to-day can boast of more than one full time worker in every province and in every class, and yet so long as the centre of social thought is misplaced in Society (spelt with a capital S) guided by second-hand notions emanating from Government Houses, these patriotic men do not command either universal respect

incentive is weakened, their task is made more difficult. How to bring back pursuit of social service including in its fold search for knowledge, art, literature and music, would be one of the problems for those who devote their mind to the evolution of schemes of social reconstruction.

Taking the world of India, therefore, as it is to-day, it is obvious that the fact, which overshadows every fact is that of general and universal impoverishment. There may be differences of opinion between the official school of thought and non-official economists as to the origin of this malady, but evidence of such poverty is staring one in the face everywhere, and if some of the consequences of this condition were clearly understood, it will soon appear that almost the only problem that needs attention is to stem the advancing grip of this disease. All advance in science or art and in the things, which are sometimes regarded as constituting civilization, has to be financed from the surplus left to the community after feeding those who are engaged in productive activities. The reflex effect of all such advance on future production may be great but at any particular moment it may be a burden on the community which the community may be unable to bear. Then they incur the reproach of being "backward" and incapable of looking after themselves. In the philosophical theory of history there is one school, which maintains that political revolutions are brought about more often by communities that have prospered than by communities that have been impoverished. It would be hardly disputed that a variety of accomplishments, arts and useful knowledge at one time in vogue in India have been lost, because the community was unable to make any continuity of effort or contribute towards it. There was much that was beautiful which has been thus destroyed,—much that was hygienic and much that went to relieve the burdens of life at negligible cost.

The problem of poverty has not been authoritatively investigated. The demand for this investigation has been resisted in a manner which must provoke considerable suspicion, and results of even partial enquiries held through official agencies in the past have been in most cases suppressed, but it is obvious that production in India in any direction is not going up either per man or per acre. In many parts of the country, it has been remarked that the soil is being impoverished, because manure materials are

being exported from this country and some of the elements taken from the soil are not returned to it. An expensive Agricultural Department has been running model farms for some years without being able to show a single acre of ground under any crop, which can compare over the same outlay with land under similar cultivation in European countries or in Canada. The efficiency, which the British Government have aimed at is purely negative. The outlook of the average British statesman is that of the policeman, whose interest in the life of the humanity around him is that of mere curiosity, and his aim is not to advance things but to prevent any disturbance of the present order. While the bulk of the people have no opinion except on subjects immediately affecting their daily activities, those who have cultivated the reflective faculty are being deluded and misled by an enumeration of false symptoms of prosperity such as the increase in Government revenue, the increase in export and import trade, the increase in railway traffic, the increase in bankers' clearing-house return. No attempt is being made even in these directions to show the increase per head of population. On the economic side, India as it is administered to-day, presents a picture more like the shop of a huckster dealing in old iron than anything else. There is a lot, which may have been valuable and which may be useful, but there is absolutely no connected line of activity directed to secure a continuous and constantly improving state of prosperity.

Since wealth is a surplus, it is quite as important to scrutinise consumption as to increase production. Are we using as a community the purchasing power available to us to improve the productive capacity of our own people? A temporary period of price comparisons favourable in the purchase of imported article in preference to an article of local manufacture leads to the short-sighted policy of destroying local industries and with them the savings of the community invested in those industries. It is almost like a thirsty man giving a kick to the pitcher which contains life-giving fluid, and the irony of the situation is that foreign firms established in India and British Chambers of Commerce and English officials come forward to defend the interests of the Indian consumer against what they call the exploiting tendency of the Indian producer, as if there were no consumers in any other

country and as if the producer is somebody different and apart from the consumer. Leakages of wealth and savings in other directions may have been noticed by many leaders. The nett result of all this is that the country becomes poorer and incapable of holding its own on common ground in industry or trade, in art or science or politics. The French Finance Minister, Monsieur Clemental, indicating French Government's attitude in the matter of public debt and general economic situation said, "Government must do its utmost to develop France's productive capacity *while diminishing purchases abroad*". India, which has not a twentieth of the recuperative capacity of France, finds little effort from the top in these directions.

It is impossible to indicate in a short space the harm which financial maladministration can do to the wealth-producing capacity of a country. Those, who are familiar with the currency and exchange policy of this country would know how the ruinous policy of securing a high exchange cost India crores of rupees in 1920 when the Government sold Reverse Councils and how for years on the entire crops of India the farmers have been receiving less through an artificial era of high exchanges, which simultaneously crippled capital and labour devoted to productive work in industries by making it possible to put down foreign products cheaper in the Indian market. The grip, which the shipping interests have got on governmental and banking machinery, is responsible in no small measure for this state of affairs. Because they have no incentive for serious effort, Government officials in charge of finance are unable to resist the demands made upon them for endless multiplication of offices and of administrative machinery leading on to larger and larger demand being made from the people just when their resources are on the decline. While the cost of Government is growing heavier, the taxable capacity of the country has long been exceeded and every symptom of the evil known as over-taxation with deterioration of physique and the standard of life is to be seen in most parts of the country. More wealth can be produced from industry only under the law of increasing returns, but the attitude of the Government towards industries in India can hardly be characterised as encouraging. Unemployment is on the increase everywhere, and yet the savings of the country lured into Government coffers by attract-

ive terms are being spent in more and more labour-saving devices, which add to the army of the unprovided.

The late Mr. Gokhale wanted a modest loan of three or four crores of rupees for the introduction of compulsory education. If this had been done fifteen years ago, there would have been no room for the complaint that India could not have a properly representative constitution because of the paucity of voters. If it had been attempted after the war when crores of rupees had been borrowed there would have been at all events a genuine step taken towards drilling a much larger section of the community for disciplined work in productive fields. This has not been done. On the other hand from more than one sign it is evident that the investment of foreigners in this country is on the increase and the amount of vested interests does not represent altogether new capital brought to this country but in many cases capitalised profits and in still others capitalised good wills and concessions. There is no doubt that the increase of foreign investments in India may be in the same (if not greater) proportion as the increase of the public debt of the country and this increase is actually comparable to the increase in some belligerent countries which were engaged in war.

INDIA'S PUBLIC DEBT

	(In crores of rupees)	
	31st March 1914	31st March 1922
Total funded debt in India (rupee loans) ...	145.69	360.95
Total funded debt in England (largely sterling loans) ...	265.60	395.70
Total unfunded debt (Post Office, etc.) ...	34.10	72.21
Total unfunded debt (Capital value of terminable annuities) ...	105.90	90.12
Total debt ...	551.29	918.98

In this debt a sum of Rs. 49½ crores of Indian Treasury Bills held in paper currency reserve is not included. According to Government themselves, the unproductive debt went up during this period from 265 crores to 243.52 crores. In the last ten years, the total increase of indebtedness was 367.69 crores, or including the Treasury Bills referred to above, 417.19 crores. India has thus been adding to its public debt at the rate of 40 crores of rupees a year, of which more than 20 crores have been for unproductive purposes. This is hardly the

place to deal with the question whether all this money has been properly spent. The major question, which arises, is, will India be able to repay these large vested interests at the end? Should she not be able to repay, her entire future is irrevocably mortgaged.

The argument for increased wealth in a community does not necessarily mean more cities and more factories, though the growth of these is inevitable. The trouble arises, because the population moving towards the city comes while there is as yet no preparation for absorbing them in industry. Prosperity would be equally well indicated by more prosperous farms, homesteads and cottage industries. The increase of these conditions is not possible without a more intelligent application of labour to the conditions of production and without more strenuous exertion than hitherto. It would be disastrous if this incentive for more work were prematurely weakened by ideas of communism, which as a doctrine could be spread in India, if desired, as swiftly as fire

would spread in a mass of dried leaves. The socialisation of wealth, while it offers morally a sound principle for adjusting personal outlook towards humanity, should be only secured after there is considerable wealth to socialise. Money, which has been regarded as an order on the community for commodities and services, is really a medium which is abused when it is unfairly secured, when it is secured not in return for actual service rendered to the community or when it is secured disproportionately to the function performed. Some day, perhaps, India may reconstruct economic life, in which service would be the standard for distribution of wealth. In the meanwhile the actual situation in the country with low physique, low wages, with over-taxation, with enormous public debt and very extensive foreign investments is serious enough to merit an immediate and close examination at the hands of all who desire some kind of future for India.

A MEMOIR OF OLD DELHI

BY C. F. ANDREWS

CHAPTER III.

ZAKA ULLAH'S EARLY LIFE

ZAKA Ullah, when quite young, was a very beautiful child and a great favourite among the ladies of the Moghul Palace within the Fort. When he was six or seven years old, he used to be taken, on festival occasions and at other times by his father, who was Tutor to the Royal Princes and Princesses, within the Palace in his embroidered dress and gold-laced cap to see the fireworks and to be welcomed with little presents by the ladies who had asked for his attendance. He had very vivid recollection, in after years, of those occasions and used to describe the splendid illuminations of the Palace. His grandfather used, from time to time, to exhibit his grandson's wonderfully bright intelligence, and the royal ladies used to admire him and ask to have

him brought to see them. He would go back home to his mother very excited and show the presents that had been given him. In our conversation, he would sometimes refer to those very early days, and contrast the Delhi he saw then with the Delhi of later times. It was impossible for him ever to forget the kindness of the royal families to him.

There was a fund of personal loyalty which formed a very strong side of his character and had a beauty of its own. In later life, he was able to transfer this without any conscious effort to Queen Victoria whom he idealised in his Urdu History called *Victoria-Nama*. This loyalty to those whose salt he had taken was undoubtedly a family tradition inherited from many generations of ancestors. It has a singular value of its own, and it will be a sad thing, if the modern world can find no place for it.

There can be no doubt that his father

Sana Ullah, acted wisely in sending him at an early age to the daily discipline of school and college. Too much of the court-life might soon have spoilt him and enervated him with luxury in his childhood itself, while the atmosphere of the Delhi school and college, together with the daily companionship and bracing rivalry of his equals, gave him exactly the stimulus that was needed to develop all his talents. Yet the effort that had to be made and the opposition that had to be overcome, before he was able to enter the new English school, were by no means negligible factors. We can only with difficulty realise today what a struggle it must have been both for his grandfather and for his father, men so deeply and punctiliously religious in their own characters, to give up their child, of whom they were both passionately fond to the new education, which was already being openly called 'Kafir' or infidel and was said to produce 'atheists'. On the mother's part also, it showed great strength of mind and firmness of purpose. No doubt, they were helped in their decision by the famous words of the Prophet: "Get knowledge wherever it is to be found, even as far as China." These great words have been the means in every age of breaking down the barriers which separated Islam from alien cultures, and they account for the fact that assimilation of knowledge has been one of its distinguishing works throughout the course of its long and varied history. It is evident to me, from all that I have seen of the family, of which Zaka Ullah was a member that there was a true family tradition of liberal culture, which went back to the remote times when their ancestors lived in Central Asia where Islamic learning flourished.

Zaka Ullah was only twelve years old when he entered the college, and his father from whom he inherited his brilliant intellect used to go over his lessons with him each afternoon, when he had returned from his classes bringing with him some new wonder of modern science to disclose with all the excitement of a child. Concerning his professors at the college, he used to speak with the greatest reverence and affection in after years especially of his Persian and Arabic teacher, Maulvi Imam Baksh, whose *nom de plume* was Sahabi. This Maulvi was a distinguished gentleman of Delhi, a man of high moral character and liberal culture. He gave help to Sir Syed Ahmed when he was writing his *Archaeology of Delhi*. No pro-

fessor was more greatly loved by all his pupils, and his personality made such an impression on young Zaka Ullah, that thirty years after, when he himself was lecturing as a Professor of Persian literature to the students of the Muir Central College, at Allahabad, he used to say to his pupils that he felt as if the presence of Maulvi Imam Baksh was with him as he spoke.

In the terrible scenes which followed the capture of Delhi, during the Mutiny, when the wildest passions were let loose, some military firing took place in that quarter of the city, where this old professor lived and his house along with others was razed to the ground. The Maulvi himself and most of his relatives were killed and now his family is almost extinct. Zaka Ullah used to mourn deeply his loss. It was one of the bitterest memories to him of the Mutiny itself.

As Zaka Ullah grew older, he specialized in Mathematics. While engaged in that study, he became the most brilliant and promising pupil of Professor Ramchandra and a warm affection sprang up between the two. This intimate companionship in study led at one time to a painful misunderstanding; because the rumour got abroad that Ramchandra's own favourite pupil, Zaka Ullah, was about to follow his tutor's lead and openly profess himself a Christian. But this was not the case. Their friendship was one of the intellectual type, common among scholars who are solely devoted to learning and engaged in the same search after scientific truth; and to both Ramchandra and his brilliant young companion, the first approach to western science and mathematics was full of excited interest and wonder. It did not mean in this instance religious discipleship, although religious questions must have been discussed between them. No doubt, this early and intimate companionship with a non-Musalman gave to young Zaka Ullah a width of vision in religious matters and a spirit of tolerance which made his character so beautiful in its powers of sympathy in later years.

Professor Ramchandra was a man of fearless sincerity and very strong convictions. The fact that he had been obliged to break with all his Hindu relations, and to undergo much persecution when he became a Christian, had made him somewhat stern and abrupt in manner and often harshly controversial towards others; but he had a deeply affectionate heart and was upright in his actions. His love for Zaka Ullah was very deep indeed

and there was no sacrifice he would not have been prepared to make for his young friend.

At the time when the Mutiny broke out and the city of Delhi fell at one blow into the complete possession of the mutineers, Professor Ramchandra's life as a Christian convert was in the greatest possible danger. Dr. Chinman Lal, a fellow Christian, a man of sincere piety and given to good works, was at once killed by the rebels. Rai Piyare Lal Sahib, of Delhi, one of the very few survivors has told me how on the morning that Delhi was occupied by the mutineers from Meerut at about ten o'clock he met Zaka Ullah hurrying towards the Delhi College, at the imminent risk of his own life, to endeavour by some means to save Professor Ramchandra. He reached the college but found that the Professor had already been warned beforehand by another of his pupils. After remaining for some days in hiding in the heart of the city he managed to escape in disguise to the open country and got safely away, enduring in the interval terrible anxiety and suffering. When the Mutiny was over, Professor Ramchandra was able to return some of the kindness of his young friend and pupil who had saved his life by his timely warning. He obtained military passports both for him and for his family to enable them to come back into the city and did him many other acts of service.

To return to the pre-Mutiny days. Zaka Ullah's college friends at this time were Nazir Ahmad, who has written the preface to this memoir, Maulvi Karim Baksh. Piyare Lal, Chandu Lal, Kanhya Lal, Mir Babar Ali, and Zia-ud-din. Each one of these has been in some degree famous in his day. Nearly all of them passed away before Zaka Ullah himself.

His closest friend, however, though not a contemporary at the college, was Maulvi Sami Ullah Khan, who in latter life was made C. M. G., for distinguished services in Egypt. He retired from Government Service when he was District Judge in Oudh. This most intimate friend of all died some three years ago; and Munshi Zaka Ullah spent his own closing days of literary activity in writing, in Urdu, his friend's memoir.

Some three weeks before Munshi Zaka Ullah's death, another life-long friend, Khwaja Altaf Hussain, one of the greatest of the band of poets in the Urdu Renaissance of the Nineteenth Century, came over from Panipat to visit him. Zaka Ullah embraced him and treated him with the utmost affection and the

two old friends sat long together side by side. While they were talking, Zaka Ullah presented 'Hali' (to use his literary title) with a copy of his own memoir of Maulvi Sami Ullah Khan, who had been a friend of both of them. Turning to Hali he said: "Writing this has been my last work: it has killed me." What he meant was that it had so pained him to revive all the memories of his old friend and had so exhausted him that it had brought on his final illness. When Hali was taking his farewell, Zaka Ullah said to him quietly: "This is our final meeting in this life; may God keep you in all your ways."

The prophecy became true. The two old friends never met again on earth. During that last fatal illness Dr. Nazir Ahmad, his other life-long friend, was lying on his own bed of sickness, enfeebled and often tortured with rheumatism. He used to send almost daily messages to Zaka Ullah by me and I used to carry back messages in return. Thus I was able to see personally how very deep and strong these great friendships were which Zaka Ullah made. It would be impossible to judge truly his character and life without taking into account the remarkably large part that was played by such friendships. As we shall see later, he was a very domestic man, devoted to his wife and children and home. But almost equally strong with him, right up to his closing years, were these affections towards his friends.

The more one realises the situation of Delhi in those days, one thousand miles from Calcutta, with no connecting railway at all, the more remarkable appears this sudden outburst of brilliant intellectual life, which came with the establishment of the Delhi College. No such period ever came again in the history of the city during the Nineteenth Century. For many years, I had to teach there, at a still later period, from the year 1904 to the year 1913. My own experience of the intellectual life of the city of Delhi was utterly unlike that which we read about in these early days. The commercial atmosphere of the whole district today lies heavy upon it. The old culture and refinement and intellectual alertness now appear to be rapidly passing away. We have had no brilliant array of students, in modern times, such as existed in Zaka Ullah's days. The contrast is so great, that I used to ask him about this very point. He would tell me that what I said was correct. There had never been anything like it again. He put down a great deal of this extraordinary

efflorescence in the early Nineteenth Century to the newness of the English learning. It was, he told me, like entering some magic and enchanted land. No one could tell what would be revealed next. The scientific experiments, above all, held their imaginations spell-bound and the anticipation of new knowledge was always with them. They felt themselves to be pioneers of a new age and dreamt dreams and saw visions.

Among his own contemporaries, Zaka Ullah had a great reputation for being able to solve all mathematical problems that were set before him. It was quite a common experience to find that he alone had been able to obtain a correct solution to some questions which had been put before the whole class. While he was still a student, at the early age of seventeen years, he had brought out his first mathematical work in Urdu. The Delhi people were greatly surprised and delighted at a mere lad undertaking such a difficult task, and the first edition was sold out in three or four days. Zaka Ullah took the whole of the profits, amounting to thirty-two rupees, the first sum of money he had ever earned by his own writings, and purchased some gold ear-rings for his sister. One of the uncles of Sir Syed Ahmad, a Nawab of Delhi, whose house was looked upon as a strange place of mathematical and astronomical learning, full of scientific in-

struments with pulleys hanging from the roof and astral globes and charts and astronomical tables scattered about, sent for the lad who had dared to bring out a book on Mathematics at the age of seventeen. He said to him: "Well, young man, I hear that you are a second Euclid." He then added: "I will give you three days to solve a mathematical problem for me." At the end of the three days Zaka Ullah came back to him and said that the problem was insoluble, because at the final stage it was necessary to trisect an acute angle, which no one had yet been able to do geometrically. The Nawab was greatly surprised and pleased and said: "My dear lad, you have solved the problem, because you have arrived at the final stage beyond which there is no solution".

The whole atmosphere in those early days was electrical. Stories like those which I have just told were passed on from one house to another and treasured up in the family. The Urdu literary Renaissance at Delhi gave a sudden illumination to the age, before it sunk back into dullness. There was also the great tradition of the past glory and lustre of the Moghul rule. The light flickered and leapt up for a brief momentum before it died out. More than any other single cause, the Mutiny killed it.

(To be continued)

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE BUDDHISTIC AGE—III*

WE have already in the previous articles dwelt on the morals of the people in the times of the Jatakas. Further glimpses on the subject may be obtained from Vols. V & VI, from which mainly we shall cull the materials of the present article. In V. 512, we are introduced to five hundred women of Sravasti, drinkers of strong drink, at a drinking festival. The evils of strong drink are here dilated upon, e. g., he who drinks falls into a pit, is lost to decency and will talk of things that are obscene, it proves

the ruin of wealthy homes, &c. In V. 537, we read of a young Brahmin drinking strong drink in the company of other young men. The king of Benares, surrounded by 1600 dancing girls, and his ministers and other officers, held a drinking feast for seven days (VI, 543). In VI, 546 we read of soldiers who become angry because they had lost the chance of a free drink. In VI, 547, the king proclaimed a festival by beat of drum: 'Procure garlands, scents, and perfumes, and food and drink, and keep seven days' holiday. Let the people stay where they will, drink deep, sing and dance and make merry.' In the Vidura Pandit Jataka (VI, 545) the king celebrated a festive occasion

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by setting free his captives and ordered the people to hang up their ploughs and have a month's holiday.—'Let them drink in private and still seem total abstainers with their cups flowing over.' These extracts prove that drinking was condemned by public opinion though very prevalent, and not only among men, but the gentler sex as well. From the same story we find that Brahmins ate flesh, to which indeed there are many other references in the Jatakas, (e.g., V. 547) some of which have been quoted in the previous articles of the series.

The laxity of sexual morals and the low opinion of women already referred to may be further illustrated from the following: In the Kushavati Jataka (V. 531) we read that the king of Kushavati who had no sons, desiring to have one, sent out to the streets a band of his dancing girls, then a company of other girls, of good, and next of the highest, rank, and last his queen consort Silavati, so that they might take their fill of pleasure and conceive and bear him a son. The queen conceived and bore two sons. The Kunala Jataka (V. 536) is intended to illustrate the vices and follies of womankind, their lust, unchastity, and immoderate passions. The queen of Benares, seized and married by the king of Kosala, misconducts herself with a Brahmin youth. 'Ox, cow nor car to neighbours lend, nor trust a wife to house of friend.' Poverty, sickness, old age, and drunkenness are among the eight grounds on which women despise their husbands. All women are equally immoral, they are all sinners alike; they are poor fickle creatures ungrateful and treacherous; no trust should be placed on them; one might as soon catch wind with the net as hold women in sway; for the sake of money they will run after vile outcastes; they are unrestrained in lust, common as a landing-place on the Ganges; women, like kings and Brahmins, can never be sated. 'Women like flames devour their prey, women like floods sweep all away.' 'Women are pests, like thorns are they, women for gold oft go astray.' And all this stuff, rising in a crescendo of vile abuse to the shrillest pitch of coarseness imaginable is put in the mouth of the Master who, in the guise of the bird Kunala, expounds the follies of women from the heights of the Himalayas.

As we have said in our previous articles, prostitution had a recognised place in ancient Indian society, as also in the royal courts, and processions of prostitutes graced every

festive and ceremonial occasion, from the birth of a prince to the celebration of a victory. The same was the case in Europe in the Middle Ages. Says Karl Pearson in *The Ethic of Free Thought* (1901, p. 402):

"Prostitution began to play a great part in the social life of the mediaeval cities.....The prostitute in the mediaeval city played a singular part; she was alternately honoured and contemned. She was used to grace the banquet of the town-council or the reception of the emperor; but she was often compelled to wear a distinctive dress or was deprived of all the legal rights. Nothing is more characteristic of the absolute subjection of woman than this treatment of prostitutes...."

In V. 522, king Dandaki deposed from her position a courtesan whom he greatly honoured and afterwards he restored her to the same position. In V. 525, we read of the seven hundred royal wives of the king of Benares and sixteen thousand courtesans. These numbers are frequently repeated in other stories (V. 531, VI. 538, 543, 544, 545), and, somewhat reduced, might serve as a true picture of some princely courts of modern India.

The monastic order founded by Buddha soon lost its pristine purity. In V. 523, we read of a Brother tempted by the wife of his unregenerate days. A backsliding Brother, going his rounds for alms at Sravasti, meets a fair lady and falls in love with her at first sight (V. 531). In the Kunala Jataka (V. 536), a white nun, Svetasramani, being the worse for liquor, misconducts herself with the goldsmiths.

To the numerous illustrations of sea-voyage already given, the following may be added. In V. 518, we read of five hundred trading folk of Benares who took ship and set sail and on the seventh day they were out of sight of land and were wrecked in mid-ocean and all but one, who by favour of the wind reached port, became food for fishes. In the Mahajana Jataka (VI. 539) the son of the king of Videha got together his stock-in-trade and put it on board a ship carrying some merchants bound for Subarnabhumī. There were seven caravans with their beasts embarked on board.

Allusions to charitable institutions are numerous. The son of Sankhapala, king of the Nagas, had alms-halls erected at the four city gates and by his almsgiving made a stir throughout the land (V. 524). The treasures of the king of Benares had alms-houses built and practised almsgiving on a grand scale (V. 535). The evils befalling a miser who does not give alms are narrated in the same story.

Literacy prevailed among women, though to what extent cannot be ascertained. In VI. 546 the queen writes a letter with her own hand. A sixteen year old daughter of a rich merchant, very handsome but still unmarried, (V. 527) warrants the inference that child-marriage was not prevalent in those times. The longings of a pregnant woman were carefully attended to (V. 534), as we know from the more familiar story of Sudakshina, queen of Dileepa, in the *Raghuvamsa* of Kalidasa. In the *Kunala Jataka* (V. 536) it is mentioned that in Kapilavastu women married their brothers. This kind of marriage, we know, was not confined to ancient Egypt, but everywhere preceded the more developed form of marriage in which certain prohibited degrees in order of propinquity were recognised. The *Kusa Jataka* (V. 531) relates the story of the family at Benares with two sons, of whom the younger, being unmarried, continued to live with the elder, which would seem to suggest that as a rule, married brothers set up separate establishments. It would appear that widow marriage was not unknown. In the *Bhuridatta Jataka* (VI. 543) a Naga widow is married to the son of the king of Benares. In the *Vessantara Jataka* (V. 547) among the ten boons prayed for by the princess, we find the following: (1) to be chief queen, (2) to have a son, (3) to have a slim figure, (4) to have firm breasts, (5) not to become grey-haired, (6) to have soft skin. How little has female human nature with its instinctive hankering for beauty, changed in these two thousand years and more, and how the customs and ideas of those days, e. g. polygamy with its natural concomitant, jealousy of co-wife, and preference for male progeny, persist to this day! From the same story we learn that the feelings with which an old husband is regarded have not materially changed since Buddha's time.

"A hateful thing your life must be, as youthful as you are, with an old husband to be wed: nay, death were better far. Painful a spear-thrust, full of pain, the serpent's fiery bite; but a decrepit husband is more painful to the sight."

But the picture of widowhood, as painted in the same story, is the most harrowing of all in its realistic detail, showing that her condition in our society has been the same through the track of centuries.

"Terrible is widowhood: the meanest harries her about; she eats the leavings of all; a man may do her any hurt, unkindly speeches never cease from brother or friend; a widow may have ten brothers,

and yet is a naked thing; oh! terrible is widowhood."

Though the lot of a woman was thus anything but happy on the whole, still hen-pecked husbands were not wanting who were so much under the influence of their wives as to be ready to kill their parents at the bidding of their spouses (V. 522; see also IV. 446). Even a maid-servant used to put shoes on (cobblers were a recognised caste, though among the lowest—VI. 542) which she had to remove when sweeping her mistress' chamber (*Kusa Jataka*, V. 531). And yet so simple was the organization of society, that in the same story we find the princess Prabhavati, daughter of the king of Madra, going to fetch water with eight slave girls, each carrying a waterpot. Disputes over the waters of boundary streams which irrigate the lands on either side were not unknown (V. 536). Indeed, the need for irrigation was as great then as now, for there are allusions to famines consequent upon prolonged droughts. Once for a period of three years there was no rain in the kingdom of Kasi, the country became scorched up, and people under the stress of famine crowded the palace-yard and reproached the king, as they did Louis XVI at Versailles on the eve of the French Revolution (V. 526). It would appear that when people were overtaxed, they would emigrate. In the kingdom of Kampilla, there was a king named Panchala, whose subjects being oppressed by taxation took their wives and families and wandered in the forest like wild beasts (V. 520).

The different kinds of slaves are described in the *Vidura Pandit Jataka* (V. 545):

"Some are slaves from their mothers, others are slaves bought for money, some come of their own will as slaves, and others are slaves driven by fear. These are four sorts of slaves among men."

In VI. 547, the prince gave his son as a slave to a Brahmin, and told him that if he wanted to be free he must pay the Brahmin a thousand pieces of gold. The grandfather intervened at this stage and said: "Come, my boy, I shall buy you with a price, and you shall be a slave no more."

Characteristic Buddhist teachings emphasizing the ethical aspect of life occur here and there. 'By knowledge, justice, self-restraint and truth, a man at length achieves his high purpose.' (V. 518) Power is fivefold,—power of limbs, power of wealth, power of counsel, power of caste, and power of learning, each succeeding one being higher than the one preceding and the power of learning being

the highest of all (V. 521). Learning was greatly honoured, and learned men abounded. In the city of Champa, for instance, there dwelt a northern Brahmin of high family, a teacher famed far and wide, having 500 pupils (VI. 539). Even kings' sons became the pupils of such teachers, and paid the usual teacher's fee (VI. 537). A treasure-trove as in modern law belonged to the king. How true is the observation that a mother loves her son most in the hour of anger and what her mouth speaks she does not want at all (VI. 546). In the same story Senaka and Mahosadha had a discussion among themselves as to who of the two is to be preferred, the wealthy man bereft of wisdom or the wise man devoid of wealth—a subject which has not lost its practical interest to this day—and Senaka supports the rich, whereas Mahosadha supports the wise man. The arguments advanced by Senaka would go to show that wealth was always a mighty power in human society.

Of royal courts and courtly ceremonies, the Jatakas give occasional glimpses which are often highly interesting. At the Kartic festival, the king marched in solemn procession round the city at sunset, when the full moon had arisen in the sky, and torches were blazing in every quarter of the city, which was decorated as if it were some city of the gods. The king, mounted on a magnificent car drawn by thoroughbreds and escorted by a crowd of courtiers, made a circuit of the city (V. 528). The feeding of Brahmins formed part of the kingly duty. King Kusha of Kushavati fed twenty thousand Brahmins (V. 531). There were well-bred dogs in the king's palace (V. 536). The naming day of the king's son was evidently fixed within a month of birth. On that day great honour was paid to the Brahmins who read the different marks. Brahmins skilled in signs and omens were consulted when the boy did not cry for play-things, such as figures of elephants and the like (V. 538). The civilization, as we see, was entirely Brahmanic, and the customs and traditions of the later Vedic age continued in full vigour, and toleration of Brahmanic supremacy was the rule. In the same story we read of the four castes and eighteen guilds, fair women skilled in dance and song, and troops of slaves. The king's five counsellors used to sit in judgment in the king's court of justice, but they were often corrupt (V. 528; VI. 542). Here is a description of the king's court.

"The crowd of king's ministers sat on one side, on another a host of Brahmins, on another the wealthy merchants and the like, on another the

most beautiful dancing girls. Brahmin panegyrist skilled in festive songs, sang their cheerful ode in loud voices and hundreds of musical instrument were played."

Then follows a description of Mithila:

"Videha's far-famed capital, gay with its knights and warrior swarms, its Brahmins dressed in Kasi cloth, perfumed with sandal, decked with gems." (Mahajana Jataka, VI. 539).

In the same story, we have mention of slaughter-houses, and we find that elephants were killed for ivory, and the panther for his skin. In VI. 545 the drinking shops and taverns, the slaughter-houses and cookshops, the harlots and wantons of an imaginary city are mentioned. Before the royal couch five hundred women performed all kinds of dances on their different musical instruments. In the Maha-Ummaga Jataka (VI. 546) the Great Being so arranged the hall that one part was set apart for ordinary strangers, one part for stranger Buddhist priests and Brahmins; in another there was a lodging for the destitute, in another there was a place for the lying-in of poor women, another place was reserved for stowing away the goods of foreign merchants and all these apartments had doors opening outside. There also he had a public place set apart for sports, and built a court of justice and hall for religious assemblies. When the work was completed, he summoned painters and having himself examined them, set them to work at painting beautiful pictures, so that the hall became like Sakka's (Sakra-Indra) heavenly palace. Then he constructed a tank with a thousand bends and a hundred bathing ghats. On the bank he planted various trees and had a bark made like Nandana. And near this hall he instituted a public distribution of alms for holy men, whether Buddhists or Brahmins, and for strangers and for people from the neighbouring villages. In the same story not only slaughter-houses, but a piece of flesh from the slab of a slaughter-house, are mentioned. Here we read of a tunnel, lined with chambers, each of which had the statue of a woman, very beautiful, so much so that without touching it no one could say that it was not alive. In the tunnel on either side, clever painters made all manner of paintings. In the next story (VI. 547) mention is made of a necklace, beautiful as if drawn by a painter. All this shows that the arts of the lapidary, and of painting, sculpture, architecture and horticulture were well developed, and poor houses, maternity hospitals, sporting clubs, orphanages,

warehouses, assembly halls, and caravan-serais were in existence.

We shall now deal with the institution of caste as we find it in the age of the Jatakas. We have already seen that the power of caste was reckoned as next in importance only to the power of learning (V. 521). We also find everywhere in the Jatakas that gifts to Brahmins and Sramanas, and the duty of feeding them, were enjoined on the king and the commoner alike (IV. 450, 484, 489, 497, 498; V. 528, 540; VI. 545) and even the Bodhisattva is himself reported to have said, 'I have given manifold gifts to monks and Brahmins, (Kunala Jataka, V. 536). But while Brahmins as a rule were thus honoured, as a result of Buddha's teaching, a rationalistic view of the caste-system came to prevail by and by, which undermined the whole institution and led to a more democratic organisation of society among large numbers of the people who embraced the new faith. In the Nimi Jataka, Sakka (Indra) says to king Nimi (VI. 541):

"Caste or no caste, the upright man I would attend at need, for every mortal man is bound by his own act and deed. Apart from righteousness, all castes are sure to sink in hell; all castes are purified if they are righteous and act well. Although holy living is more fruitful by far than almsgiving, yet both these are the thoughts of great men. Do you be watchful in both, give alms and practise virtue."

There is not a line in the above injunction with its preference for righteousness to birth, which one would expect from the mouth of the Pouranic Indra familiar to Hindu mythology. In VI. 542, Khandahala, the corrupt Brahmin judge, having induced the king to order his relations to be sacrificed at the sacrificial pit (which, however, did not happen), the king's son Chandra Kumara addressed his royal father thus:

"Kings give these Brahmins villages, choice cities are their appendage, on every family they feed, and gain a goodly heritage, and it is these benefactors, sire, whom they most readily betray. The Brahmin order, take my word for it, are always faithless and ingrate."

The minister Khandahala was then made an outcaste and relegated to the outcaste settlement. Elsewhere the Brahmins are held up to contempt and represented as proverbially greedy and masterful. 'Kings in their kingdom, and Brahmins in their work, are full of greed' (IV. 496). However powerful Brahmins and priests may be, womankind is nightier far. (III. 433).

Brahmins seem to have followed the most diverse occupations in those days. There

were Brahmin husbandmen, who ploughed their fields with oxen (V. 516; IV. 467; II. 354). Brahmin farmers cultivated their lands with hired labourers (III. 389). Brahmin villages are spoken of (III. 402). Brahmin carpenters gained their livelihood by making carts (IV. 475). Wealthy Brahmins managed their own estate (IV. 477). Rich Brahmin merchants traded in ships (IV. 442). Elsewhere we read of a Brahmin millionaire bearing the significant name Mahakanchana (IV. 483). There were even Brahmin goat-herds (III. 413) and snake-charmers (IV. 503). The Kshatriya caste, in which the Master was born, is represented as the highest of castes. Kshatriyas are always mentioned before the Brahmin order in the Jatakas, and this is intended to convey that they take precedence in the hierarchy of castes. Buddha is made to speak of a Brahmin who had showed him disrespect as a low-born fellow as compared with himself, who had sprung from an unbroken line of nobles (V. 529). At the same time, the Bodhisattva is not ashamed to have been born in the family of a man of the lowest caste, as in Satyadharma Jataka (II. 179). A Brahmin, Satyadharma, travelling together with him, and being short of ration, ate of the leavings of the latter, and bitterly repented of it thus: 'How have I disgraced my birth, my clan, my family!' In III. 306, we have Bodhisattva as the son of a pariah woman; but so pleased was the king of Benares with his exposition of the law, that he made him king by night, himself remaining king by day. The object of these stories is apparently to show that low birth does no matter, and 'a man's a man for a' that. Brahmin ladies were not immaculate by reason of their birth. A young Brahmin of Benares acquired the liberal arts at Takshashila and attained proficiency in archery and having married his professor's daughter set out for home with his wife when he was attacked by a robber for whom his wife conceived a passion, and who killed the Brahmin with his own dagger placed by her in her lover's hands, who then carried her off (III. 374). All Brahmins were not however to be treated alike. Elsewhere a Brahmin is mentioned who was regarded by the king with especial honour, beyond what was paid to other Brahmins. This worthy member of his caste placed virtue above learning and birth, and was of opinion that men of high caste and low, if virtuous here, would be equals in heaven (III. 362).

As a rule, however, the Brahminic order was proud of its high birth, and treated the low castes with great contempt. There were proud Brahmins like Swetaketu (III. 377) who, seeing a Chandala and fearing that the wind blowing from his direction would contaminate him, broke out; 'Curse you, you ill-omened Chandala, get to the leeward,' but the Chandala took him by the shoulder and forcing him down, put him between his feet. We need not be surprised that the rationalistic spirit of Buddhism was already at work, and the lower castes were beginning to assert themselves. The king's priest, of all persons, is made to say in the same story; "A thousand Vedas will not safely bring failing just works, or save from evil plight." Then the Vedas are a useless thing?—naturally questioned the orthodox Swetaketu. To this a somewhat evasive reply is given, and the Vedas are not absolutely condemned in view apparently of the respect universally paid to them, but emphasis is laid on conduct, self-restraint, and good works as the true means of attaining bliss. In the same story, false penances so common among sadhus to this day, e. g., hook-swinging, lying on thorn-beds, enduring the five fires, practising mortification by squatting or diving, are mentioned. The story of Uddalaka the bastard, (IV. 487) like that of Swetaketu, is intended to emphasise the superiority of self-control and right doing over the study of the Vedas and it lays down the remarkable dictum that all castes, including Chandalas and Pukkakas, can attain Nirvana; saints are never asked their birth. Below are given some instances to show with what utter contempt Chandalas were treated in Buddha's time; they had to live in settlements resembling the Ghettos of the Middle Ages and the Indian locations in South Africa and were subjected to unspeakable ignominies. If corroboration of these Jataka accounts is required, it will be found everywhere in the Yogavasistha Ramayana, that compendium of the Vedanta where the divinity of man and the equality of all souls as so many emanations from the Absolute are taught in popular language, to a people whose contempt for the lower castes it does nothing to mitigate (see, for instance, Book III, chapters 103-9). The effect of the revolutionary pronouncement that even Chandalas could attain the highest beatitude open to man, on a society founded entirely on the aristocracy of birth, can be better imagined than described. It was the first occasion in the history of caste-ridden India on which the outcaste

was placed on a footing of equality with the Brahmin in regard to the supreme goal of life. This great message of hope, this glad tidings of great joy, was the secret of the phenomenal success of Buddhism when it first appeared on the scene.

Pride of caste is deprecated in IV. 453. In the Amba Jataka (IV. 474) we have a Chandala village, Bodhisattva, a learned sage, being one of the caste. A young Brahmin learnt a charm from him, by which he could make a mango-tree yield fruit out of season. The Brahmin thought, "if I say a low caste Chandala taught me, I shall be put to shame and they will flout me. Be it Kshatriya, Brahmin (note the order of precedence), Vaisya, Sudra, Chandala, or Pukkasa, a teacher is always regarded as one's superior." In IV. 497, we have a graphic account of the social gradations of the times and see how the Buddhist birth-stories made light of the pride of birth. The Great Being (Bodhisattva) was born outside the city of Benares in a Chandala settlement and was known as Matanga. Dittha-Mangalika, daughter of a Benares merchant, coming to disport herself in the park with a crowd of companions, saw the Great Being from behind her curtain as he was coming to town, and learning that he was a Chandala, said, 'I have seen something which brings bad luck' and washing her eyes with scented water she turned back. The people with her cried out, "Ah vile outcaste, you have lost us free food and liquor to-day!" They then pummelled Matanga and left him senseless. By the force of his will, Matanga caused Dittha-Mangalika to marry him and by him she had a son Mandavya, who learnt the Vedas and became a great king. As Mandavya was once giving a great feast to Brahmins, Matanga arrived and was accosted by his son as a low-caste churl; whereupon he preached to his son the king the evils of pride of birth, and collecting a quantity of mixed victuals, ate it. In the sequel, Matanga's wife Dittha-Mangalika arrived on the scene and the Brahmins were made to taste rice-gruel sprinkled by her, as a result of which they were put out of caste by the other Brahmins. In the same story mention is made of another Brahmin Jatimanta who was inordinately proud of his birth and abused the Great Being as a vile outcaste, but the latter put down this pride by performing a miracle. In the next story, we have a Chandala village outside Ujjayini, where Bodhisattva and his mother's sister's son were born and were named Chitta and Sambhuta.

As in the last story, they were seen by a merchant's and a chaplain's daughters, and were belaboured by their attendants as evil omens. So they thought, 'All this misery has come upon us by reason of our birth', and disguising themselves as young Brahmins they studied at Takshasila. There the professor and his pupils were invited to a feast, where their origin was betrayed by the unguarded use of the Chandala dialect and they were turned out and became ascetics. Bowed down by grief, Chitta, baffled in his attempts to cross the bar sinister, cried out in the agony of his soul, "the lowest race are the Chandalas, the meanest of men."

One of the most important of the birth-stories, from the point of view of caste, is the Dasa Brahmana Jataka (IV. 495). It purports to reproduce what the wise Vidura told king Yudhisthira respecting the presence in the Brahmanic order, of men possessing the characteristics of the different orders of society, following all kinds of avocations, the inference being that their claim to be regarded as the exclusive custodians of spiritual worth is absolutely untenable. Vidura is made to say that (1) some Brahmins are like physicians, who gather herbs and roots and recite magic spells, (2) some are like servants, driving chariots and bringing messages, (3) some are like tax-collectors, importunate for gifts, (4) some are like beggars, with long nails and matted locks, (5) some are like merchants, selling fruits, honey, ointment, &c., (6) some are like Vaishyas and Ambasthas, following trade and husbandry, keeping flocks of goats, and selling their daughters for gold, (7) some are like butchers, fortune-tellers, gelding and marking beasts for pay, slaughtering kine and bullocks, swine and goats, (8) some like bandits or herdsmen, guiding caravans armed with sword, shield, and battle-axe, (9) some like hunters, building huts and laying traps in woods, and catching fish and hare and lizards, (10) others are like barbers, lying down beneath the royal bed at the soma sacrifice, the king bathing above their heads (the Brahmin plays the scapegoat in this ceremony, the king's sins being washed on to the Brahmin, who receives the bed and the ornaments by way of recompense). Observe the veiled irony of the whole story, and the duties appertaining to the different occupations in those days. But in fairness to the Brahmin caste it is also mentioned that there are wise and good Brahmins as well, who are free from the

deeds of evil-lust, and eat an only meal of rice, and never touch strong drink.

The last story which we shall quote from is a long one, the Bhuridatta Jataka (VI. 513), in some ways the most remarkable as an emphatic and open protest against the honour paid to the Vedas and Vedic sacrifices. Arishta having spoken eulogistically of them, the Bodhisattva said, "He is telling a legend of the past—a false legend," and proceeded to set him right by uttering the following Gāthā (verses):

"These Veda studies are the wise man's toils,
The lure which tempts the victims whom
he spoils

The Vedas have no hidden power to save
The traitor or the coward or the knave.....
If he wins merit who to feed the flame
Piles wood and straw, the merit is the same
When cooks light fires or blacksmiths at their trade,
Or those who burn the corpses of the dead.
But none, however zealously he prays
Or heaps the fuel round to feed the blaze,
Gains any merit by his mummeries.....
To worship fire, the common drudge of all,
Senseless and blind, and deaf to every call,
And then one's self to live a life of sin—
How could one dream that this a heaven

could win?... ..
Doctrines and rules of their own, absurd and vain.
Our sires imagined, wealth and power to gain.
Brahmans he made for study, for command the
Kshatriyas,
Vaishyas plough the land, Sudras are servants to
obey the rest,'

Thus from the first went forth his high behest.
We see these rules enforced before our eyes,
None but the Brahmins offer sacrifice,
None but the Kshatriya exercises sway,
The Vaishyas plough, the Sudras must obey.
These greedy liars propagate deceit,
And fools believe the fictions they repeat.....
If he who kills is counted innocent,
And if the victim safe to heaven is sent,
Let Brahmins Brahmins kill.....
These cruel cheats, as ignorant as vile,
Weave their long frauds the simple to beguile.
'Offer thy wealth, cut nails, beard, and hair,
And thou shalt have thy bosom's fondest prayer.'
The offerer, simple to their heart's content,
Comes with his purse, they gather round him fast,
Like crows around an owl, on mischief bent,
And leave him bankrupt and stripped bare at last.
The solid coin which erewhile he possessed,
Exchanged for promises which none can test.....
A clever low-caste lad would use his wit,
And read the hymns, nor find his headpiece split.
The Brahmins made the Vedas to their cost
When others gained the knowledge which they
lost.....

The obscurity [of the Vedas] but tempts the
foolish mind
They swallow all they are told with impulse blind.
Brahmins are to cows and oxen near akin,
Differing outside, they are as dull within.....
The Brahmin's Veda, Kshatriya's policy
Both arbitrary and delusive be.....
Brahmins now in our degenerate day
Will gain a livelihood in any way."

The above extracts, long as they are, contain the most outspoken denunciation of the ritualism of the Vedas, and of the Brahminic pretensions to supremacy, that are to be found in the Jatakas, and their merciless logic reminds one of the rationalistic philosophy of the school of Brihaspati, where similar sentiments are to be met with.

From all that has been said above it will appear that while Buddhism attached no value to caste (Buddha himself being frequently represented in the Jataka stories as born in a low caste), it did not directly attack the caste-system, but preferred to weaken its foundations by the Master's own example, and by denouncing the pride of birth. Buddha's attitude towards the slaughter of animals at sacrifices was however, positively antagonistic and the whole theory of Vedic ritualism was subjected to the searchlight of rational criticism and held up to scorn.

As to the position of the different castes among themselves, we get sufficient indications in the Jataka stories to lead to the conclusion that cobbler, sweepers and outcastes, (VI. 542) ranked with Chandalas and Pukkakas

amongst the lowest castes of society. In regard to the position assigned to these castes or their prototypes, Brahminism seems to have changed little since those times. But the innumerable intermediate castes of which we read in the Census Reports are a comparatively recent creation, unknown in Buddha's time; had the caste divisions continued, on the whole, to be as simple as they were in the beginning of the Buddhistic period, all the complexities of our modern life, and the problems they have given rise to, such as those of intercaste unity and the reduction of the entire Hindu population to a homogeneous nation, would have been comparatively easy of solution, and they would not have presented the well-nigh insurmountable difficulties which now block our path. Buddha's rational code of ethics and his doctrine of the equality of man would now be of immense benefit not only to the social, but also the political regeneration of our country, and his teachings on the institution of caste have therefore a special value for us.

X.

NIGHT

By J. VAKIL

The darkness throbs, the Unseen Heart,
A Flower, bursts in the night,
In sudden pain its petals part
Out of a dream of light.

The secret rose of Beauty blows
In flame through your deep eyes,
Its odorous fire about you glows
And dyes my heart's deep skies.



Rabindranath Tagore

MARRIAGE CEREMONY AMONG MAHARASHTRA BRAHMINS

BY V. G. APTE

IT is well nigh a century since western education commenced to permeate the Maharashtra and it is interesting to notice if any reform has been achieved by the Brahmins in Maharashtra in respect of their marriage ceremony.

There are three main divisions of Maharashtra Brahmins, viz., Chitpavans, Deshasthas and Karhadas. They interdine but do not intermarry. Intermarriages among them are not prohibited by Shastras. They are moreover sanctioned by their religious head—the Sankaracharya. Yet such marriages have not become common.

Thanks to the progress of education and of social reform early marriages are now things of the past. The marriageable age for girls has been raised from 6 and 10 years to 14 and 20; and boys are now rarely married before 17 or 18.

Horoscopes of marriageable boys and girls are still consulted and if they agree, their marriages are settled upon. But the agreement of horoscopes does not play the chief part in the settlement. The bridegroom's father has an eye to the main chance—the *Hunda* or the sum of money the bride brings with her. The purchase money of the bridegroom will be a more suitable term for *Hunda*. With the progress of education and the growing poverty of the people, it was expected that the custom of demanding *Hunda* would receive a check. But strange as it may appear, it has received an impetus and it is ever growing though it has not yet assumed such alarming proportions as to drive grown-up girls to find relief for their parents by committing suicide. So there are not yet cases among them like that of Snehalata. Girls in Bengal may well envy the lot of their sisters in Maharashtra.

Faith or no faith in religious rites to be observed in marriage ceremony, they are punctiliously performed, such as, *Akshat* or invitation to the family and local deities, the *Punyahavachana* or the giving of blessings for the holy day, the *Devaprotistha*, the *Laja Hom*, *Saptapadi*, *Nakshatra Darshana*, etc. Many of these rites have no meaning

for the persons to be married, but still they are gone through by extremely orthodox people and the whole-hogger reformers alike.

When educated males find themselves unequal to fight the orthodoxy, it is vain to blame women for insisting on the scrupulous observance of several social and semi-religious functions, such as *Ushti Halad*, *Amba Shimpane*, the grinding of *Udid* pulse in a hand-mill by the father and the mother of the bride together, etc.—observances quite meaningless in these days of machinery. These only serve to prove that our women-folk are not behind their Mahomedan and Christian sisters in their fondness for strict adherence to customs of by-gone days.

But even they are at times found amenable to reason in respect of the observance of certain social functions and quietly yield to the spirit of the time. When child marriages were in vogue, there was nothing wrong in the eyes of the people to make the married couple sit together at a dinner party wholly consisting of males and ask them to put morsels of delicious sweets in the mouth of each other, loudly announcing to the dinner party, the names of the opposite sex among the married couple—a custom called *Ghas-Dene* (giving of a morsel). It was a kind of exhibition of the literary wit on the part of the bride, as she had to announce the name of the bridegroom, not in a prosaic form but couched in a metrical banter, which often gave merriment to the dinner party and won their admiration for her ready wit. But this practice of *Ghas-Dene* was in ill accord with the bashfulness of the grown-up bride, who felt it very uncomfortable to sit by the side of her partner in life in the full presence of male elders and strangers and so the practice is now gradually dispensed with. *Vidi Todane* (chopping off by the bride with her teeth of the betel-leaf-roll held fast between the lips by the bridegroom and *vice versa*), *Supari Lapavine* (hiding by the bridegroom of a betel-nut in the folds of the clothes on the body and seeking it out by the bride and *vice versa*)—these and similar pastimes, which excited mirth in



A Marriage Procession of the Maharashtra Brahmins

times of early marriages are now given the go-bye they deserve.

One important reform, however, is a crying necessity and it is scarcely heeded. With all lucubrations of our educated people condemning extravagance in expenditure, marriage expenses are going up by leaps and bounds. With the high rates of cereals, ghee, and sugar facing us, shears ought to be applied to unnecessary expenses, but this is hardly the case. The love of pomp and seeming grandeur is unconquerable. The marriage procession must be in right royal fashion, however low may be the pecuniary condition of the bride's or the bridegroom's father. Marriage procession is not a thing to be examined with an economic or an artistic eye. The greater the hurly-burly and the incongruity, the greater the mirth. Here is a bridegroom dressed in a new turban with flower chaplets pending on both sides of his face, with his forehead

besmeared with red powder and his cheeks touched with lamp-black to avert the evil eye, riding on a horse, ever trembling with fear lest the animal may get frightened at the sound of the guns or the sight of fireworks and cause his fall. He is followed by a large galaxy of ladies richly decorated with ornaments and dressed in their best saris, and a large crowd of men bringing up the rear. The procession is headed by a band of musicians playing Eastern tunes on their sweet-sounding flutes and by their side there are drum-beaters, who know only how best to make noise with their *Zashas*, and the never-to-be-despised bandwallas dressed in second-hand worn-out military dress with their serpentine brass trumpets and big drums, making alternate roaring and shrill noise—all these are the necessary, though incongruous, elements of a marriage procession. But the greatest absurdity is with the *Abdagir*—a circular flat, wooden

plank covered with rich silk interwoven with gold threads, supported on a long pole and intended to serve as an umbrella to ward off the cruel hot rays of the sun from the face of the bridegroom and so useful in midday noon if held across the path of the sun. Is it not out of place when it is the cool morning or the dark evening when the procession sets out? But no, sun or no sun the *Abdagir* must be there. It is indispensable. It is an emblem of pomp and what is marriage without pomp and extravagance? To enhance the grandeur and picturesqueness,

there are *Nakshatramalas* or star-wreaths made of tinsel and coloured paper hanging from high poles, as if to show that the procession is marching through heavens studded with stars and to make up the scene of this heavenly sight there is an artificial moving garden of variegated flowers made of paper and tinsel, vying in richness the well-known *Nandana-vana* of Indra. Who can say after this all that Maharashtra Brahmins are wanting in love of gaiety and can charge them with parsimony in marriage expenditure?

CONSERVATISM

By ABDUL AZIZ, BARRISTER-AT-LAW

THE results of the General Election have just been announced, and although one could have foretold an easy victory for the Conservatives, after the gathering reaction against Labour and the long series of defeats (culminating in the dissolution of Parliament) which the Labour Government was heroic, or callous, enough to suffer, we must say that we were not prepared for such swinging Conservative majorities all around, nor did the country ever witness such a poor show of the Liberals, whatever the causes may have been.

The present time is an important one in parliamentary history: A huge Conservative majority over all the other parties combined affords food for reflection. In fact, such an event at this time of day, beating as it does the great Liberal victory of 1906, induces us to re-read English History in the light of recent events, and ask fundamental questions about Conservatism—what it stands for, its principles, its power, its possibilities and its destiny. Further we are tempted to study once more the English temperament and ask ourselves if we have not misread the British genius and character. Are the English people as a nation retrograde and reactionary, or else simply wise and self-complacent? But we must begin with Conservatism.

Conservatism is an age-long creed; this

must not however, prejudice us in favour of Conservatism, for a persistent error with a long history does not become truth. So we should judge every tenet of the creed on its merits, and keep it apart from its ancient lineage on the one hand (which is no recommendation whatever) and from a long service to the cause of human progress on the other (which has at best only a historical value).

On the contrary, the go-ahead folk are apt to think that Conservatism is purely a matter of heredity and tradition, and that an honest conversion to such an "outworn" creed is impossible or extremely unlikely. But the late Election gives the lie to this supposition. Nor have we any right to beg the question in that manner. Truth is never old, and we cannot imagine that a political creed which has supported the national existence of such a wise and successful nation as Englishmen for several centuries, and still commands so much influence in England, is really an outworn creed which has survived its utility.

We need not encumber ourselves with the historical antecedents of Conservatism, though these constitute a brilliant record, of which any party or nation may well be proud. But a certain amount of history is indispensable in discussing Conservatism.

Conservatism stands distinguished from

any other political creed in that it has a long pedigree, and has stood the test of time. That is precisely the first cardinal point in the conservative creed: What is tried is safe and reliable. There must be a special reason for an innovation. In science we don't freely experiment with the human body. It is more dangerous to experiment with a body of men. Not only are here a large number of men, but we are playing with minds instead of bodies—a far more complex affair. Exploration and discovery will often be accompanied by disaster. Yet it may be said that conservatives are either shortsighted and unimaginative or indolent. For there is no denying the fact that with careful observation, patient analysis and comparative study of men and conditions one can introduce change and reforms without dangerous consequences. Moderation and prudence and care are all that is necessary. On the other hand if we are too shy we shall *never* take a step forward.

As a brief formula we can say that Conservatism stands for established interests and vested authority: this formula would include adherence to the Church and the Throne, advocacy of landed and hereditary interests, and even the ambition and programme of imperial expansion, including Protection in trade and Preference within the Empire. These constitute the main planks in the conservative platform, for one cannot concede that the conservatives are really earnest in their proposals for poor relief (which is inconsistent with their other principles) though they claim credit for the same, and connect it with their advocacy of Establishment and Endowment.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth Conservatism was nothing. The Church-and-Crown party, from which modern Conservatism has descended, was nothing but a political move of the sovereign to gain secular power over the Church, and to "Nationalise" and consolidate its authority. There was nothing noble about this stroke of diplomacy.

But when we come to the real beginnings of Conservatism in the hands of Burke, we find much to admire. Perhaps we admire Burke more than the conservative policy which England espoused when the waves of the French Revolution lapped on English shores. Because while Conservatism only voted for a *status quo*, Burke, who had seen the wisdom of holding to his anchor in a typhoon, was yet ready to fight battles against the Crown if its conduct and procedure clashed with his ideal of a true democracy. One has no

hesitation in saying, however, that Conservatism, as far as it was a reaction against the ferment of the French Revolution, was a commendable expression of the nation's wisdom and sterling common sense, eminently justified by the results. But it must be admitted that here Conservatism was opposed to Revolution, not Liberalism. That is precisely why Burke was both a whig and a tory. There was no inconsistency in *his* attitude towards political affairs; it was the *parties* that were at fault: they placed wrong alternatives before the people. The parties went by shibboleths and formulae. Burke went by thinking and did not care if he cut across lines of cleavage between the parties. This shows incidentally how factitious party distinctions really are, and how the party system clogs the way to clear thinking and intelligent preference. Owing to historical accidents certain lines of policy have come to be associated with one party, and have in many cases become a matter of prejudice rather than principle.

Burke's speeches and *Reflections* must have come as a welcome revelation to many Conservatives of his time who probably congratulated themselves on the unsuspected beauties of the creed which they had happened to inherit from their forefathers. Burke is all for heredity, stability, sanity, and sound sense. Had it not been for Burke, England might have reeled, and the social ferment might have courted a political disaster.

In the 19th century Conservatism had a rather bad time of it altogether. This was due partly to the rising tide of political thought and progressive echoes and indirect influences of the French Revolution and partly to the short-sighted and obstinate policy of Conservative leaders like Peel. Any party or system with a shorter history or weaker foundations would have succumbed to the blows which fell successively [Roman Catholic Emancipation (1829), Reform Bill (1832), Repeal of Corn Laws (1846), Household Suffrage (1867), and the Fiscal Controversy (1903)].

The accident of birth gave to Conservatism a tinge of religious sanction, which has been exploited by its exponents to the full. It is difficult to see why there should be Establishment or Endowment at all, and more difficult to see why there should be Establishment and Endowment on any other basis but that of numerical majority.

There is, of course, something conservative in Religion, but there is nothing essentially

religious in Conservatism. To mix up the two propositions leads to confusion of thought. Conservatism supports only one particular denomination in a conspicuously partial manner, and all attempts at justifying the Establishment and Endowment of the Church of England are futile. In case of Disestablishment and Disendowment other denominations will have an equal chance. The conservative position in this matter seems to be even weaker than in matters of private property and taxation. If, as is alleged, the Church of England does no longer enjoy any real privileges, why fight over them? Why keep the semblance of preference—a shadow, when there is no reality? The fact is that there is still considerable prestige attaching to that Church, and privileges are not usually surrendered with readiness. One wonders on what grounds the (Protestant) Church of Ireland remained established till 1869! The Establishment of a religion, which is professed by an overwhelming majority is perhaps justifiable, though even then it would handicap freedom of thought and is not fair to Science and Philosophy. Altogether the conservative arguments for Establishment and Endowment are hopelessly unconvincing.

Nor is the Conservative position as regards Poor Relief any more satisfactory. The argument that Christian teaching as regards wealth is purely individualistic, and refers to spiritual rather than temporal welfare, and therefore the poor need not to be made rich, can be met by saying that Liberalism in relieving the rich of their wealth aims at their spiritual welfare, and wishes to relieve the poor from their poverty in the temporal sense. To argue that because St. Paul allowed slavery, therefore poverty has Christian sanction, is fatuous.

Next we come to Property and Taxation. It is urged that (a) the community creates the value of land, (b) land is a monopoly, and (c) landholders are best able to bear taxes; therefore all kinds of rates and taxes should be shifted to the landowners. It must be said in reply that while (a) is in part at least correct, land is not exactly a monopoly, and it does not seem fair to shift all the burden to the landowners. The burden must be shared between the landowner and the capitalist (or industrialist). The conservative arguments that there should be no taxation without representation and that one section should never be taxed for the benefit of another, seem sound for practical application.

According to the conservative principle that the State cannot inflict an undeserved injury (e. g., taxation) on any individual, the State cannot reward any person for good service either. This principle seems also inconsistent with the conservative claim for Government interference or authority. "A state which refuses to relieve the poor may be wicked, but is not unjust." This is not convincing, without some such doctrine as the exploded theory of "Natural rights". Nor does it prove the cause against poor relief by taxation of the rich. Poor relief can really be defended on ground of morals, charity and expediency, and in a way also of justice. Conservatives can deny it neither on theoretical nor on practical grounds.

In Tariff reform policy, Conservatism cares for the land-owner and the industrialist, not for the consumer. The connection between protectionism and imperialism is obvious. The landowning classes are too effete to compete with the foreigner.

Foreign and Imperial Affairs: While allowing for the difference between individual and state morality (the state being a trustee), the liberal doctrine of a high international morality seems to be large-minded and dignified. An Imperialism based on an immoral and callous hankering for national self-aggrandisement is not an inspiring creed.

One wonders on what principles, conservative or liberal, modern Europe's land hunger is to be justified. Invidious and artificial distinctions between states of civilisation, the talk about "Missions" and "Vocations" is the most transparent twaddle. Surely it ought to be possible to formulate a code with a decent approximation to definition of rights and obligations between class and class, and nation and nation. It may be a difficult task; but surely one cannot say that the subject matter is essentially, and will remain permanently, chaotic. An advance from individual to international morality is surely conceivable. Better education, wider sympathies, greater imagination will bring about a cosmopolitan morality. To hold any other opinion is to surrender this beautiful world to the force of evil.

Parliamentary constitution:

(1) *Kingship.* Conservatism has decidedly lost ground as far as the principle of divine right of kings is concerned. A more modern position is that a king who is above party should take a more active part in the administration, and kingship should of course continue hereditary.

(2) *House of Lords.* Conservatives of course insist on a hereditary House of Lords, but they say it should be made stronger on non-partisan lines, so as to represent all parties. This House stands for service only for honour.

(3) *House of Commons.* Much of Conservative criticism against the representative character of the House of Commons is quite valid, though it really affects the party system of government. But that only exemplifies the imperfection and limitation of human institutions. It is worthy of note that conservatives are unable to suggest any better system of representative government than the one characterised by a more powerful second chamber and a stronger and more active sovereign than we have at present. It is curious that the conservatives propose no substantial reform of the lower house; for the Referendum, in more important measures, is at best a clumsy, troublesome and unsatisfactory solution; and we have not only the House of Commons, which mirrors public opinion on all matters of importance fairly faithfully, but also the Press, which is a useful safety-valve when the Lower House shows sign of being arbitrary.

Perhaps one reform in the House of Commons is necessary, viz., that the franchise should be so distributed as to ensure expression of as many free individual opinions as possible, not opinions of interests; the right of suffrage should be freely exercised without pressure from landlords and capitalists. Else the present House of Commons will one day degenerate into a commercial oligarchy.

In conclusion one may remark that Conservatism and Liberalism (unhappy as these terms are) are obviously both necessary to human progress, like analysis and synthesis in science. Pure Conservatism is stagnation, pure Liberalism is revolution. Conservatism is characterised by a certain kind of narrow-mindedness, which is perhaps inseparable from its historical antecedents. But it is a useful check on the disruptive tendencies of a socialistic and revolutionary era; specially when we are slowly realising that the democratic form of government, with its bold challenge and extensive claims, has not redeemed, and is farther than ever from redeeming, the generous promises it has always held out.

Having made this rapid survey of the main lines of Conservative thought, the question recurs: what about a nation that remains

a rigid adherent of this creed and continues withal to lead the world through war and vicissitude to its great destiny? For now there is no Germany to dispute either its political supremacy or its intellectual hegemony.

The first idea that strikes one is the "solidity" of character, if one may use the phrase. The more we think over it the more we are impressed by the fact that English Conservatism as an article of political faith is only an effect of an underlying cause, viz., the English temperament. The real "Conservatism" that is to say, lies in the English character. We find abundant evidence of this temperament in the whole course of England's political history as well as in the history of her social institutions. It is not by chance that most of England's revolutions have been peaceful. We note that in England there have been changes, at times even radical changes, but there was never a violent break with the past. There is always present a tendency to introduce changes under the name of some thing old and familiar: theories are retained where practice has changed under pressure of new requirements. Stereotyped procedure continues even when new understandings are developed as a remedy against its undesirable consequences.

In the political field, the English have always wisely used the results of political experiments tried in other countries, such as France, Russia, etc. It is not by mere good luck that England has always escaped catastrophes, which have befallen successively all the powers around her (France in 1789-1815, and again in 1871, Germany and Russia in the last war). These miraculous escapes are in large degree due to her sterling good sense, her imperturbable sanity and her phlegmatic temperament. The English genius, for instance, rebels against all kinds of socialism, because the experiment has never been successfully tried. Even her "Labour" is not really socialistic. Notwithstanding all this, conservatism has never stood in the way of England's progress.

We find the same principles abundantly illustrated in the development of English Law, from such nebulous vapour as the Common Law of England through a living growth of case-law and precedent to a remarkably well-ordered system, disguised under complicated theory and procedure.

We may wind up by remarking that although we join issue with most of the positions taken up by the Conservative politicians,

English Conservatism, so far from being a sign of decay and ossification, is actually a sheet anchor, a guarantee against ill-advised changes and violent methods. No other nation has had similar conservatism; no other nation could so use it if it had it.

Nov. 15, 24

EARLY BUDDHISM AND THE LAITY

By DR. NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., PH. D.

ANY one who tries to acquaint himself with the process of spread and development of Buddhism from its earliest beginnings naturally asks the question whether Buddhism in its earliest stages had a lay society of its own to support it; if not, what was its position in regard to lay society, without which it is difficult, if not impossible, for a religion to flourish in the way Buddhism did. It has been aptly said by Carlyle that

"The Ideal always has to grow in the Real, and to seek out its bed and board there, often in a very sorry way. No beautifullest Poet is a Bird-of-Paradise, living on perfumes. The Heroic independent of bed and board is found in Drury-Lane Theatre only. Many an Ideal monastic or other shooting forth into practice as it can, grows to a strange enough Reality; and we have to ask with amazement: Is this your Ideal! To avoid disappointments, let us bear this in mind."

It must not be supposed that Buddha committed a mistake of this sort by founding his Ideal upon no basis of what Carlyle calls the Real. The paucity of details as to the lay community in the Digha and the Majjhima Nikayas lends colour to such a notion, but it should be noticed that though Buddha did not try from the beginning to have a stereotyped Buddhist community of laymen, yet his monastic system was broad-based upon the Real. The reasons why he did not care to have at first such a community of Buddhist laymen are:—

(1) He looked upon all men, irrespective of their religion or society as badly in need of initiation into the Truths discovered by him; and whatever might have been their attitude towards him or his religion, they were never regarded as unworthy of his solicitude for their moral and spiritual welfare.

(2) There was in India at the time of Buddha a large number of Hindus who were

not strong in their faith, or were not satisfied with the social status to which they were rooted by their birth. Buddha could have a sufficient number of these people to embrace his religion and support the Buddhist monks.

(3) It was not perhaps possible for Buddha with his wide catholicity and infinite fund of mercy for the suffering humanity to limit the benefits of his religion only to those who belonged to a particular lay community of his own creation. On the other hand, however, the *nirvana* which formed the summum bonum of human existence could not, according to him, be attained except by the process of *sadhana* forming a part of the Truth discovered by him. To make the benefits of his religion available to as many people as possible, he prescribed only the sincere taking of refuge in Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha, and the observance of the five *silas* as the minimum requisite, and a sufficient indication of a mental attitude, which the followers of the Truth promulgated by him should have. The restriction of belonging to a particular lay community originated by Buddha for making them eligible to his spiritual ministration would have been to thrust into narrow limits a Personality that was yearning to rend asunder all limitations to uplift humanity.

(4) According to Buddha the initiation into the Buddhist order and the performance of the *sadhana* incident to it constituted the only door to *nirvana*. The laymen could rise higher spiritually by their moral ways of life but could not reach *nirvana* which, according to him, could be attained by the *sadhana* incident to the Buddhist order. It may seem to us that Buddha was very hard upon the lay community who could not, in his view, attain *nirvana*, whereas the laymen belonging to other communities, e. g. the lay Hindus,

could, according to their spiritual guides, attain salvation by their meritorious acts. But the reason for the holding of such an opinion by Buddha is not far to seek. Nirvana was attainable only by the Buddhist order over which he could impose the discipline through which alone a man could be fit for the same, while in the case of the laymen, over whom he exercised no such control for the reasons already stated, they could reach only stages of spiritual improvement lower than nirvana.

All these factors contributed to bring into being the following state of things, *viz.*, that it was chiefly to the monastic order that Buddha turned his attention, because it was in his view the only effective means of attaining the highest end of human existence. He was no doubt compassionate to the householders but as mere meritorious deeds could not enable them to attain nirvana during their life-time as householders, his ultimate aim was to persuade as many of them as possible to renounce the world and join the monastic order, live the disciplined life of a monk performing *dhyana*, *dharana*, *samadhi*, etc., and thus uplift themselves to the stage in which they could have nirvana. Hence Buddha tried by his speeches and discussions to attract people with their worldly turn of mind many of whom were, of course, householders, to become members of his order and when they were unable to advance so far, they could perform the five or eight silas, and thereby rise to the higher rungs of moral and spiritual development attainable by a householder. He did not care therefore whether the candidates for admission into the monastic stage belonged to the Hindu, Jaina, or any other community. What he cared for most was the entrance into the monastic order, which alone was the effective means of reaching the highest goal of life. There was, at the time of Buddha, a section of people opposed to Hindu orthodoxy, or smarting under the invidious differential treatment meted out to them under the Hindu social system. These people were very probably the first to be impressed most by the doctrines preached by Buddha and be enlisted as his followers; but yet there are evidences in the Nikayas to show that the opposition that Buddha had to overcome in the pursuit of his goal was strong and bitter on account of the presence of orthodoxy characterising, I think, the major section of the Hindu community. Just before the advent of Buddha, Hindu society reached a time when a

reaction against the evils that had cropped up in it grew in volume and was seeking an outlet. The presence of so many sects on the fringe-area of Hinduism, or expressly opposed to it, testifies to the existence of this state of things. Mahavira had raised his flag of revolt, round which mustered perhaps a large number of adherents than round that of any other heretic sect of the time. Buddha came in the wake of these sects but with greater potentialities of growth and resistance than its predecessors. The opposition put forth against him from the strongholds of Hindu orthodoxy was naturally in proportion to the larger encroachments that this new religion threatened to make upon the domain of Hinduism. There are references in the Nikayas to the stigma attaching even to the paying of visits to Buddha, not to speak of conversion to his doctrines or showing him marks of respect. The learned brahmana Sonadanda was asked not to see Buddha on account of the loss of reputation he would incur thereby (D.N. I. p. 113). Similarly, the erudite brahmanas Kutadanta, Canki, and Pokkharasadi were reminded of the risk they were running by going to meet him. Instances of this sort may be multiplied. They show how difficult it was for the preacher of the new religion to win over to his side persons belonging to the orthodox community. But even this difficulty was overcome by him at times so easily that one may be led to think from such instances of conversion as if orthodox Hinduism allowed these conversions to take place without any grudge. We see, for instance, Assalayana (M.N. II, pp. 147ff) coming to Buddha for defeating him in a debate, but is defeated in the end, and the very moment, takes refuge in Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. When renouncing the religion of which he was an adherent, he did not delay the least to think of the social disadvantages that might follow in the train of his conversion. Such sudden conversions depended upon the deep impression made by Buddha upon the minds of the persons who came into contact with him and felt the magnetic influence of his personality. It would not, I think, be correct to infer from the examples of such conversions that these converts were ungrudgingly allowed by the Hindu community to be at liberty to embrace Buddhism in pursuance of their unfettered conviction.

During the life-time of Buddha, the mark that distinguished the Buddhist laity was the taking of refuge in Buddha, Dhamma and

Sangha, and the observance of the five silas. This was, of course, the minimum requisite of a Buddhist layman. Those converts who wished to be more advanced in discipline and to prepare themselves for greater religious merit observed the eight silas, and tried to mould their lives as far as possible in accordance with the ideas set forth in several places of the Nikayas. To these we shall have occasion to turn later on. A Buddhist layman who thus went higher up the ladder of religious discipline prescribed in the Nikayas for the laity had naturally to come into frequent contact with the Buddhist bhikkhus, hear their discourses and discard gradually all those beliefs and practices which did not find favour with the Buddhists. For him, of course, who had crossed the door-sill of Buddhism very recently, no other restriction than that of the three refuges and the performance of the five silas was imposed. This gave him a good deal of freedom in regard to the holding of beliefs and the performance of rites and practices which might have been very dear to him before his conversion. It would be apparent that the Buddhist laity formed at first in this way must have consisted of people from whom uniformity of beliefs, rites, and ceremonies could not be expected. If Buddha or his followers would have tried to have the minds of the new converts shorn of their cherished beliefs, or their faiths in rites and ceremonies which were meaningless in the eye of the Buddhists, their attempt would certainly have been futile; for it is only the strong-minded people that can free themselves from their former faiths all at once.

An examination of the Nikayas shows that though the laymen were declared incompetent by reason of their mental and spiritual outfit to reach the highest stage of spiritual development, viz. arhathood, yet it was open to them to attain to the three lower stages, viz. *sotapanna*, *sakadagami*, and *anagami*. The method by which these laymen were made competent for these stages would be apparent from the passages in the Nikayas, where the removal of the *samyojanas* has been treated (cf. M.N. I, pp. 462-8, D.N. I, p. 92). The five *samyojanas* that the house-holders had to sever, viz. *sakkayaditthi* (the view of the existence of individuality), *vicikiccha* (religious doubt), *silabbataparamasa* (domination of the belief in ritualism) *kama* (bodily passions), and *patigha* (hatred). Of these *vicikiccha* and *silabbataparamasa* are of

special importance, because by the first, a very strong adherence to the Buddhist faith is intended to be developed, while by the second, the influences of the former faiths and superstitions of the converts are meant to be counteracted. The development of the influence of these two factors on the mind of the new adherents of the Buddhist faith brings them more and more within the Buddhist fold and makes them out-and-out Buddhist. Implicit faith in Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha gradually asserts itself to the exclusion of the other faiths that may be struggling with it for the upper hand, and beliefs in the efficacy of the rites and ceremonies are by degrees denuded of their strength by the stimulation of the constant endeavour on the part of the converts themselves to achieve this object, as also by the hearing of frequent discourses of the Buddhist monks at the monasteries or outside, and the carrying out of their directions as to the mental and moral discipline. There are rules in the Vinaya providing ample facilities for the converts to come into frequent contacts with the Buddhist monks. They met at the monasteries on the 8th, 14th and 15th day of every lunar fortnight at gatherings in which the monks delivered religious discourses and dispelled doubts on the points about which questions were put to them. Every morning they came into contact with the monks begging alms from door to door. Though long religious discourses were not suitable to such occasions, they could have been easily utilized for imparting to them bits of teachings intended to wear off their attachment to worldly matters, and stimulate their eagerness to subject themselves rigidly to moral and spiritual discipline, — the path to salvation. The afternoons were allowed by the rules of the monasteries to be utilized by the house-holders by coming there and having spiritual enlightenment from the monks through conversation and religious discourses. The householders were also permitted to invite to meals the monks singly or by batches. These were, invariably, occasions for delivering suitable religious discourses. The *vassa* (the four months of the retreat from the full moon of *Asadha* to that of *Karttika*) is a prolonged period during which the monks had to stay at a fixed place, generally a monastery. These four months afforded ample opportunities to the monks to mould the spiritual and religious life of the laymen as much according to the Buddhist ideal as practicable.

It was through these instructions and dis-

courses that the Buddhist house-holders could make moral and spiritual progress as evidenced in the many narratives in the Nikayas, e.g., those relating to Anathapindika, Visakha, Nakulamata and Nakulapita. Some of the lay-devotees are mentioned with appreciation in the *Anguttara Nikaya* as adepts in *dhyaana*; this shows that the house-holders were allowed much scope for self-improvement and spiritual culture, though the passage already cited may give rise to the notion that they could not rise much in the scale of spiritual culture until they joined the monastic order. That they could rise as far as the stage of *anagami* goes to show that the house-holders were given a good deal of latitude for improving themselves spiritually, not merely by the observance of the *silas* but also by the practice of *dhyaana*,—a process of *sadhana* which may be misconceived to have been the monopoly of the monks and nuns. With the lapse of time there came into being a society of Buddhist laymen who could be distinguished from the laymen of other denominations not only by their distinctive faiths but also by their social and religious practices that became gradually stereotyped as Buddhistic. Marriage into such Buddhist families or perhaps commensality or mixing in other ways with the Buddhist laymen came to put the Buddhist impress upon the doers of these acts. The ancient Hindu community allowed wide range of religious views to its members, but it was very touchy in regard to two or three points, viz. (1) the supreme authority of the Vedas, (2) the observance of the caste-rules bearing specially on marriage and commensality, and (3) the observance of at least one or two sacraments. In consequence, those who deviated from the groove laid down by the Hindu community had to remain separate from the community and could not hope to be restored to their former status (which even was impossible in some cases) except by the fulfilment of certain expiatory and stringent conditions. To the Buddhist community this was an advantage, because the way to join them was made very easy and attractive, but

the way to return to the community to which they had belonged previously,—specially to the Hindu community, was not so easy and sometimes very difficult. Hence, though the distinctive external marks of the Buddhist laymen appear at first sight to be almost nil, a closer examination shows that there were such marks, some of which owed their origin not to the Buddhists themselves but to the peculiar social and religious environment surrounding Buddhism and the Buddhist lay society. At the time of Buddha, of which we are speaking at present, as the Buddhist lay society was receiving immigrants from quite a number of other sects and communities, it is difficult to find out at first sight its distinctive features concealed under its cosmopolitan character, but what I have said before will, I hope, show that though the state of things was nebulous at the time, the Buddhist society of laymen was not without peculiar features of its own. It was more upon this society of laymen that the Buddhist monks could rely than any other for help, patronage, and daily alms. It is natural that the Buddhist laymen should be more interested in the furtherance of the Buddhist ideals, and more devoted to the Buddhist monks than the laymen of other communities however great might have been the catholicity and the spirit of toleration that animated the people of ancient India. Narratives are found in the *Nikayas* describing how Buddha himself could not get a morsel of food as alms in a village where the brahmanas predominated. This gives but a glimpse of a state of things which could not but have prevailed at a time when the adherents of the diverse religions were struggling for supremacy in the religious struggle. It is therefore not an error to think that during the life-time of Buddha, there came into being the lay society of the Buddhists, upon whose help and co-operation the monks could rely with confidence in the midst of the stress and strain which they had to bear in their struggle with the supporters of the rival religious systems.

SHELLEY ON POLITICAL REFORM

By D. V. GUNDAPPA

POETRY AND POLITICS

ON the high summits of human life, Poetry and Politics, far from being the irreconcilables they appear to be in our work-day world, are seen to dwell as comrades inseparable from each other. All great poetry is, in truth, politics idealised; and all great politics is, equally, poetry realised. The poet is the eye through which men obtain glimpses of the beautiful and the good; and the statesman is the arm with which they strive to remove all that stands between them and the object of their vision. Or, to vary the figure, the poet produces the martial music which stirs and impels us to new and noble conquests, while the statesman supplies the leadership without which our hosts would be marching only to their ruin. Poetry not motivated by politics is mere vanity of words, and politics not inspired by poetry is nothing better than blindman's buff.

This description of the alliance between the dreamer and the man of affairs will perhaps meet with readier and wider acceptance if we make clear what we mean by the words by which we designate their work. Poetry, properly so called, is the expression of a passionate longing for whatever is lovable and lovely in the thought and feeling, and aspiration and endeavour of man. In other words, its office is to induce us,—to tempt us, as it were, by giving us a foretaste of the joy of the better world visualised by the poet,—to strive for improvements in the conditions around us. Such striving, it is the business of politics to facilitate and direct. The poet stimulates thought and effort in the direction of the good; it is the part of the politician to pave the way and provide the means for that effort. Politics, in its highest sense, is the art of materialising the ideals of individual and social welfare which are fashioned and commended by poets and thinkers. The poet and the statesman alike concern themselves with the well-being and the well-doing of their fellow-men; the first outlines the plan and prepares the material which the second takes into his hand in order to leave behind a world better than the one

he first found. They are both collaborators in a large part of the same field. If the domain of poetry is much wider than that of politics which it includes, the dominion of politics makes itself felt more readily and more tangibly. Let us not then talk of the poet and the statesman as though they were antipodes to each other.

Evidences of the intimate and profound connection between poetry and politics are abundant enough in history. We know that the *Republic*, the far-famed treatise on the ideal state, is essentially the work of a poetic mind;—that Plato the political idealist has indeed been the philosopher dear to the poets, a veritable poet among political philosophers. We also know that Milton did not despise, "forsaking the 'quiet air of delightful studies'," to play a man's part in the confusions of his time; that he was a passionate advocate of civil and religious freedom as well as of national independence and was the inspirer and assistant of Cromwell. Dante was not inconspicuous in the political affairs of his country; and Goethe was no stranger to politics. On the other side, one has but to recall the names of Pitt and Gladstone, Burke and Mazzini, and Morley, to realise what an ample and fruitful part poetry has played in moulding the ideals and policies of great statesmen and political reformers. Indeed, to stand out as a reformer is to give evidence of an essentially poetic gift, namely, the vision of a society arranged better and a world made happier. The most important ingredients of the poet's mind and of the statesman's mind, are, in truth, the same, insight, imagination, sympathy, benevolence, though the proportions and the processes in which they are compounded in the two may be different. The material which both intend to handle is the same, namely, human life. They both have to deal with the passions, emotions, ideas and idiosyncrasies of men. They should, therefore, be both men quick to feel and quick to understand, with hearts and eyes ever wakeful to the possibilities of human nature as well as to the actualities of life around them. The same zeal for human improvement is the life-breath of both. What

through one takes the form of lyric and epic and drama, takes through the other the form of law and court and council. Their means and methods of expression are different; but their prime motive is the same.

It should thus be no transgression of bounds in a poet to speak out a word or two concerning the practical affairs of the statesman, even as it may not be out of bounds for a man of affairs to plead for a higher poetic inspiration for his age and country. Of course the poet's discourse on political or social reform can only be speculative in method and tentative in import; for he must necessarily be lacking in that knowledge and experience which can come only from the actual handling of affairs. Nevertheless, his political utterance is of value to us, because it is prompted and touched by the same vision as gives value to his poetry. It is a philosophical prose-version, so to say, of his poetic dreams. If that be so, it may not be unprofitable, amid the political excitements and distractions of our day, to turn to Shelley, the great poet of the Revolutionary Epoch, and take note of his views on the vexed subject of political reform.

THE REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH

Wordsworth, Byron and Shelley are the three great English poets who represent to us the epoch of the French Revolution and Shelley, the youngest of the three, is admittedly the most devoted exponent of the spirit and meaning of that epoch. An aggressive intolerance of tyranny in whatever form was the gift bestowed on him at birth by the grim god of destiny. Every student is familiar with the story of how, while still at school, he made himself notorious as "Mad Shelley" and "Shelley the Atheist" by his resolute opposition to the odious system of fagging and by his cherishing what then were strange notions of justice and independence. A rebel at twelve and a heretic at nineteen, he braved the anger of his father and preferred to be banished from home and heritage at what must have been to him the most enjoyable period of life rather than yield to the despotism of blind custom. Shelley was in his twenty-first year when, in his first important poem, "*Queen Mab*", he declared:—

Kings, priests and statesmen blast the human flower
Even in its tender bud; their influence darts
Like subtle poison through the bloodless veins
Of desolate society.....
Let priest-led slaves cease to proclaim that man
Inherits vice and misery, when force

And falsehood hang even o'er the cradled babe
Stifling with rudest grasp all natural good.

The standard of revolt thus raised against "force and falsehood", with all the injudicious downrightness and the extravagant fervour of youth, was held aloft with unwavering zeal throughout the remainder of Shelley's life. In poem and play and song, of wonderful variety of beauty and richness, he stood up for the "perfectibility" of man and against the tyranny of the Established Order of things. In almost every noteworthy poem, we hear the same sigh for freedom, the same cry against oppression. In the last and the longest of his poems, "*Prometheus Unbound*", we perceive the same passionate discontent with existing social arrangements, but expressed in more chastened and balanced phrases:—

Hypocrisy and custom make men's minds
The fanes of many a worship, now outworn.
They dare not devise good for man's estate,
And yet they know not what they do not dare.
The good want power, but to weep barren

The powerful goodness want—worse need for
The wise want love; and those who love want

And all best things are thus confused to ill.
Many are strong and rich, and would be just,
But live among their fellow-men
As if none felt.....

Indeed, the whole drama may be taken to be an allegorical representation of humanity's emancipation from the clutches of man-made convention and soul-suppressing custom.

"PHILOSOPHICAL VIEW OF REFORM"

This impassioned and dauntless child of the revolution has left, as legacy to those who care for him, a fragment of a prose-essay on political reform which anyone today would readily acknowledge to be a sober enough document remarkably sober indeed if we remember the constant and consistent iconoclasm of its youthful author. The warm glow which the sight of the revolutionary flame had brought into the youthful heart of Wordsworth was gradually rendered soft and mellow by the sixty winters that passed over his head. Not so with Shelley. He was in the first bloom of manhood and at the very height of his mental powers when he recorded his thoughts on political reform. He called the tract a "philosophical" view of reform therein suggesting that it is a record of his deliberate and carefully expressed opinions. In fact, he said of it in a letter to Leigh Hunt:—

"It is boldly but temperately written, and

think, readable. It is intended for a kind of standard book for the philosophical reformers".

The book is of much practical interest even today and it is particularly so for us in India. Let us therefore proceed to see what Shelley has to say on the many knotty points that try the skill of the political reformer.

The year (1820) in which Shelley wrote his tract,—which, let us not forget, was written solely with reference to his own country, was the year of the death of George III, the fifth year after the Battle of Waterloo, the year, we may also note, of the Cato Street Conspiracy. The shock of the great revolution in France was then still fresh in England. The Napoleonic struggles had brought about wide-spread economic distress everywhere. The middle classes were full of discontent and the upper classes full of apprehension and alarm. There was yet no sign on the horizon to announce the great days of Canning and Peel and Huskisson; and much less was there any pre-assurance of the great parliamentary reforms of a later day (1829-30). The whole atmosphere in England was one of profound and universal unrest, premonitory of change. It was at this juncture that Shelley, with the prevision characteristic of the poet no less than of the statesman, grasped the spirit of the times and sought to find proper accommodation for it in the institutions of his country.

He begins the essay with the remark that, excluding those personally interested in the maintenance of power as it was, "there is no inhabitant of the British Empire, of mature age and perfect understanding, not fully persuaded of the necessity of Reform." Then, attempting a brief history of the movement for Freedom in Europe, he characterises the Roman Empire as a "vast and successful scheme for the enslaving of the most civilised portion of mankind" and adds that it was succeeded by a series of smaller schemes operating to the same effect up to the epoch of the French Revolution. Incidentally, he pays his tribute to the founder of Christianity; it is interesting and worthy of note. He writes:—

"Names borrowed from the life and opinions of Jesus Christ were employed as symbols of domination and imposture; and a system of liberty and equality—for such was the system planted by that great Reformer—was perverted to support oppression. Not his doctrines, for they are too simple and direct to be susceptible of such perversion, but the mere names. Such was the origin of the Catholic Church, which, together with the several dynasties then beginning to consolidate themselves

in Europe, means.....a plan according to which the cunning and selfish few have employed the fears and hopes of the ignorant many to the establishment of their own power and the destruction of the real interests of all."

PROSPECTS OF REFORM IN EUROPE

After this remarkable acknowledgment of the value of the message of Christ, the poet sums up, in phrases not always judicious, the histories of the reformist movements in Italy and, in Central Europe, particularly Holland and Switzerland, betraying his republican proclivities in fugitive remarks. Coming to speak of the English Renaissance and the Revolution of 1688, he exults over the establishment of the doctrine of popular sovereignty once for all;—

"(William of Orange and Mary) acknowledged and declared that the Will of the People was the source from which their powers derived the right to subsist. A man has no right to be a King or a Lord or a Bishop but so long as it is for the benefit of the People and so long as the People judge that it is for their benefit that he should impersonate that character. The solemn establishment of this maxim as the basis of our constitutional law.....was the fruit of that vaunted even (the Revolution). Correlative with this series of events in England was the commencement of a new epoch in the history of the progress of civilization and society.....The Will of the People to change their government is an acknowledged right in the Constitution of England." (Pages 6 and 7)

After thus pointing to the Nation's inherent right of Self-Determination as regards the form of its government, Shelley proceeds to consider the philosophy of politics that grew up in England and in Europe through the speculations of Bacon, Spinoza, Hobbes, Montaigne, Locke and other thinkers. "Of this new philosophy, the system of government in the United States of America was the first practical illustration" "It has no king; that is, it has no officer to whom wealth, and from whom corruption flow. It has no hereditary oligarchy; that is, it acknowledges no order of men privileged to cheat and insult the rest It constitutionally acknowledges the progress of human improvement, and is framed under the limitation of the probability of more simple views of political science being rendered applicable to human life. There is a law by which the constitution is reserved for revision every ten years."

Shelley next has some words of sympathy and hope for the French whose Revolution he considers the second result of the new awakening of public opinion in Europe. He was by no means unaware of the imperfec-

tion and the resultant reaction in the work of the Revolution; "but reversing the proverbial expression of Shakespeare, it may be the good which the Revolutionists did leave after them; their ills are interred with their bones." This, we may note in passing, is a verdict that has since been upheld by philosophical historians like Morley and Lecky. Shelley then speaks of Germany's "rising with the fervour of a vigorous youth to the assertion of those rights for which it has that desire arising from knowledge, the surest pledge of victory." Having expressed his admiration for the intellectual tendencies and attainments of the German people, he observes:—

"Every great nation either has been, or is, or will be free.....The panic-stricken tyrants of Germany promised to their subjects that their governments should be administered according to republican forms, they retaining merely the right of hereditary chief magistracy in their families. This promise, made in danger, the oppressors dream that they can break in security. And everything in consequence wears in Germany the aspect of a rapidly maturing revolution."

The prophecy had to wait till our day to come true. After Germany, Spain has come in for the poet-reformer's attention. In phrases of characteristic power and pungency, he depicts the struggle between Despair and Tyranny that was going on in that country, and winds up his vehement denunciation of the despots of Spain with a note of optimism in behalf of the people:—

"These events, in the present condition of the understanding and sentiment of mankind, are the rapidly passing shows, which forerun successful insurrection, the ominous comets of our republican poet (Milton) perplexing great monarchs with fear of change. Spain, having passed through an ordeal severe in proportion to the wrongs and errors which it is kindled to erase, must of necessity be renovated."

After making a very sanguine reference to the prospects of republicanism in South America, Shelley turns to Asia and observes:—

"The Great Monarchies of Asia cannot, let us confidently hope, remain unshaken by the earthquake which is shaking to dust the 'mountainous strongholds' of the tyrants of the Western world."

REFORM IN INDIA AND THE EAST

And here follows a paragraph on India which is as critical in method as it is prophetic in import and is as full of deep thinking as of humanitarian fervour. He says:—

"Revolutions in the political and religious state of the Indian peninsula seem to be accomplishing,

and it cannot be doubted but the zeal of the missionaries of what is called the Christian faith will produce beneficial innovation there, even by the application of dogmas and forms of what is here an outworn incumbrance. The Indians have been enslaved and cramped in the most severe and paralysing forms which were ever devised by man; some of this new enthusiasm ought to be kindled among them to consume it and leave them free, and even if the doctrines of Jesus do not penetrate through the darkness of that which those who profess to be his followers call Christianity, there will yet be a number of social forms, modelled upon those European feelings from which it has taken its colour, substituted to those according to which they are at present cramped, and from which, when the time for complete emancipation shall arrive, their disengagement may be less difficult, and under which their progress to it may be the less imperceptibly slow. Many native Indians have acquired, it is said, a competent knowledge in the arts and philosophy of Europe, and Locke and Hume and Rousseau are familiarly talked of in Brahminical society. But the thing to be sought is that they should, as they would if they were free, attain to a system of arts and literature of their own."

The time at which this was written was, let us remember, the epoch of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the first great nationalist and internationalist of modern India. That brave and puissant pioneer of social and political reconstruction as well as of rationality (which is not the same thing as rationalism) in religion, was a notable figure in the political and religious controversies of that time in England also; and reports of his work and opinions must, evidently, have furnished ground for Shelley's cautiously expressed hope.

Shelley next makes a rapid review of the birth and working of what we may call the "New Spirit" in the other Asiatic countries. The Persians, "a beautiful, refined and impassioned people", "would probably soon be infected by the contagion of good." "The Turkish Empire is in its last stage of ruin." "In Arabia Wahabees, who maintain the Unity of God and the Equality of Man, must go on conquering and to conquer." In Egypt is "beginning that change which Time, the great innovator, will accomplish in that degraded country". "The Jews may reassume their ancestral seats." "Lastly, in the West Indian islands . . . the deepest stain upon civilized man is fading away".

THE CRISIS IN ENGLAND

After this re-assuring "sketch" of the hopes and aspirations of mankind all over the world, Shelley proceeds to consider the crisis in England and cites two circumstances as evidences of it: first, the new literature of

the times; second, "a desire of change arising from the profound sentiment of the exceeding inefficiency of the existing institutions to provide for the physical and intellectual happiness of the people." He dwells at some length on the merits of the former, without in the least exposing himself to the charge of immodesty, and indicates the relation, that always exists between poetical tendency and political change, the intimate relation which we tried to explain at the outset. He writes:-

"The literature of England, an energetic development of which has ever followed or preceded a great and free development of the national will, has arisen, as it were, from a new birth. In spite of that low-thoughted envy which would underrate, thro' a fear of comparison with its own insignificance, the eminence of contemporary merit, it is felt by the British that this is in intellectual achievements a memorable age, and we live among such philosophers and poets as surpass beyond comparison any who have appeared in our nation since its last struggle for liberty. For, the most unfailing herald, or companion, or follower, of an universal employment of the sentiments of a nation to the production of a beneficial change, is poetry, --meaning by poetry an intense and impassioned power of communicating--intense and impassioned impressions respecting man and nature.....It is impossible to read the productions of our most celebrated writers.....without being startled by the electric life which there is in their words.....They are the priests of an unapprehended inspiration, the mirrors of gigantic shadows which futurity casts upon the present; the words which express what they conceive not; the trumpet which sings to battle and feels not what it inspires; the influence which is moved not, but moves. Poets and philosophers are the unacknowledged legislators of the world."

This eloquent exposition of the mission of poetry, we may in passing note, is in entire accord with the Indian poet's dictum that the poet is the eye of the king. The Sanskrit word "Kavi" is the name not only of the composer of verses, but also of the seer, of the wise man. The poet has not only to sing and to delight the ear and through it the mind, but also to open the eye to unseen truths and unperceived beauties and thereby elevate the feelings and aspirations of man. That is how the miracle described in Bhavabhuti's epigram comes about: "The speech of the ordinary honest man follows an existing fact; but fact itself follows the speech of the poet-prophet".

We may now pass on to Shelley's replies to opponents of reform. "These persons", he says, "propose to us the dilemma of submitting to a despotism which is notoriously gathering like an avalanche year by year, or taking the risk of something which (it must be confessed) bears the aspect of revolution".

The despotism he alludes to consisted in the Parliament's becoming the representative of only certain classes of the nation. As a result of the great economic prosperity which followed the political revolution of 1388, there was an increase of population; and there evolved out of the population a small class of comfortable capitalists and a large class of poor labourers. A vast "unrepresented multitude" had thus come into being; and it had made for an increase of the power of the rich. The despotism that had to be subdued was thus of the aristocracy, not of the monarchy. "The name and office of king, is merely the mask of this power, and is a kind of stalking-horse used to conceal these 'catchers of men' whilst they lay their nets. Monarchy is only the string which ties the robber's bundle." "An oligarchy exacts more of suffering from the people (than absolute monarchy) because it reigns both by the opinion generated by imposture and the force which that opinion places within its grasp." Shelley goes on to point out that the National Debt and the 'alloyed coin' and paper money were devices contrived by the rich to extort money and labour from the common people. "They have the effect of augmenting the prices of provision, and of benefiting at the expense of the community the speculators in this traffic." One need not be surprised if this lay criticism of monetary reforms fails to meet with the approval of the expert. Shelley spoke merely as any man of intelligence, with a distinct popular bias, would have spoken, and not as a scientific student of public finance. The fact anyhow was there that a new aristocracy had arisen in the land, whether we accept or not the explanation offered as to its origin. Shelley had the moderation of temper to see that the aristocracy, "a prodigious anomaly in the social system," was yet an inseparable portion of it. "There has never been an approach in practice towards any plan of political society modelled on equal justice, at least in the complicated mechanism of modern life." Aristocracy is unavoidable; and "the object therefore of all enlightened legislation and administration is to enclose within the narrowest practicable limits this order of drones." Aristocracy, in Shelley's reckoning, was of two kinds. He would not object to our acquiescing, like all other great communities, in the existence of one kind of aristocracy, that of the great land-lords and merchants; for they are distinguished by "a certain generosity and refinement of manners

and opinion". But "there is nothing to qualify our disapprobation" of the other variety of aristocracy,—that of "attorneys and excisemen, and directors and government pensioners, usurers, stockjobbers, country bankers, with their dependents and descendants" who "eat and drink and sleep, and in the intervals of these things, performed with most vexatious ceremony and accompaniments, they cringe and lie". "Since the institution of this double aristocracy", the working-class people "eat less bread, wear worse clothes, are more ignorant, immoral, miserable and desperate. This then is the condition of the lowest and largest class from whose labour the whole materials of life are wrought, of which the others are only the receivers or the consumers. This degradation of the lower classes was not without a reaction in the higher. The aristocracy reaped the bitter fruit of its "short-sighted tyranny" in "the loss of dignity, simplicity and energy and in the possession of all those qualities which distinguish a slave-driver from a proprietor." This candid and unsparing analysis of the situation brings Shelley to an enunciation of the fundamental principle and object of political change. He puts the matter thus with admirable simplicity :—

"Right government being an institution for the purpose of securing such a moderate degree of happiness to men as has been experimentally practicable, the sure character of misgovernment is misery : and first discontent, and, if that be desired, then insurrection, as the legitimate expression of that misery. The public right to demand happiness is a principle of nature ; the labouring classes, when they cannot get food for their labour, are impelled to take it by force. Laws and assemblies and courts of justice and delegated powers placed in balance and in opposition are the means and the form, but public happiness is the substance and the end of political institutions."

"A Reform in England is, therefore, most just and necessary." But before setting forth his proposals of reform, Shelley pauses to denounce the doctrine of Malthus, "a priest, of course, for his doctrines are those of a eunuch and of a tyrant," that "the evils of the poor arise from an excess of population" and that they should be required "to abstain from marrying under penalty of starvation." Why, asks Shelley, should this restriction be placed upon the poor while the rich are left as free to breed as ever? And here incidentally he is led to state his view of the ancient and vexed question of liberty and equality :

"The rights of all men are intrinsically and originally equal, and they forgo the assertion of

all of them only that they may the more securely enjoy a portion."

SHELLEY' PLAN OF REFORM

This shows that Shelley was not a slave to a shibboleth and that he had a full appreciation of the principle of limitation implied in the flaming gospel of natural rights, and of the consequent need for compromise, or accommodation, or adjustment, or the art whatever be the name by which we may be pleased to call it of securing some degree of actuality for what has been a large and fascinating dream of the heart. Shelley's plan of reform comprised the following items:—

"We would abolish the national debt.

"We would disband the standing army.

"We would with every possible regard to the existing rights of the holders, abolish sinecures.

"We would with every possible regard to the existing interests of the holders, abolish tithes, and make all religions, all forms of opinion respecting the origin and government of the Universe, equal in the eye of the law."

We would make justice cheap, certain and speedy, and extend the institution of juries to every possible occasion of jurisprudence.

Of these several measures of reform, the first naturally claims Shelley's attention most, because in his view the national debt was the origin of all the iniquity in the distribution of national wealth and all the resultant misery and degradation of the lower classes. "The national debt was contracted chiefly in two libicide wars, undertaken by the privileged classes of the country." Shelley therefore thought it just and proper that the rich alone ought to pay it. "It would be a mere transfer among persons of property," Shelley is by no means an opponent of private property of all kinds. He makes a clear distinction between just and unjust property, and would make only the latter liable for re-appropriation by the state towards the adjustment of the national debt. "One of the first acts of a reformed government would undoubtedly be an effectual scheme for compelling these to compromise their debt between themselves."

It is interesting to note in our day, when the cry against private property and for the State-ownership of everything is so loud and insistent, that Shelley, republican and equalitarian though he was, had deep and genuine respect for the individual's right of acquiring and possessing. He repeatedly says:—

"Labour, industry, economy, skill, genius, or any similar powers honourably and innocently

exerted are the foundations of one description of property, and all true political institutions ought to defend every man in the exercise of his discretion with respect to property so acquired."

HOW TO WORK FOR REFORM

We now come to the crux of the problem of reform: How is it to be accomplished? It is satisfying to find that Shelley is not the doctrinaire that a man of letters is commonly supposed to be. He is well aware of the fact that politics know no laws immutable like those of mathematics. "All political science", he writes, while speaking of arrangements for the liquidation of the national debt, "abounds with limitations and exceptions". The reformer who starts with this axiom is not likely to be an extremist. So we find Shelley reproaching demagogues and commending patience and reason. His ideal is undoubtedly a democracy:—

"No individual who is governed can be denied a direct share in the government of his country without supreme injustice. ... The great principle of reform consists in every individual giving his consent to the institution and the continuous existence of the social system which is instituted for his advantage and for the advantage of others in his situation. As in a great nation this is practically impossible, masses of individuals consent to qualify other individuals whom they delegate to superintend their concerns. These delegates have constitutional authority to exercise the functions of sovereignty: they unite in the highest degree the legislative and executive functions. A government that is founded on any other basis is a government of fraud or force and ought on the first convenient occasion to be overthrown."

Though an adherent thus to the doctrine of popular sovereignty, Shelley was no advocate of universal suffrage. His moderation on this question is indeed noteworthy. He would only have gradual reform; he is keenly alive to the many evils of sudden social change.

"No doubt the institution of universal suffrage would ... immediately tend to the temporary abolition of these forms (monarchy, aristocracy, inordinate wealth etc.); because it is impossible that the people, having attained the power should fail to see, what the demagogues now conceal from them, the legitimate consequence of the doctrines through which they had attained it."

But this achievement, he notes, would only be "temporary". And it would incidentally develop a habit of mind in the people which can never be to their true and lasting good.

"A Republic, however just in its principle and glorious in its object, would, through the violence and sudden change which must attend it, incur a great risk of being as rapid in its decline

as in its growth. It is better that they (the people) should be instructed in the whole truth; that they should see the clear grounds of their rights, the objects to which they ought to tend; and be impressed with the just persuasion that patience and reason and endurance are the means of a calm yet irresistible progress."

In other words, reform should be gradual and steady—that is, proportioned to the sense of responsibility and political intelligence in the community. Its political constitution should keep pace with, but not be in advance of, its general education and civic capacity. If the pace of reform be unduly hastened by means of a revolution, a deadly evil is sure to creep in together with it:—

"A civil war, engendered by the passions attending on this mode of reform, would confirm in the mass of the nation those military habits which have been already introduced by our tyrants, and with which liberty is incompatible. From the moment that a man is a soldier, he becomes a slave. He is taught obedience;.....He is taught to despise human life and human suffering; this is the universal distinction of slaves: he is more degraded than a murderer; he is like the bloody knife which has stabbed and feels not."

This, by the way, explains why Shelley made the abolition of the standing army a cardinal point of his programme of reform. He was essentially a humanitarian, one who stood up for the high destiny and dignity of man, and therefore a pacifist in his inclinations. Reform by means of an insurrection or a violent coercion of the existing Government being for the above reasons undesirable, Shelley looks to what we might call "constitutional action" for securing the desired reforms. His words have a peculiar force and appeal for us in India in our present political struggle:—

"The public opinion in England ought first to be excited to action. No law or institution can last if this opinion be decisively pronounced against it. For this purpose Government ought to be defied in cases of questionable result, to prosecute for political libel.....The tax-gatherer ought to be compelled in very practicable instance to distrain, whilst the right to impose taxes.....is formally contested by an overwhelming multitude of defendants before the courts of common law.....The nation would thus be excited to develop itself, and to declare whether it acquiesced in the existing forms of Government.....Simultaneously with this active and vigilant system of opposition, means ought to be taken of solemnly conveying the sense of large bodies and various denominations of the people in a manner the most explicit, to the existing depositaries of power. Petitions, couched in the actual language of the petitioners, and emanating from distinct assemblies, ought to load the tables of the House of Commons. The poets, philosophers and artists ought to remonstrate, and the memorials entitled their petitions, might show the universal

conviction they entertain of the inevitable connection between national prosperity and freedom, and the cultivation of the imagination and the cultivation of scientific truth, and the profound development of moral and metaphysical enquiry.....These appeals of solemn and emphatic argument from those who have already a predestined existence among posterity, would appal the enemies of mankind by their echoes from every corner of the world in which the majestic literature of England is cultivated.....It would be Eternity warning time.

Shelley's faith in the influence of men of letters to persuade, or else to overawe, those who have political authority in their hands, must no doubt seem a little excessive in our day; but this is a fact that does discredit, not so much to literary advocates of political reform, as to successive generations of politicians, both official and popular. The average politician has always been a philistine: He has a cheap sneer for the man of visions. He seems to open his heart to poetry and philosophy. If he did not despise idealists, if ministers and popular leaders were men with a cultivated love for the finer things of the spirit, if like Gladstone or Burke they were men whose minds and souls had been touched by the magic of great literature, the curse of human progress should have been far more smooth and far less interrupted by unedifying incident. Shelley had not the experience we now have of the ways of politicians and his optimism was therefore only natural.

UTILITY OF INSURRECTION

But even he was under no delusions: If constitutional agitation failed to bring about the desired reform in some appreciable measure, he would not then hesitate to recommend insurrection. But mark it, he would not be in a hurry to employ that method. He knew that it would work surer and quicker; but he had a lively apprehension of its concomitants and its effects. His hope was that when constitutional agitation was intense and wide-spread,

"the oppressors would feel their impotence and reluctantly and imperfectly concede some limited portion of the rights of the people, and disgorge some morsels of their undigested prey. In this case, the people ought to be exhorted by everything ultimately dear to them to pause until, by the exercise of those rights which they have regained, they become fitted to demand more. It is better that we gain what we demand by a process of negotiation which should occupy twenty years than that by communicating a sudden shock to the interests of those who are the depositaries and dependents of power, we should incur the calamity which their revenge might inflict upon us by giving the signal of civil war."

But if those in power are obdurate, "we are to recollect that we possess a right beyond remonstrance. It has been acknowledged by the most approved writers on the English constitution, which has in this instance been merely a declaration of the superior decisions of eternal justice, that we possess a right of resistance. But Shelley feels compelled to repeat his warning about the evils of an armed rising.

"There is secret sympathy between Destruction and Power, between Monarchy and War; and the long experience of all the history of all-recorded time teaches us with what success they have played into each other's hands. War is a kind of superstition; the pageantry of arms and badges corrupts the imagination of men.....If there had never been war, there could never have been tyranny in the world; tyrants take advantage of the mechanical organization of armies to establish and defend their encroachments. It is thus that the mighty advantages of the French Revolution have been almost compensated by a succession of tyrants (for demagogues, oligarchies, usurpers and legitimate kings are merely varieties of the same class). War, waged from whatever motive, extinguishes the sentiment of reason and justice in the mind. The motive is forgotten, or only adverted to in a mechanical and habitual manner. A sentiment of confidence in brute force and in a contempt of death and danger is considered the highest virtue....."

We who have had the opportunity of witnessing the ghastly orgies of militarism for over nine years continually in Europe are in a position to appreciate how profoundly true Shelley's words are. Civil war, which is another name for insurrection or revolt, is not different from wars of other kinds in essence and in influence on national character and is as such bound to result in endless anarchy. It would be rash easily to indulge the hope that when independence has once been won by means of an armed revolution, we would be able to induce the people immediately to convert their swords into ploughshares. The transition from war to peace cannot be so very smooth and certain. Shelley's observation is truly philosophical:—

"No fallacious and indirect motive to action can subsist in the mind without weakening the effect of of those which are genuine and true.....The person who has been accustomed to subdue men by force will be less inclined to the trouble of convincing or persuading them."

Such is the psychology of all Napoleons in history. Once in the seat of power, no more will the victorious leader agree to come down and fraternise with his fellows in his old way. The era of triumph which he helps to open for the people is inevitably led on to an era of despotism by his own

inward transformation. All this risk of the emergence of a new tyrant at the head of a popular revolution notwithstanding, Shelley would not hesitate to raise the hand to strike if all other means of overthrowing, or at least reducing, present tyranny were to fail. "I imagine", he ruefully says, "that before the English Nation shall arrive at that point of moral and political degradation now occupied by the Chinese, it will be necessary to appeal to an exertion of physical strength." And after the success of the upheaval, he would have the nation be careful to avoid two likely evils: first, a spirit of wanton hatred of all the things of the old order, and second, a spirit of ruthless revenge towards the old ruling class. He says:—

"When the people shall have obtained, by whatever means, the victory over their oppressors,..... there will remain the great task of accommodating all that can be preserved of ancient forms with the improvements of the knowledge of a more enlightened age."

This is the principle of the reformer who comes not to destroy, but to fulfil. He would use what there has been as the basis for building up what there should be. This doctrine, which we may call the doctrine of evolutionary development, has received the scrupulous adherence of every great reformer from Buddha and Jesus down to Dadabhai and Morley, not excluding even the revolutionary genius of Mazzini. Burke's "Reflections" are an elaborate and impressive presentment of the same doctrine.

Of the second of the evils above mentioned, Shelley uses words that will by no means appear too strong if we remember, as indeed we cannot with our present experiences help remembering, how deep-seated and persistent and how very reckless class-jealousies always are. He writes:—

"There is one thing which certain vulgar agitators endeavour to flatter the most uneducated part of the people by assiduously proposing, which they ought not to do nor to require; and that is Retribution. Men having been injured, desire to injure in return. This is falsely called an universal law of human nature; it is a law from which many are exempt and all in proportion to their virtue and cultivation."

THE IDEAL AND THE FEASIBLE

Shelley did not confound the philosophical and the practical, or the moral and the political forms of democracy. It is impossible he could not have had a full sense of the greatness of the ideal; but he was not at the same time wanting in the appreciation of the circumstances amid which the ideal would

have to find fulfilment. His plan of work was not conceived exclusively from the point of view of the ideal; on the other hand, he gave to the ideal no more than its proper place in his scheme of practice, so as to find proper room in it for the other factors of the case. Speaking of the principle of equality which has in our day degenerated into a shibboleth, he says:—

"The first principle of political reform is the natural equality of men, not with relation to their property, but to their rights. That equality in possessions which Jesus Christ so passionately taught is a moral rather than a political truth and is such as social institutions cannot without miscare: inflexibly secure. Morals and politics can only be considered as portions of the same science, with relation to a system of such absolute perfection as Plato and Rousseau and other reasoners have asserted..... Equality in possessions must be the last result of the utmost refinements of civilization: it is one of the conditions of that system of society towards which, with whatever hope of ultimate success, it is our duty to tend. We may and ought to advert to it as to the elementary principle, as to the goal, unattainable, perhaps, by us, but which as it were, we revive in our posterity to pursue. We derive tranquillity and courage and grandeur of soul from contemplating an object which is, because we will it, and maybe, because we hope and desire it, and must be, if succeeding generations of the enlightened sincerely and earnestly seek it. But our present business is with the difficult and unbending realities of actual life, and when we have drawn inspiration from the great object of our hopes, it becomes us, with patience and resolution, to apply ourselves to accommodating our theories to immediate practice."

Shelley's distinction between the moral and the political aspects of the equalitarian ideal brings to our mind the following penetrative and lucid remark of Morley:—

"Democracy is the name for a general condition of society, having historic origins, springing from circumstances and the nature of things; not only involving the political doctrine of popular sovereignty, but representing a cognate group of corresponding tendencies over the whole field of moral, social, and even of spiritual life within the democratic community. Few writers have consistently respected the frontier that divides democracy as a certain state of society from democracy as a certain form of government."

That Shelley, with all the imaginative sweep of his rare genius and all his burning sympathy for the oppressed and the inevitable zeal for radical reform, had yet a constant and lively sense of the feasible and that he believed the best chances of the ideal to lie in a compromise with the actual, are facts which prove to us the practical soundness in a very real sense of a great poetic mind and they are full of wholesome significance to those of us that are apt to be hasty in the choice

of remedies for long-persisting social and political ills. When voice so different in tone and timbre as Shelley and Burke speak alike about the legitimacy and the uses of compromise in practical politics, it would surely be proper for us to guard ourselves against undue impatience in working and hoping. Shelley puts his argument pithily in the following words:—

"Any sudden attempt at universal suffrage would produce an immature attempt at a Republic. It is better that an object so inexpressibly great and sacred should never have been attempted than that it should be attempted and fail. It is no prejudice to the ultimate establishment of the best political innovations that we temporize so that, when they shall be accomplished, they may be rendered permanent."

We may note in passing that Shelley was not an advocate of suffrage for women in his day. "Mr. Bentham and other writers have urged the admission of females to the right of suffrage; this attempt seems somewhat immature." But in principle, he had no objection to that reform; he would indeed be "the last to withhold his vote from any system which might tend to an equal and full development of the capacities of all living beings".

POSSIBILITY OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

We may conclude this essay with noting what Shelley had to say about the imperative duties of a true patriot. He sees that long-continued oppression and the fraud and terrorism practised by its agents may have rendered the people utterly incapable of concerted and systematic action on a large scale for the winning of liberty. When such is the case, as, for whatever reasons, has been the case in India for a long time now,

"The true patriot, (says Shelley) will endeavour to enlighten and to unite the nation and animate it with enthusiasm and confidence. For this purpose he will be indefatigable in promulgating political truth. He will endeavour to rally round one standard the divided friends of liberty, and make them forget the subordinate objects with regard to which they differ, by appealing to that respecting which they are all agreed. He will promote such open confederation among men of principle and spirit as may tend to make their intentions and their efforts converge to a common centre. He will discourage all secret associations which have a tendency, by making the nation's will develop itself in a partial and premature manner, to cause tumult and confusion. He will urge the necessity of exciting the people frequently to exercise their right of assembling, in such limited numbers (let us mark this) that all present may be actual parties to the proceedings of the day."

And here comes a difficulty, one which

gives Shelley an occasion to recommend what we today call "passive resistance" as a remedy for terroristic tyranny. If a political gathering be very large, not only will it be impossible for each and every citizen present to be an actual and intelligent participator in the proceedings, but the suspicions and anger of the authorities might also be roused. Then,

"if the tyrants command the troops to fire upon them or cut them down unless they disperse, he will exhort them peaceably to defy the danger and to expect without resistance the onset of the cavalry, and to wait with folded arms the event of the fire of the artillery and receive with unshrinking bosoms the bayonets of the charging battalions. And this, not because active resistance is not justifiable when all other means shall have failed but because in this instance temperance and courage would produce greater advantages than the most decisive victory."

Shelley's grounds for entertaining this hope are that the "soldiers are men and Englishmen, and it is not to be believed that they would massacre an unresisting multitude of their countrymen drawn up in unarmed array before them and bearing in their looks the calm, deliberate resolution to perish rather than abandon the assertion of their rights". If the soldier should observe "neither resistance nor flight, he would be reduced to confusion and indecision". "This unexpected reception (of the soldier's fire by the crowd) would probably throw him back upon a reflection of the true nature of the measures of which he was made the instrument, and the enemy might be converted into the ally." This optimistic view of the soldier's psychology may be tenable in a country like England where the army and the people are both of the same nationality and are sharers in a common patriotism. But such a hope would be entirely out of place in a country like India where the ruling and the military class happens to be of a nationality different from the people's and where there is not a common patriotism to bind the soldier and the citizen together. This was proved three years ago in the Punjab on a colossal scale. That being so, peaceful, passive resistance as against military terrorism can have but little chance of success in India. When national and racial prejudices are at their worst, the appeal of our common humanity becomes too feeble and obscure to make itself heard and heeded.

CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION

Shelley lays the utmost emphasis on the

importance of energetic and persistent propaganda:—

"The patriot will be foremost to publish the boldest truths in the most fearless manner, yet without the slightest tincture of personal malignity. He would encourage all others to the same efforts and assist them to the utmost of his power with the resources both of his intellect and fortune. He would call upon them to despise imprisonment and persecution and lose no opportunity of bringing public opinion and the power of the tyrants into circumstances of perpetual contest and opposition."

Such are Shelley's views on the large and complex problems of political reform—its objects, its principles and its methods. Written a hundred years ago for the public of England, they are not without practical value to us in India today. That indeed is how the man of imagination and thought stands far, far above the mere political pamphleteer. The true poet and thinker sees into the very soul of things, takes his stand on the universal realities of human nature and speaks with a voice and a vision that time cannot stale nor geography restrict. Permanence and extensiveness of applicability are among the inherent marks of all great literature; and if Shelley of "*The Skylark*" and of the "*West Wind*" could be immortal and universal in his appeal, he could not possibly be altogether ephemeral and parochial on the subject of political reform. Nothing trivial could come from such a one. There is no necessary antithesis between the mind that can produce a sound political thought and the mind that can produce a sweet lyrical ecstasy. Reason and imagination may co-exist, and must indeed

co-exist in all great minds, the one or the other faculty only taking precedence over the other, but never wholly divorced from it according to the nature of the theme. Large and clear as was Shelley's vision of the secrets of heaven, equally large and clear was his insight into the realities of the earth. If elsewhere it is his imagination, it is here his rationality that pleases and strengthens us. He took a broad and exalted view of the business of politics. It was to him no party feud or scramble for office. It was the supreme question of securing the nation's highest destiny. It was part of general ethics, and it had a vital connection with the growth of poetry and philosophy. He despised no politicians at all, but only demagogues. He set a sovereign value on educating and preparing the public for political power. While he aimed high, he was not reckless in his programme. He did not confound hastiness with enthusiasm and rashness with courage. Progress he desired, but not by leaps and bounds, but by steady paces. Better the zigzag path of compromise than the straight but precipitous road of revolution. By the one, we go safely, though somewhat slowly, from power to power; by the other, we may be doomed, like Sisyphus, to waste ourselves in rolling the stone up the hill, with every risk of the huge thing rolling down upon us time after time. This is the lesson, let us note, which a poetical idealist, and not a mere political opportunist, has essayed to impress upon our minds.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS*

By DR. M. AHMED, M.A., LL. M., PH. D., BAR-AT-LAW

THE fifth session of the League of Nations opened on the first September 1924 in the reformation hall at Geneva, in Switzerland, where the previous meetings have been held for the last four years. The Canton of Geneva has offered a site for the construction of a special suitable building for the meetings, but that building still awaits funds. The

reformation hall can however accommodate two thousand persons, and therefore at present suffices for the meetings, which are open to the public. The League of Nations is divided into several committees which must be carefully distinguished. There is in the first instance the full assembly of delegates who meet only once a year, to deliberate on the great international questions referred to them for decision. There is secondly the

* An adaptation from the French.

council of the league composed of four permanent members, a French man, an Englishman, an Italian, a Japanese (the American having withdrawn) and six non-permanent and annually elected members. During the last year these six non-permanent members belonged to Belgium, Brazil, Spain, Sweden, Czecho-slovakia and Uruguay.

The council which meets every three months is a sort of executive committee of the League. It undertakes to prepare the work of the League, and regulate certain questions within its jurisdiction, such as the general reduction of armaments, the control of international mandates, the administration of the territories of La Sarre, Dantzig, etc. In the same way as the work of the full League is prepared by previous discussion in the council, the latter makes use of the suggestions and deliberations of the consultative technical commissions which meet during the intervals of the quarterly sittings of the council, and the annual session of the League. The most important of these permanent consultative technical commissions is the one which deals with military, naval and air questions and is composed of the representatives of Italy, Great Britain, Czecho-slovakia, Sweden, Belgium, Spain, France, Uruguay, Japan and Brazil. Besides these, the representatives of other countries can be co-opted when questions directly affecting their interests are to be discussed by the technical commission. The permanent consultative commission for military, naval and air questions has lately been chiefly concerned with projects of treaties of mutual assistance, the control of the Commerce in arms, and of their manufactures in private. As may be presumed, the deliberations of these technical commissions are not published and are directly reported to the council of the league. These commissions naturally work *in camera* and with the single purpose of arriving at solutions that may be *above all* reasonable and efficacious and at the same time acceptable to all states and governments. There is, finally, a permanent secretariat located at Geneva, which goes through an enormous amount of technical work necessitated by the periodical meetings. Although the fifth session recently commenced has to continue a well-established tradition, it has nevertheless excited special curiosity, unknown in former years. This is due principally to the presence of the three prime ministers of France, England, and Belgium, Messrs. Herriot, MacDonald and Theunis, who have thus testified to the

esteem, in which they hold the work of the League. The programme is no less interesting consisting as it does of 26 items. Among these are the protection of young women travelling alone, legal assistance to the poor, the demand of the Chinese Government for the reduction of its contribution, the control of armaments and the maintenance of peace in the world. The last two subjects are evidently the most important of all. It is necessary to determine the conditions under which, the League will proceed to control the armaments of Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, and exercise its rights of investigation in these countries. Then there is the question of German armaments, which according to the terms of the treaty of Versailles, the League of Nations will be called upon to regulate as soon as the inter-allied commission now sitting shall terminate its operations. The manner in which the League will deal with the Austrian and Hungarian armaments, will constitute a very important precedent to be subsequently applied to Germany. The league has also to examine the replies received from the different states, regarding the protocol or project for mutual assistance elaborated and submitted to them by the council. Thirty states have already replied, eighteen favourably with certain reservations. Among them are, France, Belgium, Italy, Czecho-slovakia, Roumania, Poland, Servia, Portugal and Finland. On the contrary, the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Russia, Australia, Sweden, Norway, Spain, Holland, Switzerland and Denmark, have rejected the project. The French delegates will support the amendments detailed in a recent letter of M. Herriot addressed to the general secretary of the League. A counter proposal has privately been presented by the United States.

The proceedings of the League commenced with the usual ceremonial under the chairmanship of M. Hymans, the Belgian minister of foreign affairs. In his opening address welcoming the delegates, M. Hymans enumerated, not without legitimate pride, the first fruits of the league's work, and indicated the lines on which its work has so far proceeded. The adhesion of fifty four states, and the increasing importance of the problems, submitted to its arbitration, give grounds for hoping, remarked M. Hymans, that sooner or latter, the League will be able to fulfil its *raison d'être* and maintain the peace of the world. The League then elected by forty-five votes out of forty-seven, M. Motta, a former president of the Swiss Republic, as its chairman

for the present year. The delegates of the different countries then proceeded to nominate their representatives for the six sub-committees appointed this year for the consideration of (1) legal, (2) economic and financial and (3) peace and disarmament questions, (4) the budget of the League, (5) humanitarian and social and (6) political questions. Finally after the election of six vice-presidents, *viz.*, Messrs. L. Bourgeois (France) Salandra (Italy), Lord Parmoor (England), Uruccea (Columbia), Skrzyzanski (Poland) and Tang Tsi Fou (China) the League commenced its work of the present session.

The League has this year chiefly discussed the Polono-lithuanian conflict, the situation in Poland of the emigrants from Dantzic, the medical assistance to Albanians, the lot of Russian, Grecian and Armenian refugees, the financial relief of Hungary and the events in Georgia. But these comparatively un-important matters pale into insignificance when compared with the dominant questions of arbitration and disarmament and the signing of the protocol for the maintenance of peace which have throughout been the chief preoccupations of the League.

In the course of a recent letter to the London *Times* on the results of this year's Geneva Session, Lord Parmoor the British vice-president of the league writes:—

"I do not hesitate to claim on behalf of the British delegation (which acted throughout in close consultation with the representatives of India and the Dominions) that it achieved a notable success. The protocol which in no way interferes with the sovereignty of any nation as regards the use of its military, naval and air forces constitutes a great step towards the pacific settlement of all international disputes.....I have endeavoured without success to ascertain a basis for the fantastic statement coupling the British navy with the League."

Among the Indian delegates to this year's session of the League Sir Muhammad Rafique, a retired Judge of the Allahabad High Court, delivered a fine speech on the 22nd Septem-

ber 1924 when the question of intellectual co-operation was under discussion. Said he.

'As an Indian I feel happy and proud to think that the culture of my country not so well understood in the West as it ought to be, will once again in the future, as by common consent it did in the past, contribute its own share to the attainment of the ideals on which the League is established. I have not the slightest doubt that by the efforts of this committee, the culture of India will be more widely appreciated and spread than it is to-day. I am here to proclaim the contribution which India is able and ready to make to the world's store of knowledge from her own treasures, which are increasing every day through the labours of her devoted sons. I am here to declare the message which India has to give to the West from her deep and diffused spirituality, from her respect for ascetic ideals, from rare capacity for sacrifice and service, divorced entirely from material considerations. The East and specially my country, may be permitted to remark, has many valuable thoughts to offer for the enrichment of the world's literature, science and philosophy, if only her science and institutions are properly understood and studied. Take for instance the Hindu culture, the proud inheritance of the vast majority of my countrymen and you will find that before the dawn of history in the West it taught the lessons of universal brotherhood and universal peace for the acceptance of which this illustrious gathering is working to-day. The achievements of my countrymen in the past are beyond dispute. Their achievements to-day are worthy of serious notice.

As remarked by several European journalists, Sir M. Rafique's was the speech of the day. It was delivered in English and immediately translated into French, as French and English are the only two official languages recognised by the League.

The most recent proof of the real usefulness of the League is that Turkey and England have both agreed to refer back to the council of the League their acute dispute regarding Mosul. May the League's impartial decisions continue to command an increasing measure of confidence and thus ensure the peace of the world.

28th October, 1924.

A CALL FOR ASIAN EMANCIPATION

ONE of the prime requisites for attainment of Swaraj in India is to create self-confidence among the people, particularly the leaders and the younger generation that they may control and direct the destiny of the nation. This means that the people will

have to shake off their slave mentality. Certain Indians are singing the song that the people of India lack the experience of self-government and that they should wait and receive the instalment of self-government and the kind of self-government their masters

in England will in good time decide to confer on them.

The Anglo-Indian officials are loud to expound the theory that the inexperience of the Indian people in the field of self-government will be fatal to India's good. It amuses many of us who note that only less than ten years ago, the Labor leaders in England like the Rt. Hon. Ramsay MacDonald and others were charged with being wild dreamers who would destroy the world-flung British Empire, if they were entrusted with the responsibility of running it. More than twenty of the present members of the British Parliament were put in jail during the world war for their political and economic views and the present Premier was held to be quite an irresponsible person; but these men are now governing the country. This fact should hearten the Indian leaders and should convince Anglo-Indian officialdom, if they are open to conviction at all, that the popular leaders of India, especially those who are today victims of the lawlessness of the British Indian Government, which is ruling the country by enforcing the Regulation III of 1818, will be the rulers of India. There is no power on earth to stop this destiny of the reassertion of India which will again give a humane civilization to the world.

The people of India and those of the other parts of the Orient are often told by the western people, particularly the so-called superior Anglo-Saxons, that there is no common honesty among the people of the Orient in matters of Government. But the people of India should not be discouraged about this allegation, as if corruption is inherent in all the people of the Orient and honesty and decency is the monopoly of the West. In the face of the facts that have come to light regarding the cases of abominable corruption during the world war, in the foremost western democracies such as Great Britain, France and the United States, it can be safely asserted that the spirit of decency and civic righteousness is not a monopoly of the West. There is a good deal of lawlessness even in very high places of the Governments of the western world. The story of corruption in British Air Ministry, jealousy between Lloyd George and Sir Douglas Haig (now Lord Haig) and the waste of public funds in Great Britain by some of the most prominent members of the British Parliament is not unknown to the people of India. The following story of corruption in

high places in New Zealand is an example of what can be found in other British dominions:—

EX-PREMIER ARRESTED AS THIEF

SIR RICHARD SQUIRES OF NEWFOUNDLAND CHARGED WITH \$20,000 LARCENY—OTHERS TAKEN.

St. John's, N. F., April 23.—Sir Richard Squires, former Premier of Newfoundland, was arrested yesterday charged with larceny. The charge was based on the findings of a commission which recently investigated alleged irregularities under the Squires government, which resigned last July.

Dr. Alexander Campbell, who was Minister of Agriculture in the Squires Cabinet, also was arrested on similar charges, as were John Meaney, former Government liquor comptroller, and Whitford McNeilly, formerly a clerk in the Crown Lands Office. All were admitted to bail.

Further arrests are probable, officials said.

The specific charge against Sir Richard Squires was larceny of \$20,000 of Government funds. Campbell was charged with larceny of \$400. Meaney with theft of \$100,000 and McNeilly with larceny of \$30,000. The former Premier, Meaney and McNeilly were admitted to bail in \$40,000 each, while bail in the case of the former Minister of Agriculture was set at \$4,000.

It was announced that Alexander Rooney, Accountant-General in the Post Office Department, who is charged with larceny of \$3,000, had escaped to Canada two weeks ago, and that William O'Reilly former Magistrate at Placentia, would be brought to this city to-day on charges of obtaining \$12,000 by false pretences.

The Squires Government, which had been returned to power a few months before, resigned last summer after internal dissensions due to charges that there had been misuse of public funds. Attorney-General W. R. Warren, on accepting a mandate to form a new government, promised an investigation, and when no Newfoundland jurist could be found to conduct such an inquiry, the British Colonial Office named Thomas Hollis Walker recorder of Derby, England, to act as commissioner.

The charges, said to be the most serious that have been preferred against a government in British North America since the so-called Pacific scandal caused the fall of Sir John A. MacDonald's cabinet in Canada in 1873, fell into two divisions. It was alleged that Sir Richard Squires while premier had improperly received public moneys from the liquor control department and also received moneys from the British Empire Steel Company at a time when this company was negotiating a new ore royalty contract with the Government. A second set of charges alleged that waste and corruption were practised in connection with expenditures made by the departments of Agriculture, Mines and Public Works for relief and other services in periods of unemployment.

Commissioner Walker in his report, made public a month ago, found the charges against Sir Richard Squires sustained by the evidence. Dr. Campbell was declared guilty of misconduct and extravagance in connection with relief expenditures made through the Department of Agriculture. The alleged misconduct was in paying personal expenses from public funds and using the patronage of his department to advance his political fortunes.

The Commissioner severely censured various public officials who received payments for alleged extra services on the ground that these payments were illegal. The report closed with the hope that "exposure of all these conditions may result in the people taking steps to purge themselves from the same and effecting much needed reforms.—*The Sun (New York) Wednesday, April, 23, 1924.*

The French political world is ringing with accusations of all kinds of misuse of funds during the world war and also of reconstruction in the devastated regions.

The United States of America is regarded as the greatest of the western democracies. The people of the United States are surely the greatest of the idealists among the western nations. It is said that the United States entered the World War "to make the world safe for democracy"; and certainly the masses of this great republic did not have any other motive but to fight for the cause of human liberty, altho they might have been misled by the propaganda of the Allied Powers against Germany. Today we find that many responsible businessmen of the United States are charged with defrauding the Government in war contracts; and the amount involved in these cases amounts to billions of dollars. The United States Senate is now engaged in various investigations such as leasing of the oil lands reserved for the needs of the United States Navy to private corporations by cabinet ministers and at least one of whom received large sums of money from big oil interests for transferring the land to corporations which made huge profit. It is an open secret that many responsible Government officers of the United States of America during the last world war, disposed of property and business of private German citizens (enemy aliens) for much less money than their real value and thus indirectly profited themselves.

None should construe from the above facts that the United States is a nation of dishonest people. On the contrary, average honesty and idealism of the American people is most praiseworthy. The point I wish to emphasise is that the people of India and the rest of the Orient are in no way inferior in matters of innate national virtues such as honesty, toleration, to the people of the West. The ideal of international morality in world affairs is rather higher in the Orient than that is to be found in the West; because the power-mad West has a double standard of international morality, one for the so-called superior whites and the other for

the other races of people. The people of the Orient should also remember that while the Christian missionaries speak of Christian virtues and the superiority of the Christians over the heathen, they do not always tell the actual state of affairs in Christian lands which have dark sides as well.

The Orient indeed has much to learn from the West, but the West has much to unlearn, particularly its arrogance.

Corruption exists in the West, as it does in the East; this should not be an excuse for the people of India and the rest of the Orient to condone the evils and lack of efficiency in political and industrial life of the nation. There is nothing like innate backwardness of the people of the Orient and absolute superiority of those of the occident.

The time has come for the people of the Orient, particularly India, to demonstrate to the world that altho they are now in many ways at a disadvantage, altho there is a kind of conspiracy among the so-called superior white peoples of the world to keep the rest of the world under subjection, yet morally, politically and intellectually they (the people of the Orient) are in no way inferior to any people and they are determined to get out of this abject condition of subjection and supposed inferiority, through ardent sustained efforts and to bring about a new social order based upon the ideal of equality of nations through Asian independence and emancipation of all subject nations.

This ideal can be fulfilled if the people of the Orient can de-hypnotise themselves from the clutches of the idea of their racial inferiority and from the bonds of slave mentality. This can be accomplished through achievement. Let the younger generation of the Orient, particularly India, realise their responsibility and calmly devote their best energies to surpass the West in honest competition in the field of achievement and this will lead to permanent emancipation of Asia and therefore India and better understanding between the East and the West.

Asia, that in the past gave to the world Confucius, Buddha, Jesus, Mohammed and at present Tagore and Gandhi must emancipate herself to lead the world from its present condition—"civilised barbarism". There is not the least doubt that the West, which worships power, will not pay any attention to the genuine greatness of the Orient unless Asia can assert politically. This political assertion of India and the rest of Asia must

neither be regarded nor directed as a movement for national jingoism. In the call for Asian emancipation I see a special spiritual value, a new ideal of freedom for all, particu-

larly the emancipation of the "Power-mad West" from its present dangerous illusions.

New York City.

April, 24, 1924.

KAMAL

HISTORICAL RECORDS OF NORTHERN INDIA, 1700-1817

By PROF. JADUNATH SARKAR

I

I shall not deal here with the historical records of this period written in European languages. The English records have been mostly hand-listed up to 1793, and many of them have been printed, some in full, some in the slightly abridged form called calendars. The French records at Pondicherry have been catalogued and are in a rapid process of publication, thanks to the enterprise of the Society for the History of the French Colonies and the impetus given to Indo-French history by M. Alfred Martineau.

As for the Portuguese papers preserved at Goa, the more important of them, such as treaties, diplomatic correspondence, instructions to Government officers &c., have been printed by J. F. J. Biker in his *Colleccao de Tratados e concertos*, 14 vols. The other papers in the Goa archives are of minor importance, because in the 17th century the Portuguese ceased to occupy an influential position in Indian politics, and sank into a mere provincial power. They lost connection with the imperial Government of Delhi, and had diplomatic relations only with the petty chieftains in their immediate neighbourhood, such as the Savant of Vadi ("the Bounsello"), and the desais of Sunda, Sanquelin, Bicholin, Ponda, &c., besides a short war with Shambhuji. Early in the 18th century, they had some hostilities with the Peshwas: but after the peace with Baji Rao I in 1739 their relations with the Poona Government are indicated only by a small series of MS. reports from the Portuguese agents at the Peshwa's Court, in addition to what Biker has printed. The Portuguese records, therefore, cease to be of any value for North Indian history after the accession of Aurangzib.

II

The problem of Indian history in the Mughal period is to find out the most original sources of information. We, no doubt, possess the contemporary official histories, written by order of the Emperors of Delhi from Babur to Bahadur Shah I. But they are derivative works, as they were compiled from still earlier records, or documents written immediately after the events described. To this latter class belong (1) the despatches from the various provincial governors and generals, (2) the reports sent to Court by news-writers and spies, (3) the summaries of such of these despatches and reports as were read out to the Emperor in public Court and embodied in the *akhbarat* or manuscript news-sheets sent to the various Rajahs and nobles by their agents at the imperial *darbar*, and (4) the instructions of the Emperor and his ministers to officers absent on duty. Of the first and fourth classes much material has perished, and the only remnant now surviving is the handful incorporated in formal letter-books left behind by certain secretaries or *munshis* in the service of the Emperor and some nobles. No report of a Government spy or news-writer is now in existence in its full original form. Therefore, the scientific historian of the Mughal period is left to depend almost entirely upon the *akhbarat* or news-sheets telling us of the daily occurrences at the imperial Court, the Emperor's movements and public orders, and the news and rumours circulating there.

The importance of these manuscript newspapers or unofficial Court-bulletins has been described by me in a paper read at the Second Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lahore in 1920. I then called them the Missing Links of Indian History,

because at that time only two sets of these documents were known to exist, namely a large collection referring to Aurangzib's reign in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and twenty-two sheets only dated the close of Muhammad Shah's reign in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.

Since then large masses of these raw materials of Mughal history have been traced. The earliest and most copious belong to the Jaipur State archives, and run from 1681 to 1725. Those of a later period exist in great volume, but dispersed over many collections and with sad gaps in their midst.

The imperial Government as well as private persons (such as dependent Rajahs) also kept news-reporters in the camps of the Mughal princes and other grantees who governed provinces or commanded expeditions. *Akhbarat* of this class has been found for Prince Muhammad Azam Shah's viceroyalty of Gujrat and Prince Bidar Bakht's governorship of Malwa, both in the closing years of Aurangzib's reign. The former belong to the R. A. S. and the latter to Jaipur. For the second half of the 18th century records of this class are copious as I shall indicate a little later. We thus get the raw materials of provincial history, though not in an unbroken series.

III

From 1750 onwards the Emperor's power rapidly declined and the importance of the provincial governors increased. The Delhi Court, therefore, fell into insignificance as the creative centre of political news; it merely continued as a sort of news-exchange. The wazir of Oudh, the Rohila sardar, the Jaipur Rajah, the Jat chief of Bharatpur, Sindhia, Holkar, the successors of Ahmad Shah Abdali, and even Ranjit Singh of Lahore, now dominated the political scene, each for a period only. Happily, many of the news-letters written from their camps and Courts have been preserved, though many more have perished.

But the news-sheets now change their character in two ways: First, unlike the *akhbarat* of Aurangzib's or Bahadur Shah's Court, they do not record any and every news heard there, nor mention every Court incident, great and small. They give longer accounts and of selected news only; or speaking in terms more familiar to us, they cease to be mere telegraphic summaries and assume more and more the character of news-paper reports. Secondly, they join together in one report the news of several days, sometimes a fortnight, instead of giving only one day's or sometimes

one noon's news only. This change made it necessary to use two or three very large sheets of paper, while the brief daily news-letters of Aurangzib's or even Muhammad Shah's time were compressed into one small slip of paper only. These late 18th century *akhbarat* exactly resemble the news columns of our old English weekly papers of the days before the telegraph.

The news-sheets also change their name at this period, being no longer designated *akhbarat-i-darbar-i-mualla*, but simply *akhbar sawanih*, *parcha-i-akhbar*, or *ahwal-i-taza*.

It may be objected that these news-letters are not authentic, as they contain only what was heard or rumoured at the place of their writing and are not of the same value as despatches and secret State-papers written by the makers of history. An examination of the real character of these *akhbarat* shows that the objection is based upon a misconception. For one thing, they do contain summaries of despatches received or sent out (except secret orders). Secondly, no secret could be kept in Mughal India. And thirdly, the news circulating at the Court of a king or the camp of a general, whether true or false, was the only information available to him, and it determined his line of action. We thus get from the *akhbarat* a knowledge of the true springs of his conduct and policy.

IV

The perishing of the greater part of the Mughal State-papers and Court-bulletins is due to a cause which European historians do not easily realise. In pre-British days the records of every department of the Mughal Government or a feudatory State were usually kept in the house of the Secretary of that department and not in any Government building or archives. No doubt, revenue returns, accounts, &c., would be kept in the record-room of the revenue department, by reason of their immense volume and the need of frequent reference. But all other papers, after they have been read and answered, and thus have ceased to be what we now call "Current correspondence", would be taken by the secretary to his own house, where he transacted his work when not in attendance on the prince or the minister. Administrative convenience dictated this practice, as, in the absence of a State archivist or general record-keeper, the secretary to a department was the only "walking index" to the old records of that department; he alone knew what papers were possessed by the Government

with reference to a particular case and where these papers were. None else could pick them out quickly.

The result of this old practice was disastrous for history, as Sir Dayakishan Kaul pointed out in his paper on the Patiala records read at Lahor in 1920. With the decay of the old families of hereditary secretaries, much valuable material of first-rate importance has perished. Masses of old paper have rotted in their houses or been swept away as rubbish by their poor ignorant descendants, while the masters of the old secretaries have neglected to recover these records from their houses.

V

The Jaipur State archives, as may be expected, contain a large mass of letters from the Mughal Government and the officers of the Rajah to him, besides a huge collection of accounts papers which will be of first-rate importance for the economic history of Rajputana in the 17th and 18th centuries, if such a history ever comes to be written. But one series which I had looked for there cannot be found, I mean the secret correspondence between the Marathas and the Jaipur Rajahs, which must be of very great value, as Sawai Jai Singh brought the Marathas into Malwa, and his successors had frequent relations, usually unfriendly, with the Deccani generals throughout the 18th century.

There are twelve rooms on the ground floor of the Amber palace stored with old State papers, all of which with a few exceptions have been eaten up and reduced to mould by white-ants. I could read three scraps of these and found them to have been sent by Rajah Ram Singh from Rangamati on the Assam frontier in 1674. These, so far as can be now judged from their appearance, were not papers of imperial interest or first-rate importance, but belonged to the minor class of salary bills, accounts, army-lists, revenue returns of villages &c. The old revenue papers of the various parganahs belonging to Jaipur, from the 18th century onwards have been carefully preserved with due arrangement in another office (the Mustaufi daftar) in Amber, (though here, too, some bundles are ant-eaten).

The Jaipur darbar is rich in the possession of a great number of genuine old *farmans* with their seals and embroidered cloth envelopes (*kharitas*) quite intact. These are of extreme value and may properly

adorn a historical museum. Nowhere else in the world has such a collection survived.

All the extant records of Udaipur have been embodied by Kaviraj Shyamaldas in his monumental Hindi history the *Vira-vinode*. Stray documents, such as *farmans* from the Emperors, *hasb-ul-hukms* and *parwanahs* from his ministers, and news-letters, are possessed by some other Rajput States, and even by private families. But the time and labour required in listing and co-ordinating them would be out of all proportion to their value. Most of them are later than 1740, and their owners are not always communicative. Lala Sri Ram, M.A., an enlightened *rais* of Delhi, has two volumes of diaries,—one dealing with the Marathas in northern India in 1792-3, and the other with the imperial family in Delhi fort in 1854-55—both of which have been described in the *Journal of Indian History* for Feb. 1922, (Vol. I, pt. 2.) They are of rather late dates; but his collection is always open to scholars. Some stray *akhbars* have gone to the India office, London. (See Etche's *Catalogue*.)

VI

The Bharat Itihas Samsodhak Mandal of Poona is building up a store of late 18th century news-letters in Persian (particularly relating to Mahadji Sindhia), which promises to grow in volume if private owners in the Deccan are liberal enough to deposit their historical records of this class in the Mandal library, for ready use by research students. Several families of hereditary State servants of the Peshwa period, such as the Paras-nis, Wagnis, &c., still hold large or small bundles of old papers, which are perishing through neglect. The general ignorance of the Persian language prevailing in the Deccan will prevent the examination and use of these records in the houses of their present owners.

As for the news-letters and other historical papers written in the Marathi language, there was a very large collection of them in the house of Nana Fadnis at the village of Menauli. Some of them have been saved from destruction and printed by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, and some, I understand have been brought to the Poona Mandal. The entire collection, judging from their owner's position as the *de facto* head of the Maratha State for many eventful years, must be very valuable. They, however, refer to the last quarter of the 18th century.

VII

His Highness the Holkar of Indore has very copious records in the Marathi language, the earliest of which date back to the time of the first Malhar Rao, the founder of the dynasty. There are abundant reports from the agents of this State at the Courts of Oudh, Delhi, Jaipur, Calcutta, etc., in the second half of the 18th century, and particularly of the time of Ahalya Bai. A fire in the archives has destroyed some precious bundles, but much more has escaped with a slight scorching along the edge,—so that at the worst each paper in these damaged bundles has lost only three lines of writing. If these documents are properly arranged and calendared, it would win for His Highness the Holkar the praise and gratitude of the learned world.

It is not known to outsiders that the enterprise and perseverance of the Foreign Office of the Holkar's Government have secured, at an immense cost, faithful transcripts of all the English records in the India Office, London, and the Marathi papers in the Peshwa's Daftar, Poona, relating to Holkar, Sindhia and the Puars of Dhar. The city of Indore, therefore, can now afford nearly all the materials for a full history of Malwa in the 18th century. An earnest historian, if he is prepared to undertake this task, will probably find every help in the learning of Dr. Kibe, the ripe knowledge and devotion of Messrs. Mathu Lal and Phadke, and the scholarship of Mr. A. N. Bhagwat, who are directly connected with the records of Indore.

VIII

In the Land Alienation Office at Poona, miscalled the Peshwa's Daftar,—because the Peshwa's papers form only a fraction of its contents,—there are twenty-four bundles of historical materials in the Persian language. I have made a rapid examination of all of them. About half the mass is absolutely useless, being made up of children's copy-books, lithographed Persian works, fragments of MSS., and ordinary waste paper. An examination of them is apt to produce the hasty idea that the Inam Commission had made house-searches throughout the country, brought to Poona everything written in Persian and every scrap of old writing in Modi that they found anywhere, and left the bundles undisturbed ever afterwards. The fact is that the holders of inam lands deposited all their old papers without discrimination in the office of the Inam Commis-

sion, and these have remained there unexamined,—at least unsorted, unindexed, and unreturned. The only thing done has been to tie them up in cloth-bundles of a tolerably uniform size, by bringing together the papers of several families, without distinction of date or place.

Roughly half the contents are waste paper. About one-fourth consists of old revenue accounts of parganahs like Sironj Chamargunda, Ahmadnagar, etc., and these are of little use now. But the residue of about one-quarter of the mass is true historical material, some of them being of the highest value. They may be classified thus :—

(i) Farmans from the Mughal Emperors and the older Adil Shahi dynasty.

(ii) Parwanahs or orders.

(iii) Copies of grants, attested under the seal of the qazi (*khadim-i-shara*).

(iv) News-letters from Northern India, and a few from British armies, mostly later than 1806.

(v) Private legal documents, such as bonds, agreements, receipts, jury reports (*mahaxar*), and petitions to the Mughal Government.

IX

I shall here specially dwell on the fourth of the above classes. The original Persian news-letters that were sent from Lahor, Delhi, Lucknow, Jaipur and other capitals to the British Indian Government at Calcutta throughout the 18th century, have perished. But English translations of them made at the time have been preserved and are printed in 3 vols. of *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, with two others ready for the press. Similarly, the Imperial Record Office at Calcutta possesses a long series of letters written by Col. J. Collins, Resident at the Court of Daulat Rao Sindhia, to Lord Wellesley or his Secretary, during the very important period just preceding the Second Maratha War. (Only four of Collins's letters have been printed in Wellesley's Despatches ed. by Martin). These contain English summaries of the intelligence sent by traders and British agents from various centres in Upper India. We thus possess the news on which Wellesley shaped his policy.

But there is a vast collection of news-letters in the original Persian belonging to our Government, though not noticed hitherto. These are in the Poona Alienation Office, and exceed a thousand in number. Most of them

refer to the period leading up to and during the last Maratha War. They came from the Courts of Ranjit Singh (who is called Lahorwala and Sardar, as he had not yet developed into a Maharajah), Amir Khan of Tonk, the Begam of Bhopal, Jagat Singh of Jaipur, Hdkar, Daulat Rao Sindhia, Raghuji Bhonsle, Mudhaji Bhonsle Appa Sahib, Zalim Singh of Kotah, and the Nizam, and the camps of Ochterlony, General Beatson, and Metcalfe. Several of these packets of news still retain their covering letter,—some addressed to 'Colonel Sahib.' This very valuable mass should be flattened, properly arranged, listed, and made available for scholars.

The Land Alienation Office of Poona, on its Persian side, possesses in addition to these varied original materials for political and military history, also several documents fit to be exhibited in a museum, of which I shall here cite three examples:—

(1) The original farman of Shah Jahan, dated 1630, to Kheloji Bhonsle, the first cousin of the great Shivaji's father Shahji, praising him for his loyalty to the imperial cause and urging him to work hard and serve Yamin-ud-daula, the Mughal general in the Deccan.

(2) An order from Aurangzib, dated 9th January, 1690, warning the imperial collectors of provisions in parganah Chamargunda not to molest the peasants in securing grain for the imperial camp.

(3) A petition from a high officer to the Emperor, making certain demands, with the Emperor's reply to each item of demand written in his own hand in the margin against it.

Many more such interesting documents might be picked up by a more detailed examination.

X

The result of the searches for historical materials so long made by me, may be summed up thus:—

Period 1700-1725 extremely rich in Persian *akhbarats* (mostly in London and Jaipur), Marathi documents very few, but Peshwa's Daftar likely to yield some.

1725-1757 . . . poor in Persian and Marathi sources. Much material has perished. Only 20 sheets of Persian *akhbarat* (1744) in Paris and four in Poona L. A. Office (c. 1754.) The surviving Marathi documents have been mostly published.

1757-1781 . . . a small amount of Persian *akhbarat* still extant in the Poona Mandal; English trans. of many (originals lost) in *Calendar of Persian Cor.* Many Marathi papers already printed, and many news-letters in that language extant in Indore (but not yet catalogued). Many Persian *akhbarat* likely to come to light in Poona.

1781-1795 . . . very copious Marathi papers, (large numbers of them already printed by Parasnis, Rajwade, and Khare.) Enormous quantities of unprinted Marathi sources at Indore, Poona and probably also at Gwalior. Persian *akhbarat* already discovered, many for 1788-1795, and more are constantly accumulating at the Poona Mandal. Menauli records very rich in Persian and Marathi papers.

1795-1817 . . . huge collection of Persian *akhbarat* in the L. A. Office, and Mandal of Poona, with a few in the I. O. L. English summaries in the despatches of J. Collins, (Imperial Record Office). Marathi materials copious (many published down to 1803). English MS. sources not yet calendared.

THE ETERNAL CHINESE QUESTION

BY BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

SOVIET RUSSIA ON CHINA.

THERE is civil war in China once more and, as usual, on constitutional questions. This time the situation is grave enough to invite "talks" among the great powers in regard to intervention. Curiously enough,

the only power that seems to stand by China's case against foreign intervention is Russia, the state whose enmity to the Chinese people was never less cruel than that of the nations whom she condemns to-day.

But perhaps the soul of Russia has been

purged through the fire-baptism of Bolshevik-philosophy. And so it has suited the leaders of the Soviet Federation of Russian Republics to challenge the right of the four "bourgeois"-imperialistic states, viz. Great Britain, France, the United States and Japan to interfere in the politics of China and the Far Eastern Seas.

CHINA, ROMANTIC AND REAL

Neither civil war nor foreign intervention is however a new thing in Chinese politics. These are some of the "eternal questions" with which every student of international law is familiar. But unfortunately, as a rule, people dare not look facts in the face and hesitate to call a spade a spade.

So far as China is concerned, the romantic idealism popularised by the writings of Bertrand Russell and John Dewey in English-speaking lands and by Rudolf Eucken and Keyserling in the Germanistic world has served but to propagate among the alleged friends and lovers of the Chinese people a false orientation in regard to the actualities. But the *Realpolitik* has to be faced today or tomorrow, romanticism notwithstanding.

PROFESSOR GOODNOW ON THE RIGHT OF FOREIGN CONTROL

In 1915 the American professor, Dr. Goodnow, as adviser to President Yuan Shikai of the Chinese Republic, submitted a memorandum of governmental systems. One of the reasons why he considered the restoration of monarchy desirable for China is that otherwise disorder would prevail in the country. And

"It is ***becoming less and less likely that countries will be permitted to work out their own salvation through disorder and revolution, as may have been the case during the past century with some of the South American countries. Under modern conditions countries must devise some method of government under which peace will be maintained or they will have to submit to foreign control." (*Journal of the American Asiatic Association*, November, 1915.)

This is a mercilessly frank statement, and the point of view would seem inhuman to Young China and to those of its idealistic friends who desire to see the Powers let the Far East alone. But this is only a scientific conclusion from the lessons of diplomatic history.

Writers on international law assert indeed that nations have every right to work out their destiny in their own way, or as the phrase has become current in the literature on politics during and since the Great War,

they have the right of "self-determination". But the rights of rebels, revolutionaries and secessionists, on the one hand, and those of foreign intervention in an independent state, on the other, are some of the other eternal questions that are left to the practical statesmen and the *vishvashakti* or world-forces, i. e., the conjuncture of circumstances to solve.

Now foreign intervention in the internal affairs of a state "to the point of actual destruction of its political independence" is neither to be the special misfortune of republican China nor an iniquity to be perpetrated for the first time in Chinese history. The question of the *form of government* for China is thus not specially affected by this danger.

INTERVENTION AS A POLITICAL METHOD IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE

During the Middle Ages no European State could be called really sovereign even within its territorial limits. The Pope had the right to interfere in the local civics of Christendom, and his cardinals, legates and pardoners enjoyed "extra-territoriality" everywhere. Matrimonial relations and religious sympathies dictated, moreover, the foreign policies of rulers.

The ruler himself was in law but a landlord among landlords. The same landlord could in those days own manors and seigns under more than one king. A baron in one state could be king in another. The cities could form alliances among themselves, or with the feudal lords against kings, or with the kings against the feudal lords.

The Hanseatic League gave laws to the kings of Denmark and Sweden. Each of the Italian city-states was divided between the imperial Gibellins and the Papal-Guelph factions, so that both the German Emperor and the Pope freely took part in the intrigues of the little republics of Italy. Intervention was thus the very essence of the system of feudalistic politics in Catholic Europe.

FROM WESTPHALIA TO THE MONROE DOCTRINE

The peace of Westphalia (1648) is regarded as the first landmark of modernism in the conception of sovereignty. But even since then the independence of States has been infringed upon by the Powers on innumerable occasions. Today the ostensible object of intervention is the maintenance of peace in the "backward countries" in the

interest of foreign commerce and investments. At other times the pretext has been self-preservation, enforcement of a legal right, prevention of atrocities, considerations of humanity and so forth.

The death of Charles II of Spain in 1700 was an incitement to Louis XIV to interfere on behalf of his grandson Philip as a candidate for the foreign throne. The Spanish succession could not thus remain a mere Spanish question; it brought on a world-war in which the real issues were the expansion of commerce and the balance of power. The notorious partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795) are the standing monuments of the Powers' right to intervention in a territory of political turmoil.

The partition of France, also, became a question of practical politics in 1793 under conditions similar to those of present-day China. Austria, Bavaria, England, Russia, Spain and Sardinia were to have obtained slices of French territory and left France a harmless third-class power.

In 1808 Napoleon ordered that Prussia should not keep an army of more than 40,000 men. The Holy Alliance (1815) was an open alliance organized for intervention. The Monroe Doctrine (1823), as a publicly announced defence against intervention, came into being on the assumption that the right to intervention was a fact.

AMERICAN INTERVENTIONS IN THE LATIN STATES

By the "Ostend Manifesto" of 1854 the United States declared the right to seize Cuba by force, should Spain be reluctant to sell it. America's intervention in the war (1898) between Spain and Cuba is an infringement of the rights of independent states, as also her notoriously hasty recognition of Panama as a republic (1903) in the midst of its secession disputes with Colombia.

FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN PERSIA

During the birth-throes of the New Persia (1906-1909), again, the constitutional or nationalist party has been constantly thwarted by the intrigues of Europeans with the Shah and his courtiers. The Anglo-Russian convention of 1907 defined to their own satisfaction the spheres of influence of the two foreign powers, and was followed by their joint demands on the Medjlis (national parliament) to obey the Shah (1908). The destruction of the first Medjlis was consummated by the Shah with the

"Cossack brigade" commanded by a Russian Colonel.

Then came the virtual annexation of the fertile province of Azarbaijan in North-East Persia by Russia on the all-too familiar pretext of safeguarding foreign interests during the second Persian revolution (1909) that eventuated in the deposition of Mohammed Ali. One must also mention the British ultimatum of October 16, 1910, which demanded the policing of the roads in Southern Persia by the Government of India at the expense of the Persian Customs Department.

THE "INTEGRITY OF TURKEY"

Last but not least, the intervention of Christian states whether individually or in concert in the Ottoman Empire was the most universally accepted article of faith among statesmen. The "integrity of Turkey," however, was indeed an asset of the British empire against Russian advance and was therefore solemnly announced at the end of the Crimean War (1856).

But the powers have still found occasions to interfere with Turkish rule in Crete, Armenia and Syria. The Berlin Congress (1878) virtually legalized and legitimized the international administration of the problem of internal reforms in Turkey. And it was the demand for European mediation in the administration of Macedonia that exasperated the Young Turks into the second Balkan War (1912).

SELF-DETERMINATION *vs.* INTERVENTION

And to crown all, the last war was brought about directly by the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, compliance with which would have implied the regular intervention of Austria-Hungary in Serbian administration. Can it not be affirmed, then, without being too cynical that "self-direction" or independence is the exception, and intervention, the rule in the history of international relations?

IMPERIAL CHINA IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

It is only in the perspective of all these world-developments in diplomatic intercourse that the problem of China can be intelligently grasped. To treat China as an exception in international relations would appear to be as great a fallacy as to regard Chinese civilization, social institutions, philosophy, arts and so forth as something peculiarly Chinese or distinctively Oriental.

We shall first discuss the "external"

sovereignty of China, *i.e.*, her relative position and prestige with regard to other independent Powers. In 1842 the Opium War deprived China of Hong-Kong. In 1859 Russia wrested from her 800 square miles north of the Amur River, the territory south-east of the Khingan Mountains, the Russian maritime province, and Vladivostok, and in 1871 the land between Balkash and China.

In 1871 Japan took possession of the Liu-Kiu islands between China and Formosa. Burma was lost to Imperial China in 1886. The French republic annexed Indo-China the same year and engineered subsequently the separation of Siam from Chinese overlordship.

The China-Japan war of 1894 led to the loss of Formosa and the virtual cession of Korea to the victors. In 1898 Kiaou-Chauou was seized by Germany, Kwang-chau-wan by France, Wei-hei-wei by England, and Port Arthur by Russia. By 1899, as Brown remarks in *New Forces in Old China*, "in all three thousand miles of coast-line there was not a harbour in which she could mobilize her own ships without the consent of the hated foreigner".

During all this period the Chinese empire had of course to pay enormous indemnities to the powers for the least loss sustained by the aggressors as missionaries, merchants or travellers even in out-of-the-way places. All this is surely "foreign intervention in China" "to the point of actual destruction of independence."

The only parallel is to be sought in the steps by which Turkey has been robbed of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, the Balkan States, Kuweitt, and recently Arabia and Mesopotamia.

THE STATUS OF CHINESE ABROAD

Let us now look to external sovereignty from the other side of the shield, *viz.*, with reference to the treatment of China and her people abroad. Between 1855 and 1905 Imperial China had to enter into humiliating "treaties" with the United States and accept from that power the most atrocious discriminative laws against the Chinese immigrants. Each of these laws was, moreover, a violation of treaties.

American citizenship was denied to persons of the Chinese race by the Burlingame Treaty (1868). The Treaty of 1880 compelled China to give the United States the right to restrict and suspend Chinese immigration.

China was not in a position to retaliate the massacre of innocent Chinese men, women and children in Wyoming, Washington and California (1885-1886). The constant outrages on the person and property of her people "legally" living on American soil remained unindemnified by the state of federal governments.

The Scott Act of 1888 and the Geary Act of 1892 relating to the status of Chinese immigrants in America reduced the empire of China to the most contemptuous abyss in the international world. In 1904 the United States finally re-enacted all the previous restriction-laws excluding Chinese immigrant. America's treatment of China for half a century is comprehensible solely on the postulate that China's independence was to be respected only on paper (A. C. Coovidge: "*The United States as a World-Power*", pp. 335-37).

THE EMPRESS-DOWAGER'S PATRIOTIC EDICT

It is clear, therefore, that towards the beginning of the twentieth century Imperial China descended to the nadir of sovereignty so far, as her external relations were concerned. We shall now study the state of her "internal" sovereignty about the same period, *i. e.*, the rights she exercised on her own territory without intervention from foreign Powers or their nationals.

Since the treaty of Nanking in 1842 China has been "opened" by over a hundred treaties with foreigners. Mostly commercial in character, these are documents of "concessions" which have deprived the Chinese in one way or another of their legitimate sovereignty over their own lands and waters. The military aggressions in Greater China coupled with the economico-political concessions within China Proper could not but draw from the Empress Dowager's hands a most dangerous edict bitterly "anti-barbarian" *i.e.*, anti-foreign as it was. It ran thus:

"The various Powers cast upon us looks of tigerlike voracity, hustling each other in their endeavours to be first to seize upon our innermost territories. They think that China, having neither money nor troops, would never venture to go to war with them. They fail to understand, however, that there are certain things which this empire can never consent to, and that if hard pressed, we have no alternative but to rely upon the justice of our cause, the knowledge of which in our breasts strengthens our resolves and steels us to present a united front against our aggressors."

THE BOXER REVOLT

In 1900 the Chinese were driven to do what little Serbia has since done in 1914. They made a desperate attempt to defend their sovereignty against the intervention of the encroachers. The Boxer Uprising proved abortive, however, and left China not only ruinously indebted on account of indemnity but also completely humiliated and at the mercy of the Powers.

The treaty of 1901 forbade the Chinese (1) to import fire arms for two years, and (2) to hold official examinations for five years in the cities where foreigners had been attacked. It compelled them moreover (1) to add an important area of Peking to the already spacious grounds of the Legation Quarters to be fortified and garrisoned by foreign troops, (2) to raze to the ground the Taku Forts which defended the entrance to Peking, and (3) to have the railway from the sea to the capital occupied by foreign troops. Under the terms of the same treaty, China had also (1) to execute the members of anti-foreign societies and (2) to summarily dismiss district officers and even provincial viceroy's if they did not suppress anti-foreign outbreaks.

Germany, crushed as she is by the War, has since 1918 been experiencing all these Chinese conditions under the military, economic, and political bonds imposed upon her by the peace of Versailles.

THE CHINESE BOYCOTT OF AMERICA

The political nullity of the Chinese even within the limits of China Proper was thus categorically "declared" by the treaty of 1901. It became more clear in 1905 when the United States forced Young China to withdraw the boycott of American goods, ships and institutions it had decreed in retaliation of half a century's persecution suffered by the Chinese people at the hands of the Americans in the United States.

The Chinese government was reproached by the American minister at Peking for its "extraordinary supineness" in the matter; and was ordered to deprive Tseng Shaoching, the head of the Fu-kien merchants' guild in Shanghai and chairman of the boycott committee, of his official rank of taot'ai, and punish him in an exemplary manner. The boycott had thereupon to be disclaimed by the Chinese Foreign Office and at length suppressed by an Imperial edict.

MONARCHY NO SHIELD AGAINST INTERVENTION

These are not facts of anti-diluvian history and no profound antiquarian scholarship is needed to excavate these items in human relations. Nor has human nature undergone any revolutionary change during the last two or three decades although it has certainly been enriched with the experiences of the Great War, Bolshevism and the so-called league of nations. One therefore does not grow any the wiser by shutting one's eyes to the methodology of powerful neighbours in regard to the integrity and sovereignty of weaker States.

It is clear that long before the establishment of the republic, the powerful nations found reasons to interfere in China. Republic or no republic, therefore, they may assume direct administration of its government whenever, to use Goodnow's words "this is necessary to the attainment of the ends desired," provided, of course, the Powers can agree among themselves as to the partition of the spoil. The American expert's prescription of a monarchical form of government for China was therefore an absurd performance. It would be illogical and unhistorical to blame the republic for the misfortunes of China.

REPUBLICAN CHINA

There was no improvement in China's international status between the events of 1900 (and 1905) and the abolition of monarchy in 1911. It is sheer blindness to the realities (on the part of Eur-American political theorists) or patriotic timidity to look facts in the face (on the part of the Chinese themselves) that is responsible for the false idea that China was an independent country in 1911. There has besides, been no change in her position among the Powers during the twelve or thirteen years of the republic (*Vide* the present author's *Futurism of Young Asia*, pp. 230-247).

Rather, like the revolution of 1906 in Persia and of 1908-9 in Turkey, the Chinese revolution has resulted in the enfeeblement of the Orientals and the increase of aliendom in Asia. Or perhaps, strictly speaking, Asian weakness has been brought up to the limelight just on account of these nationalistic, constitutional and republican upheavals. The world has been thereby made fully conscious as to how terribly incompetent Young Asia happens to be in the technique of modern life.

Only in one quarter has Kemal Pasha, luckily for Asia, succeeded in enhancing her

reputation by the international standard. But in other quarters Kemal Pashas do not seem to be forthcoming,—not at any rate in China for the time being.

THE MAKING OF BOUNDARIES

If the foreign interventions are normal or natural phenomena in China not less so are the civil wars. Weakness in the fields of finance, industry and military equipment has thrown the Chinese up into the arms of the foreigners. The war between the provinces, although ostensibly a constitutional struggle, is a symptom of another weakness. That weakness of the Chinese people has to be sought in certain rather unexplored fields.

And here it is necessary to expatiate a little bit on the boundaries of states, the limits of nationalities, or the manufacture of nations. On this subject there is a fallacy long prevalent among the students of political science in Eur-America. This has been imbibed from them by the intellectuals of Young Asia also. The fallacy is quite simple. People have got into the habit of applying to vast continents like China or India the formulae that barely explain the political jurisdiction of the latest types of more or less homogeneous "nation-states" in contemporary Europe.

Since the unifications of Italy and Germany, and under the influence of John Stuart Mill, the nationality-idea has taken a firm hold on the imagination of mankind. But political theorists as well as practical statesmen are prone to forget two important considerations with regard to its application.

First, Mazzini's idealism embraced a population which in strength of numbers was less than the fifteenth of that of China or of India today.

Secondly, Bismarck's "blood and iron" triumph embodied itself in a territory which in its area is about one-fifth of China or of India. United Germany is not larger than the single Chinese province of Szechuen in the S. W. or the Hindi-speaking provinces of the north-Indian Punjab, Agra and Oudh.

Scientifically speaking, one should expect therefore, the same number of "modern" nationalities enjoying "sovereignty" in the Austinian sense of *danda-dhara*, i.e. sanction-wielding power in China or India alone as one finds in Europe. A China or an India in the singular number in the twentieth century is as great an anachronism as the "Christendom" of Hildebrand and Innocent III, or the Empire of the Hohenstaufens, or

Dante's pious dream of universal Monarchy in "*De Monarchia*."

THE MEANING OF THE CIVIL WARS

One must not demand a higher standard of nationalism or political unity or state-making for Asia than what has yet been possible for Europe with its latest experiments in the Central and Eastern territories. It need, further, be observed that the chances for a "federation" in any of the Asian culture-zones (Chinese, Indian or Islamic) are as great or as small as among Latins, Slavs or Teutons of the Western world.

It is this "scientific" question that is being solved in and through the civil wars of China. There was a time when Tibet, Mongolia, Indo-China and other regions used to be known as veritable Chinas. The world knows the truth better today. Similarly the world is waiting to learn if Szechuen should be regarded as part of China along with Honan, Che-Kiang, Chih-li and other provinces; or if the so-called eighteen provinces of China constitute for themselves a world of independent sovereign states. Herein lies the deep meaning of the civil wars in China.

THE BIRTH-THROES OF MODERNISM

The recent revolutions are really phases in the modernization of the Chinese State. The disintegration of old China's limbs is the pivot of all these movements. Medieval Europe with its "indefinite incoherent homogeneity" had to be pulverized and transformed into a system of "definite coherent heterogeneity" in order to give shape to the modern states. By 1870 the vestiges of medievalism in state boundaries may be taken to have practically disappeared from Western Europe at least. Japan also bade adieu to the old state of things about the same time.

The dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire between 1878 and 1912 has likewise been a move in the direction of "modernism" in South-Eastern Europe so far as the territorial limits of nationality are concerned. During the Great War the Bolsheviks embarked upon giving the dozen Russians of Eastern Europe a chance to find, determine or realize themselves on the "nationalist" principle. The Peace of Versailles has further operated along the same lines by manufacturing new states out of old.

It would be absurd to maintain that the boundaries of European states as they exist on the map in 1924, chequered as it is with irredentas and minorities, can be defended

whether on grounds of "nationalism" or according to the principle of self-determination. One should not, however, ignore the fact that the principal feature in the European wars and treaties down to 1918 consists in this conscious attempt at regulating the frontiers on what may be roughly, and perhaps vaguely described as "modern" lines. But in China, medievalism has been persisting until to-day. China's size and form adapted to modern condition have yet to come.

WHETHER IS CHINA TENDING ?

The world is waiting to see if the modernizing of China is to be effected along Indian lines, i.e., through slavery to alien domination

or along the Western and Japanese lines of unhampered and independent development. Is China going to become half a dozen enslaved Chinas or is she going to bring forth out of herself a bunch of free sovereign swarajes of the Mazzinian, Bismarckian or Leninian types?

Whatever be in the womb of the future, medieval homogeneity bids fair to be a thing of the past and a conscious heterogeneity to take its place. This is the real significance of the politics of Young China to students of social science whether as observers of the civil wars fought as they are over constitutional issues or of the foreign interventions that threaten its independence.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kancrese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

DYSPEPSIA AND ITS SELF-TREATMENT: By Jadunath Genguli, B. A., M. B. Printed and published by M. B. Nath at the Biswanath Printing Works, Benares City. Price Rs. 2-8.

The author is an old graduate in arts and medicine of the Calcutta University and much of what he has written in this book is the outcome of his knowledge gained in the practice of his profession for over forty years and of his personal experience as a victim to the disease. He has given much good advice and many practical hints to avoid indigestion and its unwelcome complications. The name of the book is, however, a little misleading. Dyspepsia is more often a symptom than a disease by itself and is dependent upon a variety of causes, functional and organic, tractable and intractable, the treatment of which by the patient himself is not often possible nor desirable. We have no quarrel with the author if by self-cured Dyspepsia, he means the functional disorder following errors in diet or as the result of bad or irregular habits which, in a large number of cases, can be brought under control by well-directed efforts of the patient himself. But to use the general name and to say that the disease is amenable to self-cure, is open to grave objection. For instance, in the treatment of certain complications, the author has advised the use of highly potent and toxic medicines such as iodine, carbolic

acid, creosote, opium, belladonna, morphia &c., the selection and application of which it would be dangerous to leave to the discretion of the patient.

The chapters on the "Digestive organs and their actions," "Exercise or labour cure" and "Dyspeptic's Directory" contain much useful information and will prove a profitable reading.

We disapprove of some questionable methods of treatment recommended by the author. Those include among others the use of *grand-mother's nostrums, faith cure, inspiration cure, &c.*, which cannot bear the test of a scientific examination and which detract not a little from the merit of the book.

The paper, printing and general get-up of the book are of medium quality.

CHUNILAL BOSE.

NARAYAN VAMAN TILAK: By J. C. Winslow. (Association Press, Calcutta—Re. 1-4.)

To the very valuable work which the Association Press has already accomplished by the publication of the *Heritage of India Series*, it is now adding a set of useful biographies under the title, the *Builders of Modern India*. The reputation of the late Mr. Narayan Vaman Tilak, the Christian poet of Maharashtra, was somewhat overshadowed by that of his more illustrious contemporary and namesake Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, but it is hoped that this biography will bring some well-deserved recognition to his memory. As in

the case of many enlightened Indian Christians of to-day, a change from the ancestral Indian faith did not mean any denationalisation with Mr. Tilak, and patriotism is one of the most powerful notes of his poetry. He writes, for instance, in his *Abhanganjali*, which we may mention, is a book of Christian devotion:

Think not of India as of a child's buffoonery or
a jester's tricks and airs;

Here have sprung mighty heroes of faith, at
whom the world trembles.

Here have sprung sages that were lords of Yoga
whose light abides unto this day.

Men whose faith was their very life, their all
and the world their home.

Yes, even here such kingly saints were born, and
in the hearts of all men they shine
resplendent.

What boots it to bring here a masquerade of
strange disguises and of foreign airs?

All that you gain you will squander in the
end, about your neck Ignominy shall lay
her garland.

He has brought to bear upon his Christian faith
all the emotional intensity of his Hindu ancestry
and the effect of his poetry is always elevating. We
have great pleasure in recommending the biography
to our readers.

P. SESHADRI.

MASTER RICHARD QUINY: *By Edgar I. Fripp.*
(Oxford University Press) 7-6.

The literary critic has often to use facts of an author's life to understand and elucidate points about his work. This is legitimate and we have no reason to quarrel with him so long as he understands the limitations of the method and pays proper attention to the degree of objectivity of the work. The reverse process of trying to understand an author's life from his work is seldom satisfactory and if the form of the work happens to be dramatic, such an investigation is all the more likely to be futile. Our difficulty with Shakespeare is that through the paucity of the materials at our disposal we can seldom make the former attempt, whereas there are too many temptations to indulge in conjectures about his life from a study of his works. The great value, therefore, of a book like that of Mr. Fripp is in this that it advances, if only to a small extent, our knowledge of William Shakespeare the Stratfordian, and his friends and contemporaries. If this book had been content with merely telling us about the city-life of Stratford of the 90's of the sixteenth century, had given us mainly quotations from old documents and the letters of Quiny and Sturley, we should have had nothing but praise for it. It does this; but unfortunately it tries to do something more. It tries to find reflections of contemporary events in Shakespeare's dramas, to identify numerous passages as personal sentiment of Shakespeare and offers an interpretation of the sounds from the conception of Shakespeare as a morally blameless person.

To go through these points in order, it gives us a really delightful picture of a Stratford of the time. It tells us of Richard Hill and others of the Stratford Chamber, of Richard Quiny and Abraham Sturley, of Nicholas Barnhurst and George Badger, of Shakespeare's friend Richard Tyler and Master Edward Greville of Milcote. We have the interesting information from the Baptismal Register that Richard Quiny's children were the following:

William, Anne, William (the first Will. was dead) Mary and John. These were the Christian names of the poet, his wife, his mother and his father and it is certainly an interesting coincidence. One may not be justified in concluding from this that William Shakespeare was at Stratford to act as godfather to the two William Quynys. We hear a good deal of the City Chamber of which Quiny and Sturley were such prominent members. The proceedings of the Council were not always peaceful and both Nicholas Barnhurst and George Badger got into trouble, the former for using "lewd and bad speeches in the Council-Chamber" and the latter for "wilfully refusing to come to his Council Hall" and for "declining the bailiwick." Little details like these help us to visualise the Stratford society, much more so than general descriptions of the wet summer of '94 and of the great fires of '94 and '95 can. The letters of Quiny, particularly those written from London, form very interesting matter too; and it is in such details that the charm of this book really lies.

Much less satisfactory are the author's conjectures about the identity of Quiny and Horatio or of Hamlet Shakespeare and various boy-creations of Shakespeare's works, while the attempt to find Shakespeare's religion in the environments of Silvia or Malvolio appear equally futile. In the interpretation of the sonnets too, the author is never on sure ground. His attempt to find Marlowe in the descriptions of sonnets 84-86 is mere conjecture; while his dismissal of the reality of the "dark lady" as "an impossible amalgam of qualities" would be open to various objections, foremost among these being this that an inconsistency in poetic description proves nothing, each sonnet being expressive of the mood of the moment. Moreover it is very difficult to explain away sonnets 129 and 138 as mere poetic fiction; "the expense of spirit in a waste of shame" seems a little more than mere words.

Still when all is said and done, this work is one of the most valuable of recent contribution to Shakespeariana. It does an enormous service to all students of Shakespeare by bringing within their reach the three dozen or so of hitherto unpublished letters which help them to visualise Shakespeare's fellow-Stratfordians.

N. K. SIDHANTA.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION: PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS, Vol. V. Calcutta, 1923. *Suprintendent, Government Printing, India.* Price Rs. 3-2 as.

The Indian Historical Records Commission is doing very good work in later Mughal and early British history. The fifth volume of the proceedings contains many original contributions from notable scholars like Professor Jadunath Sarkar, Professor Beni Prasad of Allahabad, Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis of Satara and Prof. K. R. Qanunzio of Lucknow. Mr. P. C. Nahar's genealogy of the Jagat Seth's family is a contribution in a style hitherto unknown in later Mughal history. Nobody but a true Murshidabadi could have dealt so lucidly with this renowned family of Bankers. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's "Affairs of the English factory at Surat, 1694-1700," is written in his usual charming terse but effective style and is full of original information. The most interesting articles in the collection are "Old Judicial Records of the Calcutta High Court" by Mr. Badruddin Ahmad, B. A., Keeper of Records, High Court, Calcutta. How many people in India

know that the traitor Musalmans of Murshidabad at last turned against the British East India Company? Mirza Jan, a courtier of Sahib-i-Alam (a prince of the Mughal Imperial family) conspired against the British, with Shamsuddaula, a son of the Nawab Nazim, Mubarakuddaula of Bengal. He sent letters to Zaman Shah, the Pathan king of Afghanistan inviting him to invade India and to drive out the British in 1798. He sent a noble man of Lucknow named Mustaufi-ul-mulk Mirza Abdur-Rahim Khan as the messenger to Kabul. Another man, Sayyid Ashraf Ali Khan was sent to Behar to incite the zamindars of that province to rebel against the British. Such feats on the parts of the traitors of Murshidabad might have saved the Mughal empire from total destruction in 1756-57. Another notable paper is from the pen of Khan Bahadur Sayyid Abdul Latif, B. A., B. L. Calcutta, on the will of the great noble Shayista Khan, the maternal uncle of the emperor Aurangzeb, the brother of the celebrated empress Mum-taz-i-Mahal, the son of Nur-Jehan's brother, Asaf Khan, one of the premier nobles of the Mughal empire during the reigns of Shah-Jahan I and Aurangzeb Alamgir. The descendants of Shayista Khan still live at Agra and Dacca. Shayista Khan's will discloses the fact that his properties were distributed in different parts of the empire. The following provinces contained the personal property of this noble:—(i) Thattha or Sindh, (ii) Multan or Lower Punjab, (iii) Lahore or Upper Punjab, (iv) Ajmer or Rajputana, (v) Burhampur, or Khandesh, (vi) Ahalabad, (vii) Akbarabad or Agra, (viii) Guzarat or Ahmedabad, (ix) Kabul, and (x) Kashmir. The author does not say where the will is preserved and what are the distinctive proofs of its authenticity. An illustration of this important document would have been very welcome.

R. D. BANERJI.

ANCIENT MID-INDIAN KSATRIYA TRIBES, VOL. I: *By Bimalacharan Law, M. A., B. L., Ph. D., with a foreword by Dr. L. D. Barnett. Published by Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta & Simla, 1924, pp. vii+166+ii, royal.*

Sainte-Beuve, in his *Portraits Littéraires*, lays it down as a criterion of historical criticism, that a collection of opinions and odd facts constitutes neither history nor even a book. Dr. Law's work, according to that canon, is not a book, much less a history.

From the start (pp. 1-10) Dr. Law reveals his method. Quotations begin from the Rig Veda coming down to Rapson—the whole leading to? Nowhere. Un-proved identifications reverentially repeated, (e.g., in p. 117): Stray Buddhist and Jaina dicta generously thrown into the melting pot, (pp. 110-11) etc. Lots of contradictory opinions or to be more precise, contradictory opinions in lots—the net result, a blank. The real historical method of testing every legend, feeling the psychology of the times and tracing its inward evolution gradually gathering shape in outward events, all inexorably crawling on towards their steady fulfilment, is wholly and rigorously excluded.

Even about the forms of words, the choice is purposeless, e.g., ingenuity about the form *Sivi* is needlessly baffling, a commoner form causes less irritation.

A desire to write books is laudable, but a mere collection of materials becomes a heap, and an eye-sore.

Dr. Law is fortunate, as a rule, in enlisting some English experts on Indian literature or history to write a foreword to his books and this time he has secured Dr. Barnett who has lately distinguished himself as ushering in a new era in reviewing, in the pages of the J. R. A. S. (cf. his flippant remarks on Rabindranath Tagore and Indian history, J. R. A. S.), as a *Sabjanta* scholar claiming to speak both on Cretan archaeology and the Visvabharati with equal authority in the course of one review.

Dr. Law's book is interesting only for one admission of that all-knowing critic. He approves of Krishna as a historical person and points out that Arishtanemi was a contemporary of Krishna. This is a right deviation, but he reverts to the Bharata battle at 950 B. C., an example of the force of *Samskara*! Of course, a search has to be made for men in this country who would accept that date. Yet, after all, there is a slight progress even in Dr. Barnett's Indology!

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.

JESUS OF NAZARETH: HIS LIFE AND TEACHING: *By Francis Kingsbury, Madras. 1924. 1s-6d.*

The feature of this small book which attracts attention is that it is dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi, 'who has made Jesus of Nazareth a reality to the people of India and to the nations of the world.' The author was an Army Chaplain to His Majesty's forces in Iraq. He discards all nature miracles, and is of opinion that the fact that Jesus believed in demon-possession does not bind his followers in the twentieth century to believe in it. The book therefore appears to be written in a liberal spirit. It is well printed, and as a biography of Jesus Christ is likely to be useful to the lay reader.

POL.

SOURCE BOOK FOR THE STUDY OF INDIAN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, PART II: *By Prof. Brij Narayan, M. A. Published by the Punjab Printing Works, Katcheri Road, Lahore. Price Rs. 3.*

The study of official Reports is an invaluable asset to the students of Indian Economics. Prof. Brij Narayan has shown remarkable scholarship and ability in bringing out this book of about 450 pages in which he has given a summary of numerous official papers. The book will be found useful by many who are interested in Indian Economics.

THE A.B.C. OF INDIAN FINANCE: *By K. M. Purakayastha, M. A., published by the author from 235 Old Chinabazar Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

In this book the author has dealt with the Public Finance of India. This is a subject in which all taxpayers (practically all Indians pay taxes in one way or another) are interested, and a book of the nature of Mr. Purakayastha's A.B.C. of Indian Finance should find many eager readers. He has given in his book a comprehensive but short account of Indian Finance from before 1860 A. D. down to 1923 A. D. He has also dealt with all the principal items in the Receipts and Expenditure of the Government of India.

ULTIMATE VALUES IN THE LIGHT OF CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT: *By Prof. J. S. Mackenzie, Litt. D. (Cambridge), LL. D. (Glasgow). Published by Hodder Stoughton Ltd., Warwick Sq., London. Price 3 sh. 6d. net.*

Prof. Mackenzie is a thinker and scholar of accepted merit and is well known in Indian intellectual

ual circles. This little book on a difficult philosophical topic has brought out clearly the learned Professor's deep insight into philosophical subtleties. A popular and easily understandable treatise on the philosophy of life is a thing which few men can produce. Prof. Mackenzie has done it and done it very well.

BUSINESS ORGANISATION: *By D. Pant, B. Com., F. E. S. & F. S. S. Published by the Commercial Book Company, Brandreth Road, Lahore.*

This is a compact little book on Business Organisation in which the author, who is a lecturer at the University of Lucknow, has discussed the organisation of the main types of Economic institution *g.*, Joint-Stock Companies, Combinations, Co-operative institutions, Agricultural Industries, Financial Institutions, etc. He has also discussed export and import trade, scientific management and advertising. The book is well got up and handy.

A. C.

TENDENCIES OF MODERN ENGLISH DRAMA: *By G. F. Morgan. (Constable and Company Ltd.)*

The stage looms very large in the history of all civilised nations, and even those peoples who are described as 'uncivilised' also make much of play-acting. As the mode of life and ways of thought of nations alter, the character and aspect of their drama alters also. In fact while drama has a great effect in educating the people into ways of thought, it itself is influenced largely by the conditions and needs of every-day life. Sometimes the characteristics of drama remain in one groove for a long time, sometimes they suddenly change with a swiftness that is almost incredible. Readers will therefore be much interested and indeed instructed by Mr. Morgan's very timely book. Drama has two functions. One is to assist the mind to escape from the sordid details of life, and present to the eye of the imagination new and enthralling vistas. The other, which is far more important, is described by the author of his book: "Its greatest function, like that of all art, is to assist us to penetrate into and to interpret life rather than escape from life." Every great drama, says the author, should be the artist's "implicit commentary on life". "Drama is an image of life. But it must be an interpretative image." With these ideas as the ultimate test of the goodness or badness of a dramatic tendency, the author approaches his subject. In the Eighteenth Century two tendencies were prevalent. The one was to make of drama a mere farce or burlesque. And the other to produce sententious, sentimental and excessively moral plays which did not bring drama into touch with life in any sense. The dramatist of those times, kept his attention fixed on the stage or the work of other dramatists, and disregarded life. Drama thereupon lost most of its value and did not even attain to the dignity of being an art worth considering. A sudden change however was coming and the forerunner of that change was the Norwegian Henrik Ibsen. Properly to give an account and a criticism of the book before us would entail far more space than any editor would care to allow. The first few chapters deal briefly with authors now little before the public such as Sheridan Knowles and Douglas Jerrold whose play 'Black-eyed Susan' attained very great success. It is interesting to learn that Browning wrote for Macready his play "Stafford" which however was a failure. Of Bulwer Lytton who gave to the public anonymously 'The Lady of

Lyons' and thereafter 'Richelieu' and 'Money'—plays which won and long maintained immense popularity, the writer of this book has not much opinion. Their sentiment, says he, is sentimentalism, their grandeur a pose. The work of bringing about a reform in drama was materially assisted by Robertson, whose play 'Society' roused immense interest and appreciation because of its witty dialogues and broad satire. Special attention is given to writers such as H. A. Jones and Pinero. All bore their share in changing the aspect of drama on a certain extent, but the real force which converted the drama from a dull almost dead thing into a living and influential entity, was a young man called "Shaw who was writing most extraordinary and absurd things". George Bernard Shaw of course is known to every one. The way to attain to fame as described, if we remember right, by Oscar Wilde, is either to feed or amuse or shock the people. George Bernard Shaw both amused and shocked people, but he was and is a true teacher—his 'happy knack' is to seize more "quickly than most the significance of what is new in thought and discovery and present it in such a pleasant and effective manner as to make it lodge in the consciousness of the public".

Modern drama is a drama of ideas and a large portion of this book is devoted to the study of Shaw as a philosopher. In fact the author contrasts the point of view of approaching the study of Shaw with that of Synge. In the former, his philosophic aspect should attract attention, in the latter his aesthetic aspect is more worthy of attention. There are very closely reasoned chapters in this book on Shaw, the dramatic iconoclast, Shaw, the social iconoclast and Shaw, the philosopher, in which his objects and methods are exhaustively discussed. The three chapters form a study in themselves. Granville Barks and Harkin receive a chapter each. One of the foremost tendencies of modern drama is the emphasis on the emancipation of women. All these writers lay great stress on it, and their characters very forcibly justify to themselves and others the importance and correctness of this movement. The study of Galsworthy shows how that very great writer is successful in drama. His plays are extremely well made. He is familiar with the stage and knows what can be done on it and although he rarely introduces humour into his work the plot is always interesting—"his artistic ideals are always maintained at a high level and his purpose is ever noble." His pity for the sorrows of mankind only degenerates into sentimentalism when he deals with child characters. It is a curious fact on which the author remarks that no dramatist has been able successfully to portray a child character. From Galsworthy we come to the Irish pioneers—Yeats, Martyn and Lady Gregory. The value of Yeats is not so much, we are told, in his own work but in his inspiration and guidance to younger men. To Lady Gregory is directly due, Mr. Morgan thinks, a great deal of the theatrical and dramatic success of the modern Irish revival. Synge is a name not very familiar to the general public. His early death prevented him from attaining to the very highest in his art but "even in the work that we have there is sufficient quantity and all the quality to warrant us in assigning to him a place second only to Shakespeare". Under the heading Drama of Revolt the author brings to our notice the works of Houghton and Miss Githa Sowerby. There are

chapters on Irish dramatists and more Irish dramatists. Under the heading "Fairy Tales" we come to the works of Sir James Barrie. Masefield is next dealt with and his occasional coarseness is explained. "Revolting against the cant and humbug of the art of a past day he sometimes goes to the extreme of violence and crude brutality." Drinkwater, the author thinks, will not find appreciation from more than a small select audience. Mr. Morgan hardly does justice to Flecker whose "Hassan" is probably one of the greatest dramas written since Shakespeare and has taken London by storm. Flecker was essentially a poet and even if he had become a dramatist he would nevertheless always have remained a poet.

Certain aspects of this book have been here set down. The author has shown how the tendencies of Modern English Drama are to abandon the artificial and to come to the real—to attempt to find things at their proper value and to come to grips with life itself. He considers that after all the superstitions of old times, the book-maxims and the awe of the so-called superior classes have been swept away. English drama is coming into its own as an influence to stimulate thought, encourage greater charity to fellow-beings and to display and promote culture and the love of art and poetry as an aid to the mitigation of the sordidness of life. The book betrays the work of an artist and a scholar, as well as that of a critic. The author's judgments are copiously illustrated by extracts from the works of those authors and dramatists with which he deals. The subject covers a very large field and every page is full of interest. The book is not only a study of the drama. It is a very deep criticism on every-day life. There are parts of it which are highly controversial, but it is safe to say that any reader whether he be a student of the drama or not cannot fail to derive much pleasure and profit from the very acceptable book of Mr. Morgan.

R. C. B.

ESSAYS IN THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION: *By F. Clarke, Professor of Education in the University of Cape Town. Published by the Oxford Press, pp. X+158. Price 5s.*

There are nine chapters in the book, viz.—(i) The Need for a Philosophy. (ii) Education and Society, (iii) Liberal or Vocational? (iv) History in the Primary School. (v) What is Secondary Education? (vi) The Juvenile and Colour. (vii) The Civil Status of the Teacher. (viii) The Study of Education and (ix) Conclusion and also an appendix.

There is a certain raggedness and want of harmony in the thought of the several essays, though some of them are well written.

In the chapter on "The Juvenile and Colour" our author says that the Colour bar "may take a variety of forms. It may involve complete economic segregation of coloured from white....or it may demand that Coloured workers be placed in a condition of permanent helotry and confined to laborious and menial occupations in a sort of semi-slavery. More commonly the Colour Bar is taken to mean a reservation of certain trades or branches for the white man as in certain parts of Transvaal where the white man paints the safe and easy lower parts of the telegraph poles and the native, the difficult and dangerous top, wages being in inverse ratio to the height at which the work is done." (109-110)

The author then remarks :—"When it appears to the white citizen of a country like South Africa that the bread is being taken from the mouths of the children by the competing coloured man, the sense of trusteeship, though still present, is apt to become strongly diluted, with apprehension. Outside critics should never forget that the first and foremost object of the South African citizen is the establishment and maintenance of a civilized modern state on a Dark continent." (p. 110)

His conclusion is :—"It would seem, then, that for a long period yet it will be necessary to continue a regime of differential advantages for the European and tutelage for the coloured man and juvenile. The security of a civilized order is bound up still with the maintenance of white superiority." (p. 115) Comments are useless.

AFTER TRUTH: *By R. S. Published by Srimati Radharani Dutt, 7 Dinabandhu Lane, Calcutta, pp. 96 Price -16/- annas. 355 good, precepts.*

ISRAEL BEFORE CHRIST: *By A. W. F. Bhunt. Published by the Oxford University Press, pp. 144 (Illustrated)*

It is a popular and readable account of Social and Religious development in the old testament.

It is written from the standpoint of orthodox Christianity.

MAHES CH. GHOSH.

BENGALI.

ISLAM-ER ITIHAS (HISTORY OF ISLAM): *By Quazi Akram Husain, M. A., Moslem Publishing House, Calcutta. Rs. 2-8.*

The author is to be congratulated on his manner of presentation, and he appears to have a mastery of Bengali composition. He is right in holding that a popular history of Islam was wanting, and we have no doubt that he fills a real want.

The book under review deals with the growth of the Islamic faith from the time of the Prophet Muhammad and the progress and doings of the Musalman races of past ages and of many climes. The term Muslim race is a misnomer, as Islam connotes a creed and not race; but all believers in this creed may legitimately take pride in the achievements of other races under the inspiration of this religion. The Muhammadans of Bengal who take no notice of the history of Islamic lands, are rightly held by our author to be unfortunate in the extreme. As Hindus and Muhammadans have been thrown together in one land under one sun, it is all the more necessary that here in Bengal the Hindus should know the history of a creed with millions of votaries of which they are bound by destiny. The author's contention that the peace and prosperity of the country depends upon such a harmony, ought to command the assent of the reading public, to whom we can with some qualifications recommend this book.

It is a pity that the author has not laid under contribution several authoritative works on the subject which would undoubtedly have enhanced the merit of his book. We would strongly advise him to go through the following works when it is necessary to publish a second edition of this history.

Muir's *Caliphate*; *Cambridge Med. Hist.*, ii, iii, iv; Noeldeke-Studies (secondary); von Kremer (Eng. tr. by Khuda Bakhsh); Browne's *Lit. History of Persia*, i. (first rate); *Encyclopædia of Islam*; Lane-Poole's *Hist. of Egypt*; Dozy's *Spanish Islam*; Amir Ali's works (critically and sparingly).

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJEE.

PRAMEHKA (THE RIDDLE): By Birendra Kumar Dutta, M.A., B.L. Second Edition. Pp. 760. Price Rs. 4. Gurudas Chatterjee and Sons., Publishers, 203-1-1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

We had occasion to review the first edition of this novel at length in the columns of this magazine. Since then the book has received very high praise from Rabindranath Tagore and also in the Report of the Calcutta University Commission. The fact that a second edition has been called for shows that the public has begun to appreciate the book, though it contains no thrilling incidents, and deals only with the homely joys and poignant sorrows—mostly the latter—of rural Bengal. The few provincialisms which were to be found here and there in the first edition have been mostly expunged, and the bulk has been slightly reduced. The printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired. The author's style is quite simple, and yet most impressive. His love of nature and faculty of observation are manifest in every page. But what gives the book an individuality all its own is the boldness with which the author tackles all the social problems which agitate the bosom of modern Bengal, its moral perplexities and intellectual difficulties. With Tennyson, the author believes that there is more truth in honest doubt than in half the creeds. The conflict of faith and reason, religion and science, and the havoc wrought by it in the minds of the intelligentsia, and its influence in moulding the life of the more highly gifted of our educated young men, have been depicted with a masterly hand, and at the same time, by slight touches here and there, the dead-weight of custom and tradition in the practical lives of the mass of our so-called educated men has been laid bare. The book is written in a serious vein, and is not to be lightly laid aside after a hasty reading, as books of fiction usually are. The story is simple, charming, pathetic, and pervaded by a slight vein of melancholy; an appropriate background of arcadian sights and sounds gives a natural setting to its quiet unfolding. But the philosophic doubts of the hero, the passion for social service, the burning indignation at man's inhumanity to man, the exposure of all the mischief that is being done in the name of popular Hinduism, all this must be felt and read and inwardly digested in order to produce their full effect. A perusal of the book, will, we can assure the reader, produce the best of results among our educated young men by filling their minds with noble impulses and challenging their most deep-rooted prejudices to come out in the open either to justify themselves or what is more probable to be shamed out of existence. We hope the book will go on doing its noble work long after the author as well as the reviewer have ceased to be, and successive editions will testify to the real need of constructive work, apart from politics, which must be done up and down the countryside before the nation can be born again in its cottages.

SANSKRIT

NITIVAKYAMRITA OF SOMADEVA SURI WITH A COMMENTARY; Edited By Pandit Pannalal Soni. Published by Pandit Nathuram Premi, Secretary. Manikchand Jaina Granthamala. Hirabagh, Bombay. Pp. 33+427. Price Re. 1-12.

Broadly speaking, among the general subjects dealt with in Brahmanical works there is scarcely

one to which considerable contribution has not been made by the followers of the Jain religion. This fact is daily supported by the publication of the different books in which the *Nitivakyamrita* is included. Indeed, it enhances the value of the well-known series, *Manikchand Digambara Jaina Granthamala* of which it forms the 22nd volume. The author, Somadeva Suri, is also the writer of a big *Champu Yasastilaka* (10th Century, A. D.), published in two parts with Srutasagara's Commentary from the Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay.

The *Yasastilaka Champu* is an important work in various respects, for it contains among other, some historical facts. It appears that the *Nitivakyamrita* was written by him after it. It deals with polity and as such it has its special importance. Dr. Shama Shastri refers to it in the introduction to his English translation of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (p. xxi) and says that it seems to him that the former is based on the latter. In support of this he quotes some parallel passages from both the works. The list of them could further be lengthened as it has been done in his introduction by Panli Nathuram Premi, Editor, *Jainahitaishe*, a first-class Jain monthly now unfortunately discontinued. The Doctor is, however, not right in saying so, for it will be perfectly clear to one who will take a little trouble to read both the books carefully. One will know it at a glance that the work is not based on any particular book or books, but is compiled by the author in his own language and style from the sayings found in various ancient works as shown in the Tika. The very quotations in the Tika read with the original text with particular attention to the wording in both of them will strongly support the fact.* This fact also leads us to think that the author of the *Nitivakyamrita*, Somadeva Suri, is identical with the commentator whose name is still unknown. It must have been a point of the commentator that he would not allow to pass a *sutra* without quoting an authority in its support.

The commentary quotes a good many unknown or generally unheard-of authors. One importance of it is that it refers to *Brihatkatha* several times. The original book is composed in *sutra* form and in a very simple language. It is divided into 32 chapters. AMS, belonging to Madras Oriental MSS. Library, as says Prof. B. Seshagiri Rao in his *Studies in the South Indian Jainism*, pp. 89-91, has only 29 chapters omitting nos. 27, 30 and 32. The subject-matters of the respective chapters are as follows:

1. Dharma, 2. Artha, 3. Kama, 4. Arisadarga, 5. Vidyavardha, 6. Anviksiki, 7. Trayi, 8. Varta, 9. Dandaniti, 10. Mantrin, 11. Purohita, 12. Senapati, 13. Duta, 14. Cara, 15. Vicara, 16. Vyasana, 17. Svamin, 18. Amatya, 19. Janapada, 20. Durga, 21. Kosa, 22. Bala, 23. Mitra, 24. Rajaraksas, 25. Divasasutana, 26. Sadacara, 27. Vyavahara, 28. Vivada, 29. Sadagunya, 30. Yuddha, 31. Vicaha, 32. Prakirna.

Now, the importance of the work can easily be estimated from the above contents. It occupies a place next to Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and as such

* Refraining from a tedious prolixity we shall refer here only to a few passages in the way of example: p. 96, N. (*Nitivakyamrita*) 10: Harita in the com. (commentary); p. 97, N. 14: Harita; p. 98, N. 18: Harita; p. 241, N. 65: Bhaguri; p. 243, N. 69: Sukra; p. 243, N. 70: Sukra.

Pol.

deserves to be studied earnestly. No student of Indian polity should be without a copy of it.

This book was first published by Messrs Gopal Narayan & Co., in Bombay about 25 years back. It was then translated into Marathi and Gujarati under the patronage of the Maharaja of Baroda. A few chapters were also rendered into Hindi and published by Pandit Nathuramji in his *Jainvikhitaishi*.

The present edition though commendable, leaves much to be desired. A critical edition, remains still to be undertaken.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARJYA.

HINDI

ANTARASHTRIVYA VIDHAN : By Sampurnananda Ji. E. Sc., L. T. Published by Jnana Mandala, Kashi. 1961. Price Rs. 2-12 as. Pp. vi+326.

It is so far the first attempt in Hindi to give a systematic idea of some of the main principles of International Jurisprudence, and as such it is highly welcome. The author of the present work has, however, failed to utilise the great continental jurists like Savigny, Kohler, etc. His sources are only English and even then his choice is open to criticism. The book itself is divided in four chapters: I. is introductory, II. deals with international laws during Peace, III. during War, IV. laws of Neutralism and V. a formation of International Federation.

Though in no way original, the book is likely to prove useful to a large body of students who are unacquainted with any Western language.

A. BANERJEE-SASTRI.

GOSWAMI TULSIDASJI—By Ramchandra Shukla and published by Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha (Benares). 241 pages. Price Re. 1-8 as.

The book is divided into two parts: the first part contains some of the informations of life and miracles said to have been wrought by the great poet, reformer and ascetic, as described by all his biographers during the last sixty years; therefore though interesting it contains nothing new. The second part (Alochana Khund) is quite a new departure from the old beaten path and is a valuable addition to the fast growing Hindi Literature, being a critical study of the great man's life, works and teachings. Though I do not agree with all the views of the critic, still I find the book to be really of great interest to those who are not satisfied with a few facts of his life, but want to understand where the greatness of Goswami Tulsidasji really lies, as well as his religious, social and moral teachings. I am sure, it will be appreciated by all the lovers and students of Hindi Literature.

AMRITALAL SIL.

TELUGU

"KOYILA PATALU": By Manginudi Purushottama Sarma. Printed at the Kesari Printing Press, Rajahmundry. 1924. pp. 50. Price 6 annas.

This volume of poems is written in the well-known free-verse style which suits admirably the author when he wishes to express his conceptions. Music, allegory and symbol of a very charming kind can be seen on every page. It is a very attractive addition to the scanty literature of this type to be found in the Telugu language. A fresh volume of this kind is sure to be received with pleasure and will earn for him a secure place among the really delightful writers of the day.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAO.

MARATHI.

AHARSHAstra-PRAVESH OR INTRODUCTION TO DIETETICS: By Messrs Jogalekar and Sant. Published by the Authors at Babajipura, Boroda. Pages 156. Price Re. one.

Importance of a change in one's diet in consonance with the change in one's habits and circumstances is not sufficiently recognised in India, says the author, and proceeds to explain the essential elements to be included and their proper proportions to be kept in one's diet. But he has nowhere explained wherein lies the defect in the present diet of our people which is proved by ages to be most agreeable and salutary to health. However the information given in the book, so far as it goes, is useful and the proper observance of the author's instructions with regard to the use of vegetables and condiments &c. will go a long way to conduce to the comfort and good health. In this lies the value of the book and it is not inconsiderable.

STRIYANCHA KARMA YOGA OR WOMEN'S SPHERE OF ACTIVITIES: By Mr. D.Y. Kolhatkar. To be had at the Arya Bhushan Press, Poona. Pages 190. Price Re. one.

This book consists of seven essays dealing with subjects of feminine interests such as the value of a mother, women and politics, compassion, etc. The essays are written on the model of Smiles' well-known works on Character, Thrift, &c. The book will make a good reading for grown-up girls. The style smells of the theatre in some places. However the budding author's efforts deserve every encouragement.

Sri Vir-rasayan or A ballad on the capture of Singhagad, composed by V. G. Sathe of Miraj. Price As. 2.

Every one, in these days, possessing however little fire of poesy in him, aspires to be a *Shahir* (or bard) and we, in Maharashtra, have a number of them amongst us. Not one of them, however, can be compared with those immortal bards of Shivaji's times, who, though unlettered themselves, left behind memorable and inspiring poems. The poem under notice is a praiseworthy attempt.

BEBANDSHAHI OR ANARCHY : A Play by Mr. V. H. Aundhkar. Publisher, the Maharashtra Dramatic Company, Poona. Pages 116. Price Re. One.

This is a historical play written by one who combines in himself both histrionic and literary arts and therefore deserves more than a passing notice. The subject chosen is the tragic end of Sambhaji, son of Shiwaji the great, at the hand of Emperor Aurangzeb. As a picture of the terrorism, in which the whole Maharashtra was thrown in the reign of Sambhaje, there is nothing to find fault with in the play. But terrorism is not anarchy—a distinction which has escaped the notice of the author. Kabji, the minister, who was responsible for many acts of cruelty committed by Sambhaje is shown in the play to be led by lucre into the act of treason against his master, which is not a fact of history. But one cannot expect strict historical accuracy in an historical play, and so this lapse on the part of the play-writer may be condoned. There are other short-comings also in the play, a few of which may be mentioned here. Far larger space is allotted to low but humorous characters like Khashaba and Sarjaba, than can be justified by propriety or expediency, while states-

men and nobles of the time (excepting Khando Ballal) are conspicuous by their absence. The Moghal Sardar, who captured Sambhajee, is shown to be a fool in the hand of Ganoji Shirke, and looks silly. The language of the play is embellished with words taken from the Bakhars to make the characters real, but the thing is overdone and the figures of speech profusely used only serves to obscure the meaning—a failing which is too common in the present-day Marathi drama. An instance of anachronism is visible in the ballad sung by Chandravali. But these defects are not so very serious as to detract from the merits of the play, which are many and reflect credit on the playwright, particularly when the fact is known that he is a man of moderate literary education.

V. G. APTE.

GUJARATI

SWATANTRATANA SIDDHANTA: By Khush Vadanlal Chaudhulal Thakore. Printed at the Praja-Bandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad. Thick card-bound. Pp. 175. Price Re. 1-4. (1924)

A translation of Terence McSwiney's Principles of Freedom with a foreword by Dr. Chandulal Manilal Desai, who in every way is entitled to write it, as he has sacrificed every worldly thing in the service of the province, shows how quickly the face of things is changing in Gujarat. The translation is well done, and will reach many hands. It is given away as a present to the subscribers of the "Praja-Bandhu," a well-circulating weekly.

RAS TARANGINI: By Damodar K. Botadkar. Printed at the Dharma Vijay Press, Limbdi. Paper Cover. Pp. 96. Price Re. 0-10-0 (1924).

We had only lately noticed the first edition of this remarkable collection of poems in the home-life of a Gujarati girl, as a daughter, a daughter-in-law, sister, wife and mother. We had noticed the halo with which he had surrounded it. The second edition shows four more poems added, which if anything, make the halo glow more brightly round her lip.

JAPJI: By Mrs. Bhanumati D. Trivedi. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick Card-bound. Pp. 102. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1924).

The Japji, composed by Guru Nanak, which every Sikh recites as a part of his daily ritual, was not yet introduced to the Gujarati reader, and hence Mrs. Bhanumati is to be felicitated on what she has accomplished. She has given the text of every stanza in the original Purjah, and then given the meaning of every word in Gujarati, and then its *bhavanuvad* based on the Bengali translations of Babu Avinash Chandra Majumdar. The work thus leaves nothing to be desired. A short biography of Guru Nanak is given also.

SWAPAN-MANJARI: By Mrs. Dipakba Desai. Printed at the Sayaji Vijay Printing Press, Baroda. Paper Cover. Pp. 87. Price Re. 0-10-0 (1924).

Belonging to the well-known and cultured family of the late Dewan Bahadur Manibhai Jasbhai, Minister of Baroda, Dipakba had in early life essayed the writing of poetry. A visit to the temple of goddess Amba, on the Abu hills, where the worshipper has to recite the usual prayers in

verse as part of her *darshan*, and which verses are generally old compositions, the idea came to her that she can pray as well to the Mother, in her own words. This revived the old faculty which was lying dormant and the result is this book which contains verses not merely in praise of the goddess, but of many others, historical and mythological personages and incidents. Though there is nothing very remarkable about this work, the even level of ability that it maintains and the intelligence that it shows, arrest the reader's attention and he feels that he is perusing the work of a really cultured lady, even though belonging to the older generations.

RANA YAJN: Edited by Manjula Ranchhodbhai Majumdar. B.A., LL. B. Printed at the Lathi Steam Printing Press, Baroda. Paper Cover. Pp. 168. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1924).

One of the best poets of old Gujarat, Premnand has written this poem (in S. Y. 1741). It is a short poem, but displays all the reality of Premnand's pen. The incidents are taken from the Yudhikand of the Ramayana and vitalised by the skill of the poet. The editing is of a piece with the original and does not lack anything required to appreciate the poem philologically, sentimentally, historically and in other ways: if anything, it overshoots the mark. It is done with the assiduity of a student and the eye of a scholar, and the effort has succeeded well enough to hearten him for other similar work as the poet's longer poems.

SWARGANU AMRIT (HEAVEN'S NECTAR): By the late Amratlal Sundarji Padhiar. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth Cover. Pp. 266. Price Re. 1-8 (1924).

This is a posthumous publication: it was composed at odd moments by the late Amratlal Padhiar, in the course of peregrinations, but in different *bindoos* or drops are connected by means of one idea, viz., self-introspection. The short essays are written in his usually "Catching Style," and this book adds one more to the number of his valuable publications.

BISMI SARDANI GOOLAMI: By P. V. Mehta and S. P. Shastri. Printed at the Nava Yuga Printing Press, Surat. Paper Cover. Pp. 132. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1924).

"Slavery of our Times" by Tolstoy gives a graphic picture of the state in which our indigenous workers and labourers live. This translation reproduces in simple language what Tolstoy has got to say on the question, and the mechanical and artificial lives which our mill-hands and factory workers have to live emphasizes the problem. The book then deserves to be read.

PRAYASCHITTA: By Ambalal Govindlal Desai. B.A. Printed at the Anand Bandhu Printing Press, Surat. Paper cover. Pp. 48. Price Re. 0-4-0 (1924).

Maurice Maeterlinck's play, 'Sister Beatrice' has been adapted to Indian life in Hindi, and Mr. Desai has rendered it into Gujarati. It is a very short play, and can be finished in five minutes. It shows how an erring soul repents of her moral lapses and is once more received into the bosom of the All Merciful.

K. M. J.

TUBE-WELLS

By RAJSHEKHAR BOSE

TUBE wells are drawing considerable attention just now, and readers of newspapers are being fed up with all sorts of schemes, possible and impossible, for solving the problem of water-supply. The bamboo well, said to cost only five rupees, has just sprouted up; but as the inventor modestly acknowledges that there are still some defects in his system, the thirsty but thrifty public must yet possess their souls in patience.

re-inforced concrete was rot. It seems that a similar calumny awaits that useful but highly technical appliance,—the tube-well.

Most people seem to have the idea that all that is necessary is to insert into the ground, by whatever means, a pipe having a few holes at the bottom wrapped round with wire gauze; and that, greater the depth to which the pipe is sunk, greater will be the output of water; and conversely, for a small

supply, one need not bother to go down much below the ground level. In what follows, an attempt will be made to show how much of the popular conception is correct and what the essentials of a workable tube-well are.

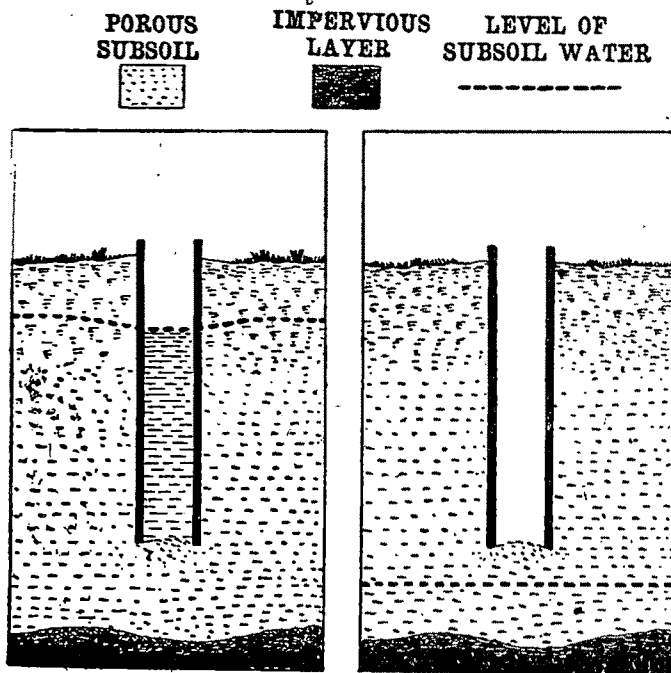


Fig. 1

Fig. 2

WELLS DEPENDING ON SUBSOIL WATER;

Fig. 1 shows the condition during the rains
 Fig. 2 shows the well depleted in the dry season

Every new invention has the risk of degenerating into a fad and thereby coming into disrepute. There was an enthusiastic amateur who having learnt that re-inforced concrete is the latest thing, built his roof by stretching a tangle of wire from wall to wall and dumping concrete thereupon. The roof of course gave way. The enthusiast became a pessimist and assured his friends that

altogether in places where the retentive capacity of the soil is small. (Fig. 1 & 2). The range through which the level of subsoil water fluctuates varies widely in different parts of Bengal, even within a few miles. It may be 5 to 30 feet in some locality and 10 to 100 feet in another. All ordinary wells show this fluctuation in varying degrees.

BELOW SUBSOIL : Below the impervious

lining at the bottom of the subsoil water, occur various strata of different degrees of porosity. Some of these lower strata consist of vast beds of sand permeated with water. Such water is often very different in quality from the upper subsoil water. Geologists are not quite agreed as to the origin of these waters occurring at great depths. They may be pre-historic rivers once flowing over the surface and now buried under deposits of silt, but still pursuing a sluggish course through beds of sand. They may be getting their supply through an underground connection with some existing river or a far-off catchment basin. Whatever the explanation, the fact is, that water, and often plenty of it, occurs at various depths below subsoil. (Fig. 3). The quantity of water available from

cheapest type and consists of a pipe, 1 to 1½ inch in bore, having a number of holes at the lower end over a length of 3 or 4 feet which is wrapped round with wire gauze, and terminating in a solid conical foot. The pipe is pushed down into the earth by means of blows from a 'monkey' or heavy weight suspended from shearlegs just as a pile is driven. (Fig. 4). Lengths of pipe are screwed on, piece by piece, and driven down until the whole appliance reaches down to the desired depth, generally 20 to 30 feet, where the perforated end of the pipe is expected to reach a suitable water-bearing stratum. It will be seen that the well-sinker has no means of ascertaining the nature of the strata passed through. All that he can do is to feel for water during the process of sink-

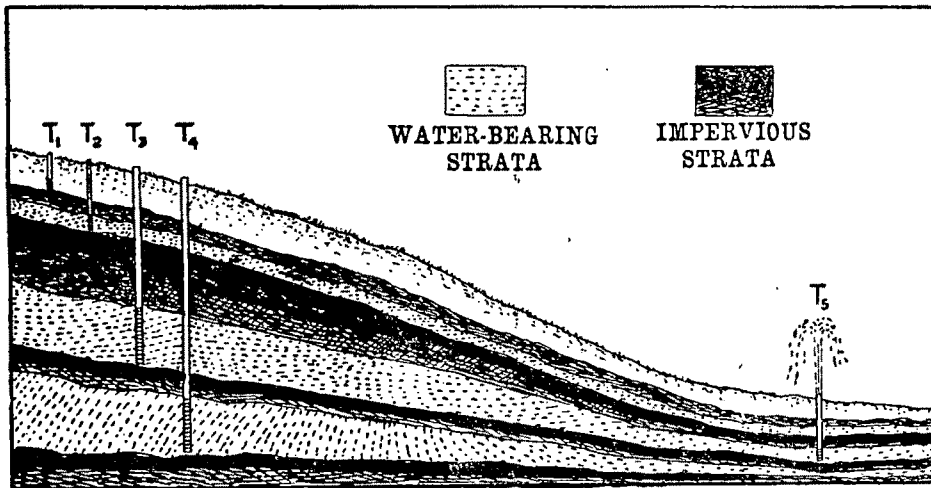


Fig. 3

OCCURRENCE OF WATER-BEARING STRATA

T₁ is a shallow tube well drawing subsoil water. T₂ T₃ T₄ are deep wells drawing water from different strata. T₅ is an artesian well

some of these low-lying strata is to all appearances inexhaustible; and the level to which such water will rise when tapped out from its underground prison is often very much higher than that of the subsoil water in the same locality. In certain favoured regions, the water may gush up like a fountain and form an artesian well. Such a phenomenon is possible when the stratum that is tapped has its outlying portions at elevated levels and holds water under pressure like a water-main. It is however too much to expect that any tube-well in the plains of Bengal will behave so obligingly.

Now about tube-wells :—

THE ABYSSINIAN WELL:—This is the

ing. This he generally tries to do by dipping every now and then, a thin pipe through the well-pipe and noticing whether the end of the feeler pipe gets wet. When water is supposed to be struck, a small hand pump is attached to the top-end of the well-pipe and the tube-well is ready. If the bottom of the tube-well reaches a water-bearing layer with sand-grains or gravel coarser than the mesh of the wire gauze, things go on well. If water be scanty, the pump gives out a dribble which ultimately ceases altogether. If the sand be fine or mixed with clay, the gauze offers no protection and gradually the well becomes choked. During the driving process, the wire gauze may get torn by

tion an event which is only discovered too late. The strainer, i.e., the perforated end-piece is the weakest portion of the tube-well and very often gives way under the heavy blows and enormous friction encountered during the sinking process. The pipe sockets may also burst. If the foot strikes a rock or impervious clay, the well is a failure. The Abyssinian well is thus a hit or miss

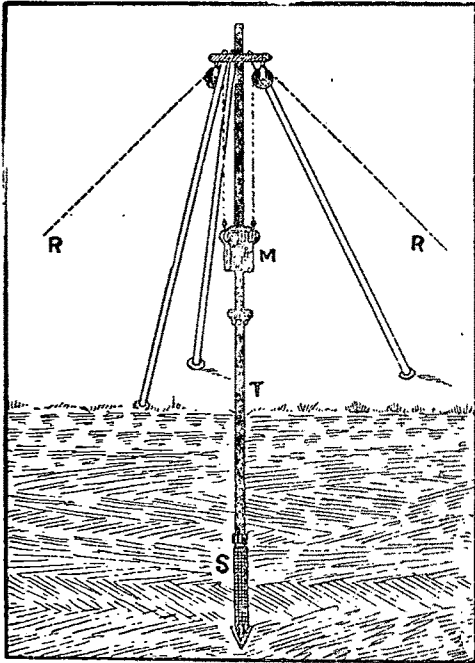


Fig. 4

METHOD OF SINKING THE ABYSSINIAN WELL
R Driving ropes ; M monkey ;
T tube-well ; S strainer.

affair with a large element of uncertainty. It cannot be driven very deep and relies for its supply on the subsoil water only. Such water is generally contaminated and likely to fail during the dry season. It is however not intended to discourage the sinking of this type of well. It often gives good results, is cheap and may be installed with fair expectations in places where such wells have already been found to work satisfactorily. But it is well to remember its limitations and fickle nature.

BORING BY SLUDGER:—To get positive results from a tube-well, one must know by actual inspection the various strata passed through. This is only possible by boring and examining the samples of strata withdrawn. There are various methods of doing

this, one of the commonest being drilling or dredging within the tube of the well. As in all systems, the tube-well is made in sections, the lowest section consisting of the strainer. A hole is first dug and the strainer section is fixed into it, the bottom of the strainer remaining open. In the case of soft strata like clay or sand, boring is conducted by means of a 'sludger' attached to a rope passing over a pulley suspended from a derrick or shearlegs (Fig. 5.)

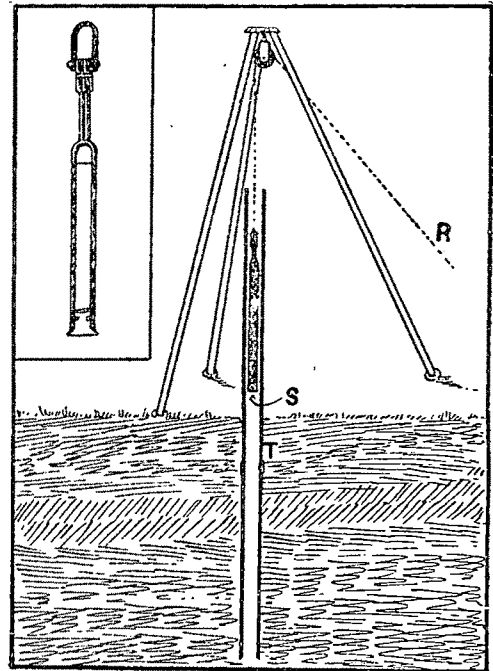


Fig. 5

METHOD OF BORING BY SLUDGER
R driving rope ; S sludger ; T tube-well
inset : enlarged view of the sludger.

The sludger is a heavy hollow cylindrical chisel and is worked by alternately pulling the rope and letting it go. By repeated blows, the strata underneath the tube is cut through and the detritus is caught into the hollow of the sludger and prevented from falling off by a sort of valve. At intervals the sludger is hauled up and the samples of strata withdrawn and inspected. Various kinds of cutting tools are used for breaking up different strata and water is often poured through the tube to soften hard material. The tube is gradually forced down into the hole underneath by means of loads or jack screws. Progress is necessarily slow under

this system and a great deal of perseverance is required in tackling obstinate strata and remedying breakdowns.

BORING BY WATER-JET: Recently a new system has been introduced which is particularly suitable for alluvial strata occurring in most parts of Bengal. Boring is conducted by means of a cutter attached to the end of a hollow shaft which is inserted within the tube-well and rotated like a drill. The hollow shaft is connected with a pump and a powerful jet of water is brought to bear upon the strata occurring underneath the cutter. The jet of water combined with the action of the cutter, rapidly bores a hole and the detritus is automatically discharged up the annular space around the cutter shaft. Progress is very quick, and a 200 feet bore can often be finished within two or three days. (Fig. 6).

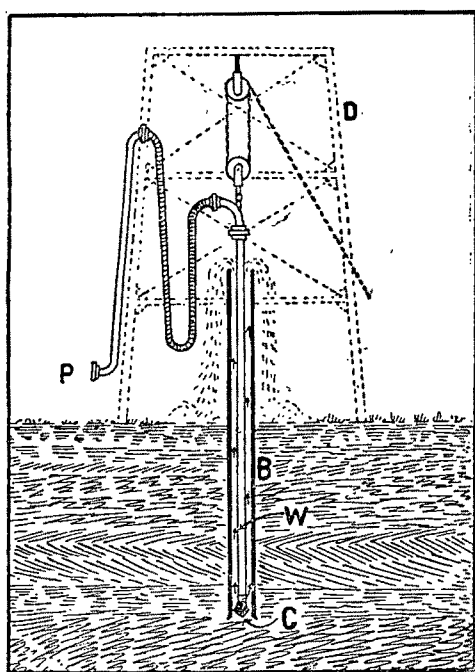


fig. 6

METHOD OF BORING BY WATER-JET
D Derrick; C cutter; W hollow shaft of cutter
through which water is forced; B tube well.
P connection with pump

It will be seen that in the system described above, boring is conducted within the pipe forming the tube well. The strainer section is sunk first and further lengths of pipe are screwed on as the bore progresses. When the necessary depth has been reached

the cutter shaft is withdrawn and a plug is let down to close the bottom of the well to prevent uprush of sand. It will be evident that in such systems there is the same risk of damaging the strainer as in the Abyssinian system. The friction that the strainer has to overcome in forcing its way through sand is enormous, and accidents are frequent. The strainer cannot be made as long as may be desired. It is after all a perforated piece of pipe, and its weakness increases with its length. The size of the strainer has therefore to be greatly restricted and its filtering capacity sacrificed for the sake of rigidity. Such a tube-well however carefully laid can never take full advantage of the water-bearing stratum.

IMPROVED METHODS: In order to get best results, boring must be conducted within a separate tube, larger in diameter than the tube well. The boring tubes are sunk section by section and an accurate record is kept of the location of the samples of strata dredged out. The expert well-sinker should be able to visualise the exact condition occurring underground. He rejects layer after layer of undesirable strata until he arrives at a bed of coarse sand or gravel permeated with water and cut off from contaminated surface water by a thick partition of impervious material. He then gently lowers the tube-well fitted with a strainer of suitable length often 40 feet or more, within the bore and finally draws up the boring tube, taking care to seal the gap left by the latter. (Fig. 7). It will be evident that under this system there is no risk of damaging the strainer or the joints of the well-pipes. The strainer need not be restricted in length. If a single stratum be not deep enough for the requisite water supply, water may be tapped from several strata and the intervening clay beds may be locked out by introducing plain pipes between the lengths of strainer pipe at the points where the clay beds occur.

THE STRAINER AND CRITICAL VELOCITY: Next to the selection of a proper water-bearing stratum, the design of the strainer is of the greatest importance. It must offer free passage to water and yet exclude sand, and its dimensions must be correctly proportioned to the rate at which water is to be pumped out. It must be remembered that the real filtering medium is the sand outside the strainer, and the latter should be so designed that the sand grains are not disturbed and sucked in when water is pumped. When water flows slowly through a bed of sand, there is no disturbance. But

if the water exceeds a certain velocity, it carries sand grains bodily with it. This velocity at which disturbance commences is known as the 'critical velocity' and it varies according to the texture of the sand. In designing the strainer for a tube well of a required output, it is of great importance to give proper consideration to critical velocity.

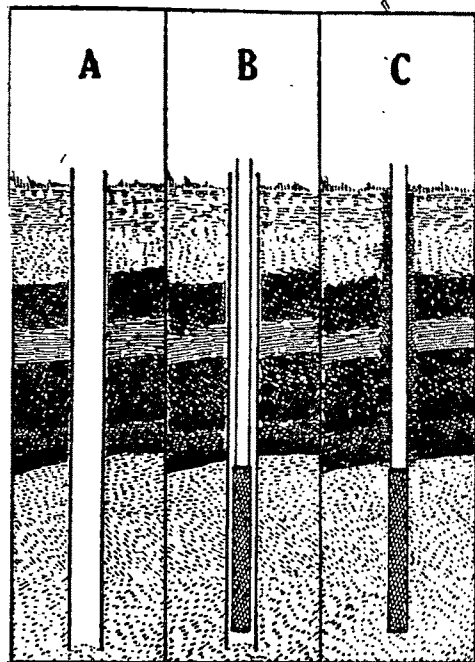


Fig. 7

METHOD OF SETTING A TUBE-WELL WITHIN A BORE

A The boring pipe sunk to the desired depth.
B the tube-well inserted within the boring pipe.
C The boring pipe withdrawn and the gap around the tube-well sealed up.

We shall try to make this clear by an example.

Suppose it is determined by experiment that the critical velocity of a water-bearing stratum is $\frac{1}{2}$ inch per second, i.e., 150 feet per hour. This means that if water be drawn out beyond this rate, the sand grains will be disturbed and move along with the water. Now suppose that a tube well is sunk within such a stratum and the strainer is 3 inches in diameter and 10 feet in length. The strainer therefore presents a surface of $\pi \times 3$ inch \times 10 feet or roughly 8 square feet. But the whole of this surface is not open to water. Suppose the perforations in the strainer amount to 2 square feet only. To keep within the critical velocity, water must

not be drawn through this surface beyond the rate of 150 feet per hour. Therefore the highest rate at which water can be pumped with safety through the strainer is 2 square feet \times 150 feet or 300 cubic feet per hour, or roughly, 1860 gallons per hour. If such a well be wrongly regarded as adequate for 3000 gallons per hour and worked at that rate, the strainer will certainly give way and sand grains will be forcibly drawn in, resulting in choking. The failure of many tube-wells is due to such inadequate design of the strainer.

LIFE OF A TUBE-WELL: Tube-wells are of comparatively recent origin and it is impossible to predict their life with certainty. A great deal depends on the selection of proper water-bearing stratum and the correct design of the well. Failure may be due to the depletion of the underground supply of water, natural corrosion of the strainer or the pipes and also due to some initial defect. Several deep tube-wells sunk in the neighbourhood of Calcutta have been working for over ten years without any loss in efficiency. It may be safely assumed that a tube well sunk under the best conditions will give at least twenty years' satisfactory service.

PURITY OF WATER: The water yielded by deep tube-wells is remarkably free from bacteria. This cannot be said of shallow tube-wells of the Abyssinian type. The essential condition for bacteriological purity is, that polluted surface water should find no access to the strainer of the well. This is ensured when a thick layer of hard clay or other impervious material intervenes between the upper porous layers and the stratum from which water is drawn. It is also necessary to set the tube-well in such a manner that no crevices are left along its sides through which surface water may trickle down. In localities where a continuous layer of porous material extends to great depths, contamination can be avoided by sinking the well low enough, so that even surface water may be filtered in passing through deep layers of sand.

The chemical purity of water varies according to locality, often widely within a few miles. Water drawn from a depth of 200 to 300 feet in the south of Calcutta is distinctly inferior to that in the northern parts. Many tube-wells in the northern parts of 24 Parganas, Nadia and North Bengal yield water that is chemically purer than Calcutta filtered water.

CONCLUSION: The alluvial plains of Bengal are particularly adapted for sinking

tube-wells. Considerable prejudice has unfortunately been created owing to the unreliability of Abyssinian and other badly designed tube-wells, and it is time for the public to learn the broad principles so as to be able to discriminate. The tube-well is essentially an expert's job and does not admit of dabbling if best results are to be obtained. Properly designed and sunk, it offers the easiest and cheapest solution of the water problem of municipalities and industrial concerns. A 5-inch well generally yields over 6000 gallons per hour. Two such wells should be quite sufficient for the water works of a small municipality consuming say 100,000 gallons daily, and will cost much less than the usual system of pumping water from a river and filtering same before distribution. A single 2½ inch well yielding over 3000 gallons per hour will meet the needs of many small towns. Still smaller wells, 1¼ or 1½ inch, with hand pumps, are very suitable for domestic purpose and

for municipalities which cannot afford the expense of a central distributory system. Such wells, deep sunk, are quite as reliable as the bigger ones and yield 500 to 1000 gallons per hour. They cost a little more than *pat-kwas* or small ordinary wells with earthenware curbs, but are considerably cheaper than *indaras* or brickwork wells and give a purer supply which is also much less subject to seasonal variation.

A tube-well, properly sunk, needs no repair. In the case of small tube-wells, the only item likely to frighten the public is the hand pump which has a knack of getting out of order quite frequently. But the unreliability of the pump will disappear when it comes more into use and when people become more familiar with its simple working principle. The bicycle and the sewing machine have been mastered by the villager, and the hand pump is surely not a more difficult machine to manage.

WHAT HAPPENED AT GENEVA

By C. F. ANDREWS

THE Geneva Opium Conference at which delegates from the different Powers assembled as plenipotentiaries to settle the world opium question, is an event of such importance that the contemporary records of eye-witnesses may have an historical value in the future. The United States delegation rightly stated that the Opium Conference would be the acid test as to whether the League of Nations could function as a moral force in the world or not. Though I was not actually able to be present, I have been in closest touch with many of those who went there. Some letters, which I have received, give a vivid picture of the proceedings and I shall venture to publish them as they stand. The first two letters are from Mr. Horace Alexander, the son of the late Mr. Alexander, who visited India at the time of the Royal Commission in 1895 and complained of obstruction and espionage on the part of Government officials which prevented him from doing his duty. The

three letters which follow later on are from Miss La Motte, who has published two books on the subject.

(Letters from Mr. Alexander)

November 18, 1924.

"I was very glad to get your letter just before I left England together with the parcel of Assam Reports. Only a day or two before receiving them I had been appointed, unexpectedly and suddenly, by the Society of Friends to come here on their behalf, so your letter seemed to be a confirmation of my conviction that it might be right to come.

"I am afraid the results of these Conferences are likely to be desperately disappointing. I hope to enclose with this a short account of what has happened so far in case you like to use it in 'Young India,' which Tarini Sinha tells me you are editing at present, or elsewhere.

"I wish it had been possible for you to send a representative of the real India to Geneva: I wish too, that I had a message direct from Mr. Gandhi to deliver here. But these are vain wishes: it is too late! We ought to have thought of these things sooner.

"At the end of this week, an opportunity is to be given to the private societies to make statement;

perhaps I can say something. I am not sure if I shall have the opportunity. But if it comes, I hope to be able to say, in love, the things that need saying.

November 26, 1924.

"After I had written to you, I realised that it might not be too late, after all, for a message from Mr. Gandhi. So I sent you a telegram asking for a message. The reply reached me, while I was sitting in the Conference-house, waiting for my turn to make a statement to the Conference; and when my opportunity came an hour later, I was able to read the telegram. It seemed to make a deep impression on the Conference; and it has been fairly well reported in the press. Mr. Dukes on the same afternoon made a statement and presented the petition brought to Europe by Dr. Tagore. So I think the real desire of India was made clear to the Conference.

"I left the Conference after the preliminary business and the general discussion were concluded. I felt more hopeful by the end of the week than at the beginning. All the Asiatic representatives had declared themselves ready for strong action.—Dr. Sze for China, M. Sugimura for Japan, the Persian, Turkish and Egyptian representatives; the last two wanted *hashish* dealt with too. One of the most impressive statements was made by Dr. J. Z. Koo, on behalf of the Shanghai Anti-Opium Society. He told the Conference how the student-clubs all over China, and other organised groups, are undertaking a campaign throughout the country, to find out exactly how much opium is being grown, and to root it out. This, and the information that the whole subject is to be discussed at the forthcoming Chinese Peace Conference will take something of the sting out of Mr. Campbell's contention that, so long as China's promises are mere 'scraps of paper', it is futile for other countries to talk about reducing production. The Americans, of course, are taking a strong line, and Bishop Brent's speech raised the whole tone of the Conference; he was followed by a moving little speech from an elderly German, and a sound speech by a Czech; then, next day, a number of other delegates declared themselves willing to 'sign anything', and perhaps the best speech of the morning came from Sir Malcolm Delevingne, whose emphasis on the importance of reducing production was very valuable. John Campbell later made a clever pronouncement, very brief, in which he seemed to associate himself with Delevingne, but really only committed himself to the proposals of the Advisory Committee, which hardly touch the question of production. Then came the private societies, after that a day of committee, and then I had to leave. An ominous silence was preserved by the representatives of France, of Holland, of Yugoslavia, of Peru and Bolivia. If all these states, with interests involved, refuse to accept an effective agreement, I fear the Conference is doomed. But at present there is still hope. You will know more by the time you get this.

"— was able to circulate the Assam Report, and I saw that some of the delegates were reading it."

(Letters from Miss La Motte)

November 23, 1924.

"Well, the petition has been presented, as you

may have seen by the papers, and a fine stir it caused, too! It seemed better, since there was no Indian here at Geneva at all, to have it presented by a British subject; so Mr. Dukes gave it in with an exceedingly good little speech. That, and a telegram from Mahatma Gandhi, read out by a Quaker, named Mr. Alexander made the hits of the afternoon! The Paris 'Tribune,' of November 21st, carried out a column of news on the Conference; but the London 'Times' of the same date made no mention of it at all! Just a brief note, two inches long, that a meeting of the second Conference had been held! But the English papers are waking up a little, though not much. That was a big day, when all the private associations had a hearing. And when the Indian petition was read out, and Campbell rose in protest, it was pretty thrilling."

15th December, 1924.

"I was very glad indeed to get your letter a day or two ago, and hasten to answer it and to tell you what I can of what is going on here. First, let me say that I am sending you under separate cover, the minutes of the first 16 meetings of the First Conference, and those of the first four meetings of the Second. You will get some idea of it from those. The rest are not yet issued but they shall go along too, as fast as they appear. You will note a long gap, nearly a week, during which the First Conference held no open meetings—all done behind closed doors, in the dark. The wretched little Treaty they evolved (no one seemed to have any idea that they were going to make some formal agreement) and Bishop Brent's comment on it, I am also sending. If these don't reach you, I will send a second lot.

"This First Conference was to deal with smoking,—to fix annual requirements, and to set a time-limit as to when the use of prepared opium, 'temporarily' continued, was at last to end. They carefully avoid this issue. Anything weaker, or more evasive, it would be hard to find. Of all the countries, Japan alone offered an excellent programme for ending opium, and seems to be in dead earnest. China, of course, was eager to end it; but China was left outside the discussions which concerned the smoking in countries where smoking is permitted, as in the Far Eastern colonies of the European powers. Japan has been splendid all along,—the curious thing was to see the East lined up against the West, and poor China pleading for protection for her people when they entered any of these European colonies. I will try to get another copy of the Japanese plan,—it was terribly disconcerting to the Europeans to have Japan propose a perfectly feasible scheme and, moreover, show how well it has worked in Formosa.

"The First Conference about ended the day before the 2nd Conference began. Judge of the amazement when the U. S. delegation discovered that the American terms were not to be included in the agenda. Our proposals, which we thought we had been invited to discuss, were that opium should be limited to the medical needs of the world and that all other use was an abuse and not legitimate. Campbell stepped neatly aside and said that India had made her reservation as to that in May, 1923, and that that reservation stood and was not to be tampered with. The "opium bloc," i.e. Great Britain, France, Holland,

Portugal, with a few countries such as Switzerland, have been fighting us right straight along. Porter insists that as the First Conference has failed to limit smoking, or to set any time-limit, etc., this must be included, if any estimates are to be arrived at as to the probable needs of the world. The Conference cannot do any work, till that is settled. We have already had several big fights, and are to have a big one to-morrow, which will either see the Conference blown up, or it will see the "opium bloc" give in. By give in, I simply mean, admit that our terms do form a part of the agenda and must be considered in the plan to form proper methods to end the opium evil. It will be an exciting day. Our country simply cannot give way,—we are not allowed to. Our Congress passed a resolution, saying that we must make no compromise, or as Porter told them all at plenary session two days ago, we cannot recognize one law for the East and one for the West.

"Here is an odd thing. Campbell signed that first Conference convention a week ago, and then left for London. He seems to have been—well, don't know—he says he is going back to Greece.

Mr. Walton has taken his place, along with Mr. Layton. Well, the rest of the "opium bloc" were here, signed this thing on the 13th, at six p.m. They were all there, to see it happen. And when they came into the room, Sir Malcolm Delevigne told me he had just received a telegram from the Council at Rome, to postpone signing! The French delegate said he too had had "instructions." So it is all over in two minutes, and nothing was done. Pressure was obviously coming from some quarter. The best of it is, that they had no instructions in the morning, and all during that morning session had been committing themselves only and thoroughly in opposition to the American plan; and the morning session had ended in a deadlock. Yet here, at the eleventh hour, they gave up signing this treaty which would have received any possible consideration of the American members.

"This much has happened: the opposition has gone right straight out into the open for all to see. Our newspapers are carrying simply columns about this Conference, and all the fights and efforts to block progress. And the opposition has narrowed down to about eight countries alone of the 40 represented here. The London press is practically silent. Not one word about that big fight from India, which you signed, together with Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Dukes presented that, and it came so much better from an Englishman. Not a word either (in the London press) about that

telegram from Gandhi, read out by Mr. Alexander. But our papers made a tremendous lot of it, and our papers are reaching England by this time. Moreover, a lot of us have good friends in England,—not very enthusiastic about opium unfortunately, but who are certainly anxious for Anglo-American relations to be good, and who also have no desire to see the League go to pieces over a "humanitarian" issue. I imagine a lot of pressure comes from those two angles.

"So, to-morrow will be a decisive day. If the opposition gives way, then the Conference will adjourn for a couple of weeks. We are all simply worn out, with nearly six weeks of strain, tension and distress. But if the opposition does not give way, if it decides that reduction of production is not a suitable item for the agenda, then we will just go home. But I don't think they will allow that to happen.

"Geneva is the worst place that could have been selected. About half a dozen people, such as myself, took the trouble to come here. No audience for all these discussions, no public opinion to form its own ideas of the situation, no press, (except the American journalists who have been sent here) to enlighten the outside world. Yet somehow, not at the moment but later, a very big publicity will result. If only this had been held in London, such a deadlock would not have occurred. I will send you a line to-morrow to tell you what has happened. And anything about Assam will be welcome."

—20th, December, 1924

"I promised to send you a line as to what the fate of the Conference was to be,—either it would break up, or adjourn. It did the latter, on December 17th, to reconvene the 12th of January. At that first meeting, after we come back again, the American proposals to consider opium smoking is the first thing on the agenda. We should never have had to insist on this and make such a point of it, if the First Conference had not avoided this issue. We hope that much will happen in these three weeks of reflection. Heaven knows what will happen, however, as the opposition seems so strong and deeply entrenched. The opium question is so vast and complicated that with the best will in the world, with whole-hearted and sincere international co-operation, it will be difficult to solve. But with obstructionist tactics at work on every phase, it is almost impossible.

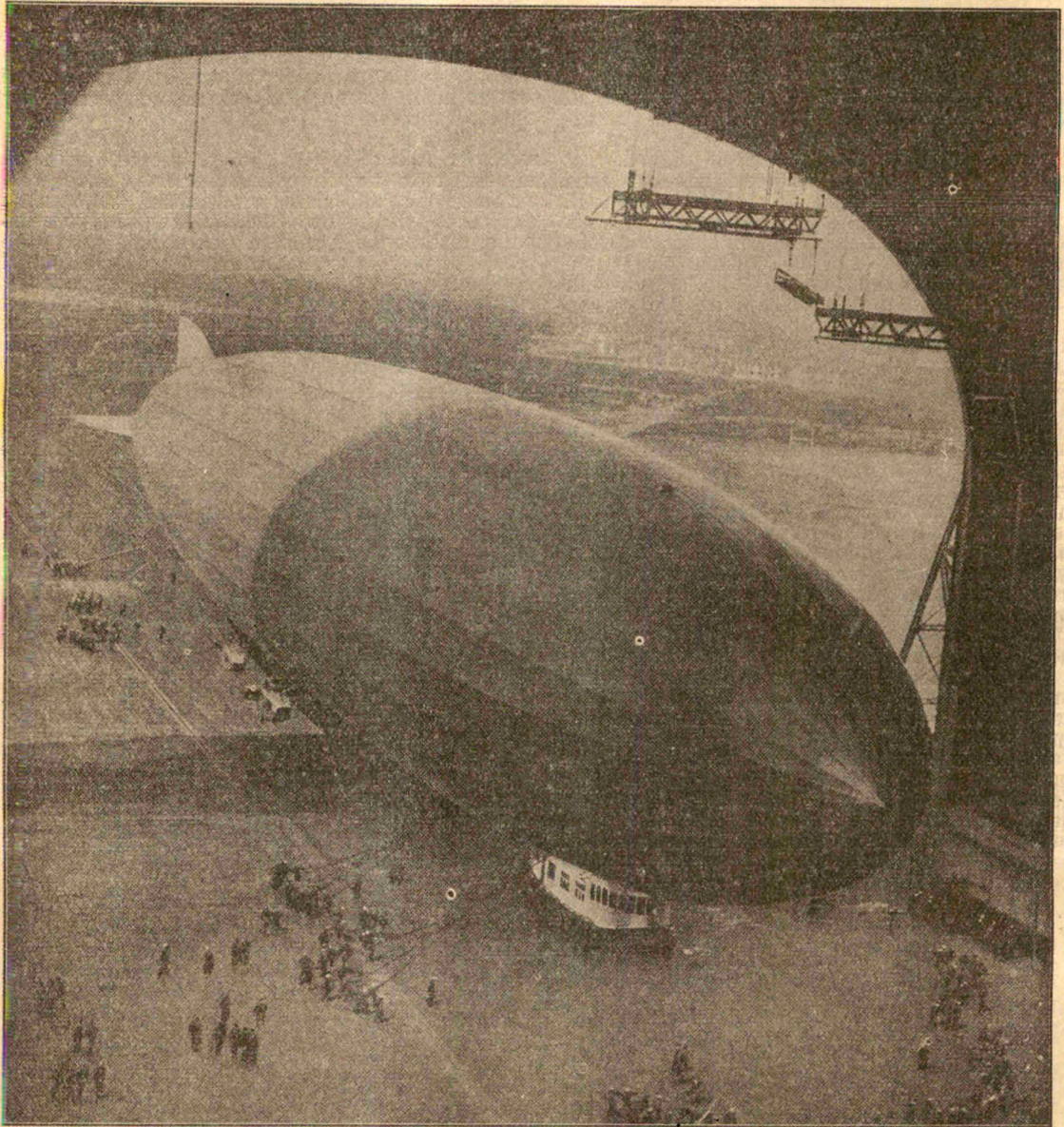
"I enclose the Fifth Plenary Meeting record,—the first four I sent from Geneva. As fast as the rest are published you shall have them too."

GLEANINGS

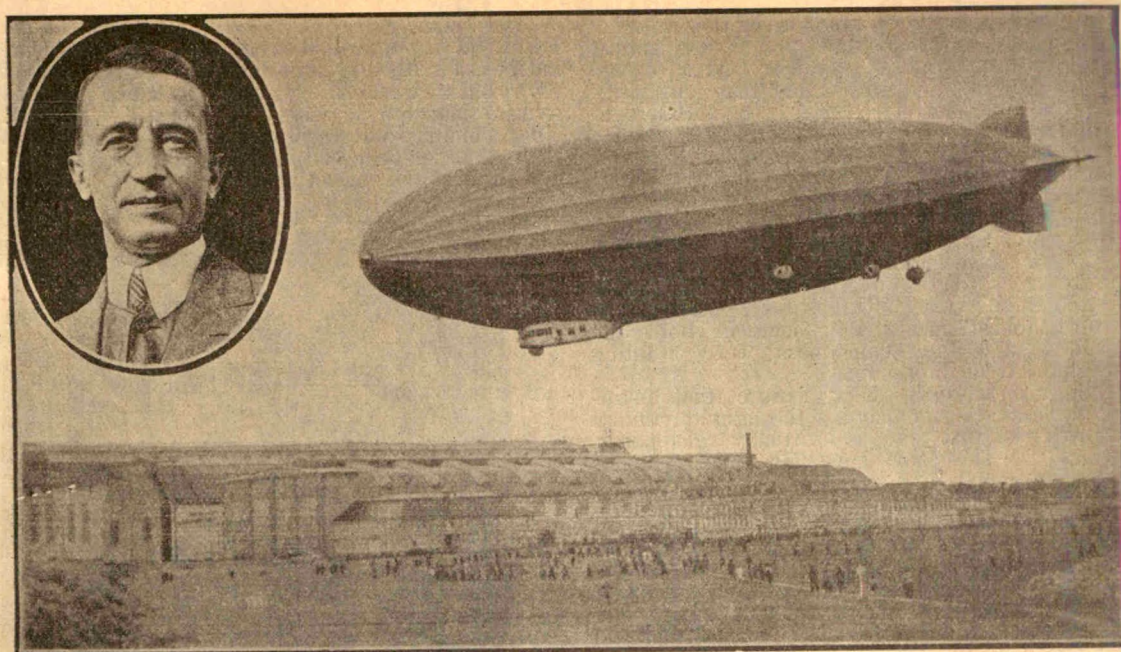
The Real Marvel of the ZR-3

ZR-3 is the largest dirigible to attempt a transatlantic flight. Tales of the tests and the flights of the big airship have been told and retold, but

the story of the real miracle of the ZR-3, the *Shenandoah*, and other dirigibles is new to most folks. That is the story of duralumin, the marvelous metal of the twentieth century—the metal invented especially for airships.



ZR-3. This photograph shows the end of the greatest voyage in air travel. Here the airship is warped into her hangar at Lakehurst, N. J. (U. S. A.) after completing her 5000 mile voyage. The ZR-3 is 663.20 ft. long and she can attain a speed of 75 miles an hour.



ZR-3 starting from Friedrichshafen, Germany on her 5000 mile voyage. The crowd below burst into tears when the ZR-3 vanished in the sky. Inset—An American flight-officer.

It is a remarkable partnership, this between the airship and duralumin. If it were not for the airship, duralumin probably would not have been formulated; if it were not for duralumin, there would be no transatlantic or crosscontinent flights by dirigibles. The airship requires strength and lightness for its ribs and hull. Wood, while light, isn't strong enough. It won't stand the stress. Steel is strong enough, but too heavy. Duralumin is stronger than wood and much lighter than steel, in fact, about one-third the weight of the latter. So light and so strong is it that you can pick up with two fingers a girder of it that will support six men.

Duralumin is an alloy of copper, manganese and magnesium, with about 94 per cent of aluminum. In "strength-weight" efficiency, that is, in strength and lightness, it is 17 per cent greater than a good alloy steel and nearly three times better than mild steel or half hard aluminum. It was first made by Alfred Wilm in Germany in the development of Zeppelin airships, but is now being made in England and the United States.

Engineers talk among themselves of a Duralumin Age. They speak of vast quantities of fuel saved by lighter engines, trains and motors; of buildings dizzily high; of mechanical wizardry in manufacture; of a world unshackled from ponderous iron and steel.

Statistics of one of the new duralumin-framed air mammoths are illuminating. Take the ZR-3. Figures for her gas capacity reached 2,500,000 cubic feet. A ship of a size holding the immense volume of 10,000,000 cubic feet is contemplated. The latter will no doubt be the standard commercial liner of the very near future.

Five 400-horsepower motors give a speed of 75 miles an hour to the ZR-3. A load of nearly

100,000 pounds can be lifted. This means at least 20 passengers besides crew and personal baggage. Something like 12 tons of profit-paying express can be added.

The fearlessness of the men who prepared the ZR-3 for her Atlantic voyage was well advertised. And justly so, too. For acute interest lay in the perils she faced that were unavoidable in her particular case. The North Atlantic is never entirely free from storms in the autumn. Moreover, while her diameter was greater than either that of the *Shenandoah* or the ill-fated R-32, engineers are not yet wholly sure what dimensions are safest. The R-32 was lost and the *Shenandoah* and R-34 suffered much from the wrenching blows of high winds and from the violent bending forces induced by sharp course changes.

Then there were the specific disasters that make us shudder to recall them. France's reputation Zeppelin, the *Dixmude*, originally built to bomb New York, was struck by lightning. The British R-32, built to be our ZR-2, broke in half and burnt up on her trials. The Italian *Roma*, built for our army, was ignited by high tension wires at Norfolk and cremated both herself and crew.

A list of horrors, to be sure; yet study of them reveals that the tragedy in each no longer would be possible. Neither the *Roma*, *Dixmude*, nor R-32 could have burned had they been inflated with helium. For the most energetic efforts of our best chemists have so far failed to set fire to this strangely inert gas. Not only that, but helium is a non-comburent; that is to say, it does not tolerate fire in its vicinity; it is a fire extinguisher.

Duralumin is the most important single factor in bringing about the triumph of commercial airships, but there are other points in my conviction that they have come to stay. One

is the anchorage now afforded by the mooring masts, which can hold and protect the largest dirigible in any kind of weather and offer safe haven to the air-liners in winds that ordinarily would keep them out of hangars. In addition to the safety element, the cost of a mooring mast—\$30,000, as against \$500,000 for a hangar—is a big argument for the operation of air-liners from a commercial view-point.

But mooring masts would have been of no use had not the dirigible been rugged enough to withstand the wind and rain. Nor would helium have stood for great progress over hydrogen had not its frail goldbeater's skin containers been housed in a structure almost incalculably staunch. Both the ruggedness and the staunchness were wanting before the day of duralumin.

Another unexcelled safety feature that distinguishes the air cruiser that has the light duralumin framework is that she is virtually *unsinkable*. She has 20—she may have 50—small balloons inside her metal hull. Each of the balloons is filled with gas and is independent of all the others. Each constitutes a lifting unit. Each can form an aerial raft in case of shipwreck. Each can be controlled by valving so that survivors clinging to it can drift landward safely. Each is individually inspected, tested, filled, and lashed in place before the journey.

Definite plans are being formulated for linking the nations of the world by commercial dirigibles—plans that include regular airship services between nations of Europe, America, Asia, and Africa. France intends to use the airship in developing her African colonies. Spain is contemplating weekly four-day flights between Seville and Buenos Aires. England is talking of an airship line to India and the Far East. For all such projects, of course, dirigibles twice as large as the ZR-3 would be required.

There is sure to be almost an immediate demand for the "excursion air-liner." There is a passionate wander-lust in all of us that thirst for a view of strange lands.

Special Red Cross dirigibles no doubt will be equipped for rescue work in floods and forest fires. Real estate business will take a new start. Larger and more beautiful suburbs will be planned and built. Aerial therapeutics for tuberculosis and other special disorders no doubt will be developed.

But let us not forget that the natural laws of aeronautics always have existed; that elements of such worth as helium surrounded Caesar. Not until the ingenuity of a chemist alive today added the final necessary touch was man master. That touch was *duralumin*, wonder metal of the age.

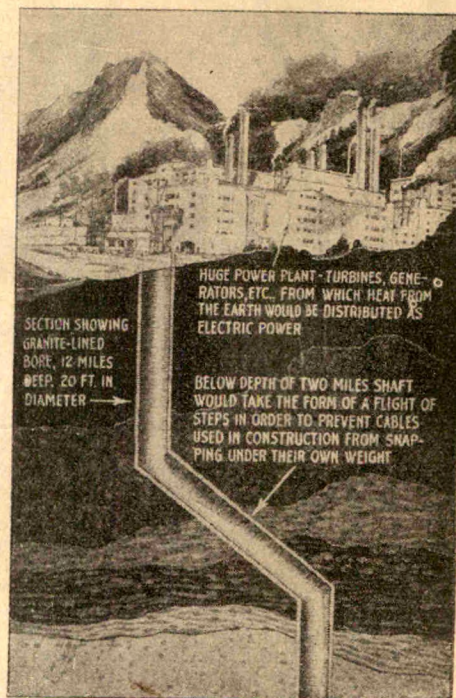
Endless Power

Wanted: \$100,000,000 to assure mankind of all the heat and power that will be required until the end of time!

If you were to read somewhere an advertisement worded substantially as the above, your curiosity undoubtedly would be piqued.

And yet this amazing suggestion is made by one of the world's foremost men.

This man is Sir Charles A. Parsons, K.C.B., F.R.S., the noted British scientist to whom we are indebted for the present-day widespread use of the steam turbine. The way in which he proposed to make man forever independent of coal, oil, and other similar sources of power is by sinking a shaft 12 miles deep and drawing out the tremendous heat of the earth's interior.



The drawing shows diagrammatically how Sir Charles proposes to sink his 12-miles shaft and to use the earth's interior heat to develop electric power.

It was almost 20 years ago that Sir Charles first brought to the attention of science the possibility of utilizing the earth's interior heat for the development of power. At the time the suggestion was regarded as an interesting scientific speculation. Hundreds of scientists since then have discussed the proposal and studied it from a theoretical standpoint. Meanwhile, though, Sir Charles quietly experimented, until now he has been able to announce that it is thoroughly practicable from an engineering point of view, and that the only bar to beginning work immediately is the money necessary to finance the project—\$100,000,000.

His shaft, he said, would be 20 feet in diameter and lined with granite, for experiments had shown that such a shaft would not cave in. The shaft would not be one continuous straight tube for the 12 miles of its depth, but would be sunk to successive levels as the shafts of deep mines now are sunk. Thus it would be in effect like a flight of stairs.

For two miles or so ordinary engineering methods would suffice. Then the fierce heat and the

tremendous strain that would be placed on the cables used in hoisting materials to the surface, would require extraordinary methods. It would be necessary to pump out the heat and to utilize special cooling devices to prevent the melting of the boring tools. It would be necessary to run the shaft horizontally, or at least at an angle, for a time to avoid the possibility of the cables snapping from their own weight.

Geologists could point out to us the best place to sink our shaft if we had the money to finance the undertaking. That much they have learned about our earth from the study of earthquake waves.

Twelve miles is not a long distance. A locomotive,

science. Herewith is shown a complete street-sweeping and -washing unit that may be operated by one man, the driver of the truck. This mechanical cleaner consists of a street-sweeper, gutter broom, and sprinkling device. It will wash and sweep the street and gutter at one operation, picking up the dirt as it travels.

The gutter broom, made of sectional steel wire, automatically follows the curb line, working in and out with any variations that occur, throwing the refuse from the gutter into the path of the main broom located across the truck at the rear. This deposits the sweepings in the large dust hopper above. Both brushes are quickly raised when the truck is going to and from its work.

Three Persons Ride on Tandem Bicycle

A German inventor has come out with a new form of tandem bicycle that carries an extra person on a platform between the two machines. The contrivance, called a "combi-bicycle," consists of two bicycles attached in parallel, with a platform and seat suspended between them. This platform is slung from a light frame connecting the two bicycles.

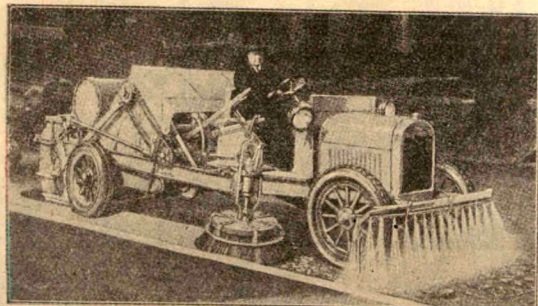
The pedaling is done by both riders, and the front wheels are connected in tandem so that if the machine is operated by only one driver, the steering may be done as if there were only one wheel.

[A terrific blast of natural steam from inside the earth at Healdsburg, Calif. where engineers have tapped a great natural steam boiler laying beneath 4000 acres of volcanic land. When fully harnessed, they say, it will be sufficient to light and heat San Francisco, 75 miles away, and run every factory near by.]

an airplane or a good automobile can traverse it without strain in as many minutes. But drills biting into the crust of the earth would require at least half a century before they had penetrated to a depth of 12 miles! Were the work to begin today, men would be awaiting the dawn of the twenty-first century before it could be completed!

One-Man Machine Sweeps and Washes Streets

Street-Cleaning has now come under the eye of



The one man sweeping and washing machine



Tandem Bicycle Riders with a Passenger

They Once Lived in Your Backyard



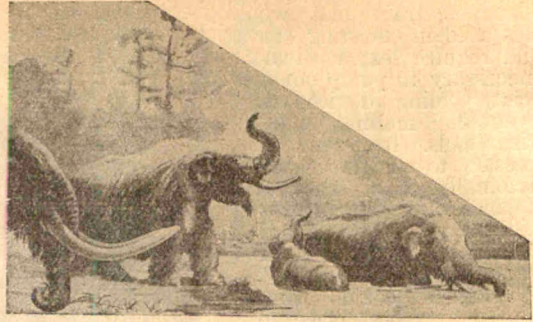
Irish Deer, once plentiful in Ireland and on the Continent, grew antlers weighing 80 pounds and spreading 11 feet across.



The Caenopus was an ancestor of the horned rhinoceros. It lived a million years ago and was about the size of a Jersey cow.



Two million years ago the strange Palaeosyops browsed in grass along river banks. Its remains have been found in Wyoming.



The hairy Mastodon roamed the United States before the last Ice Age, ages ago. Some believe these beasts were hunted by men of primeval times.



Ground sloths living now are small surviving cousins of these clumsy monsters of past ages. Embedded in their tough hide were thousands of round pieces of bone, forming a coat of armor. Even this was not protection enough from the blood-thirsty saber-toothed tigers.



Fierce Saber-toothed Tigers. Above the tigers sit great prehistoric vultures.



The huge bird called "Diatryma" could have made a quick meal of the small three-toed horse of prehistoric times. The bird's jaw was 17 inches long.

Speedy New Motor-Hoop Amazes Italians

Spectators at the speedway before the National Stadium in Rome, Italy, gasped with amazement not long ago when they saw a huge wheel, driven by motorcycle engine, careening at high speed round the track like an overgrown toy hoop. Within the wheel, apparently unconcerned at the possibility of being precipitated in the mad whirl, they saw a driver, his hands gripping an ordinary automobile steering wheel, his feet resting on ordinary motorcycle pedals.

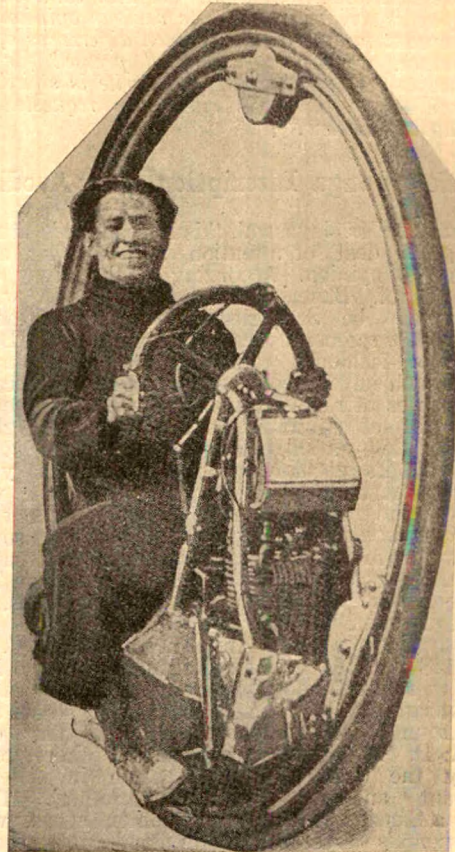
His body kept the wheel in perfect balance. At every turn he would lean to one side or the other. And when the spinning wheel finally slowed down and came to a stop, he simply rested both of his feet on the ground, then let down a standard to keep the wheel from toppling over!

The driver of this remarkable vehicle was Davide Gislighi, a motorcycle officer of Milan, Italy. Possessed with the idea that one wheel would be more efficient than two, he had perfected what more than one inventor before him had attempted unsuccessfully—a one-wheel cycle that actually would run!

The unicycle, which is called a "velocita" by its designer, and also a "motormota," has two principal running parts—a large pneumatic tire and an inner hoop of steel. The inner circle carries the driving mechanism and the driver, while the tire moves around it. The diameter of the wheel varies according to the height of the driver, but usually is about five feet. A short man has a smaller wheel than a tall man.

The air-cooled motor that drives the wheel forward, and its accessories, are fixed rigidly to the inner steel hoop.

The motor, the driver's seat back of it, and the driver himself, are grouped in a small sector of the circle. On the outer circumference of the steel hoop are rollers, and these support the rim of the tire. Thus the two concentric pieces, hoop and tire, are independent of each other as the wheel moves forward.



Davide Gislighi, the inventor of the monocycle enjoying a ride in his strange vehicle

When the machine is moving, the inner hoop is kept stable to a great extent by the weight of the engine and driver. But opposing this, there is a friction roller, driven by the vehicle's motor, which acts against the rim of the tire and revolves it. This force is more powerful than any retarding resistance.

So it is that the driver does not turn with the wheel, but maintains his upright position. He balances the machine much as he would a motorcycle, and he regulates the direction to be taken by the vehicle by inclining his body to the right or left and by a steering-wheel similar to those on automobiles. To keep the wheel from falling when it is not in motion, there is a special stand that fits inside the circle and can be released.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. No criticism of reviews and notices of books will be published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, "The Modern Review."]

The New Sunga Inscription from Ayodhya

Thanks to Mr. Jayaswal, this inscription is attracting a great deal of attention and causing acute difference of opinion. According to the happy definition of Prof. Banerjee-Sastri, the present writer happens to be Sanskrit-safe but far removed from what we generally call an epigraphist. But I have an old-fashioned conviction that paleographic truths which have become established by decades after decades of research and supported by scores and scores of epigraphs, can hardly be lightly brushed aside by a single inscription, however startling results its normal interpretation might yield and whoever might be the bold buccaneer who offers the interpretation. The normal student of antiquities would naturally think that there is something wrong in the apparently normal explanation and would try to find out the true explanation. The course of those who delight in a sensation is, of course, different.

Pushyamitra reigned from about 184 B. C. to about 148 B. C. A man sixth in descent from him would therefore be flourishing by about 50 A. D. The paleography of the new inscription shows that it can roundly be said to belong to the first century A. D. The normal interpretation, therefore, is that by the term *Sasthena*, 'sixth in descent' is meant and not the 'sixth brother'. Thus argues a Sanskrit-safe man of common sense with Vidyasagara's *Upakramanika* in hand. But people of common sense have no place in the world of scholars who are all uncommon. They explain that *Sasthena*, means the sixth brother and so the inscription belongs to the 2nd century B. C. So all your paleography is worth nothing and the paleographers during a long century have all worked to settle nothing. And I have demonstrated this wonderful and startling fact and caused storm in your stagnant pool of research.

I should only like to draw the reader's attention to the following points.

(i) Pushyamitra came to the throne about 184 B. C. He reigned for about 36 years and was succeeded by his son Agnimitra. If Pushyamitra's father even survived the long reign of his son, his funeral memorial should have in the natural course of things, been erected by Agnimitra and not by Dhanadeva, an obscure sixth brother.

(ii) The list of the Sunga Kings shows several names which do not end in Mitra e.g., Vasujyestha, Odraka, Pulindaka, Ghosha Bhaga and Devabhuti. In fact, of the ten names in the list only four end in Mitra, the remaining six, as shown above, do not do so. So there is nothing wrong in a sixth des-

cendant of Pushyamitra being called Dhanadeva or his father, Phalguadeva. Moreover, it is not known whether these were descendants in the daughter's side.

(iii) Prof. Banerji-Sastri writes:—"Purely epigraphic considerations should not be allowed to interfere with a normal interpretation of the text." The normal interpretation of the term *Sasthena* is 'sixth in descent.' When that agrees with paleography, an abnormal, unwarranted and absolutely uncalled-for interpretation like—'the sixth (brother)' can in no case be allowed to interfere with century-long settled facts.

Dacca Museum.

4-1-25.

N. K. BHATTASALI,

Prof. Banerji-Sastri's Reply

(i) Mr. Bhattasali pleads 'old-fashioned conviction' against the Sunga inscription. When in 1909, Mr. Shama Shastri had the hardihood to publish the *Kautilya Arthashastra*, he did violence to a lot of vested "convictions"; there are honest and respectable people even to-day who have not entirely ceased to look askance at him and his foundling. When again in 1912, Pandit Ganapati Shastri introduced his Trivandrum *Bhasa*, the commotion of convenient 'convictions' was so tumultuous both here and elsewhere, that self-respecting critics still mention his name with apologetic hesitation and demonstrate their individual profundity, by reiterating the magic formula-caution. But when last year, Mr. R. D. Banerji had the indecency to explore not mere literature but actual and tangible 'culture-relics at Mahenjo-daro, the whole tribe of 'convictions' desperately clutched at the crumbling emptiness they called their historical knowledge and gasped 'no more.' When therefore, Mr. Jayaswal (already noted for his various indiscretions, 'Hindu Polity' and 'Kharavela' to mention but two) draws aside the curtain covering the *Sungas*, the old bottle of mouldering 'convictions' cries 'I burst'. Like Messrs. Shama Shastri, Ganapati Shastri, and R. D. Banerji, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has survived many shocks in life and he may yet survive 'criticisms' of pretended wisdom and obscure 'convictions.'

(ii) But when Mr. Bhattasali forsakes the shelter of impregnable convictions and strays into (a) Sanskrit and (b) Epigraphy he descends from the sublime. (a) Mr. Bhattasali's unlimited intellectual horizon is yet to be demonstrated. Everybody knows that volumes of water have passed down the Sindhu, some of its streams are choked up

and the Race of Seers is extinct, their sceptical descendants are not satisfied without reasons. Hence the delightful finality with which Mr. Bhattasali declares that *Sashthena* cannot mean 'sixth brother' is refreshing (especially in view of Bhattasali's utter ignorance of Sanskrit by his own confession) but hardly convincing. His restraint in not repeating the already exploded objections is praiseworthy, but a complete non-interference with unfamiliar topics would have been more commendable.

(b) Mr. Bhattasali dilates on Indian Epigraphy as 'century-old' and so on. James Prinsep's early attempts date from 1837; since, the number of competent workers has been singularly inadequate. Colebrooke's caution about verifying accumulated half-truths and untruths before realising a single truth in the domain of archæology was never more needed than to-day. Such naive 'little-knowledge' extravagance would be unpardonable in a school-boy but coming from evidently a grown-up individual, it would be an eye-opener to those who search for the real reason of the ignominious failure of the general body of Indian students of Indian antiquities.

It is easy to pick up and employ such terms as 'conviction' and 'common sense', but those who employ them should not let them be turned into unmeaning cants and substitutes, for evidence and sense. In English language 'common sense' means 'sense' and not its 'absence' and is not synonymous

with dogma. We do not want *futwa* in place of reason and evidence.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI,

Patna, 7-1-25.

The Aboriginal Population of India.

In your November issue on p. 595, in the course of a note on Mahomedan Education, you mention that the total aboriginal population is one crore, or to be more accurate 97,76,000. This figure is not correct. The total Aboriginal population is about 16 millions, or one crore and 60 lakhs. (See para 194 of Census of India (1921), Vol. I, Part 2, page 226).

The fact is that you use the word 'Aborigina' as synonymous with "Animist", which should not be done. Out of 16 Aborigines, 9¾ are enumerated as Animists, the remaining 6¼ as Hindus. At the last census a great proportion of Aborigines was returned as Hindus than in 1911. Thus they are being Hinduised by slow but sure degrees.

Rev. W. S. Hunt in his recent book "India's Casts"—an excellent book by the bye—makes the same error, as you do, with regard to the total Aboriginal population of this country (see foot-note p. 41).

A. V. THAKKAR

EDITOR'S NOTE. Mr. A. V. Thakkar has quoted the figures correctly from the Census Report. The Report itself states that "it is not possible to give accurate numbers of the tribal aborigines,...

INDIAN PERIODICALS

"Swarajya" Belgaum Congress Number

The *Swarajya* Belgaum Congress number contains many interesting and informing contributions, from some of which we extract some passages below.

GANDHI'S COLOSSAL EXPERIMENT

Writing on "Gandhi's" colossal experiment," Mr. Upton Sinclair says:—

When we read about Gandhi, we are tempted to say that of course the poor Hindus have to fight with their souls, because they haven't anything else to fight with: the British have kept them from getting any arms.

But I assure you the British know that if India flames into revolt, if all the three hundred million took to cutting the railroads and the telegraph lines, and burning down the factories and the government buildings, the little handful of white people would find their military force perilously inadequate.

We are compelled, whether we will or no, to recognize that in the Hindu we are dealing with a great people, having a very old civilization, and an intellectual and spiritual tradition as high as our own and in some ways higher.

That is what Gandhi's soul force is doing; it is making all of us stop and think. It has made some American publishers issue a book about Gandhi, and has made an American author review it, and a great chain of newspapers publish it, and millions of other Americans read and think and debate about it.

Of course, the soul force of Gandhi and his people may not be great enough: but if it should prove great enough, if it should hold on, I am sure that in the end it will conquer even the top-hatted savages who run the Foreign Office or the British Government.

INDIANS ABROAD

About Indians abroad, Mr. H. S. L. Folsak makes the following appeal to Indians at home:—

I would ask them, in all humility, to put aside party tactics, national irritation, and injured dignity, and to treat the subject objectively as it deserves, study the facts, pursue faithfully the welfare of their exiled countrymen, and act upon the well-founded assumption that humanity is one and indivisible. In this way, the problem will be raised to an altogether higher level, moral issues will come to the front, and the solution that is being earnestly sought in many quarters will be easier

of achievement. If my appeal is successful, I feel confident that the blunders of Kenya, Mauritius, Fiji, and British Guiana will not be repeated, but remedied. I have no doubt that if men sell their labour in Ceylon and Malaya, rather than in India, it will not be because economic and social conditions leave them no alternative. I am certain that Indian emigration, in so far as it will in the future exist will take new forms, and that, for the honour of India and the welfare of the race, the world will know of the Motherland from her best exponents, instead of by her most unfortunate and least representative. Yet, lest I should seem to disparage even these, I would, in my last word, pay them a high tribute of admiration and respect for the splendid resistance against tribulation and temptation that stands to their eternal credit. They have shown how the human spirit triumphs over its environment.

THE WOMEN OF EUROPE

Lala Lajpat Rai says that during his last visit to Europe,

The first thing which impressed me even on the steamer was the great advance that has been made in the freedom of women. The women of Europe have attained a degree of freedom which is in one respect at least denied to men. This is the freedom of dress. A European woman can dress as she likes, but not a European gentleman. In 1905 when I first visited Europe, convention ruled supreme over both. But the last twenty years have given grater freedom to women in the matter of dress than to men. In our country, the contrary is the rule.

As regards education and culture, the women of the Western, Northern and Central Europe have as many and as good facilities as men. That is not the case, however, in the South East, which practically means the Balkans and Turkey. Bolshevik Russia makes no distinction between men and women in the matter of education. Turkey has, however, taken a great step towards the amelioration of the position of women. She has officially abolished "*pardah*" and accepted women servants in their offices and enacted laws aiming at restricting polygamy. They are also providing educational facilities for their women. In the Balkans, it seems the women are still in a backward condition. Greek women, however, seem to be quite advanced.

In politics the women are gradually coming into their own. In literature and science they occupy a fairly respectable position, but in the service of afflicted humanity they are supreme. Most of the Indians have a very curious notion about European women. They seem to be under the impression that European women have most of them an easy time and live very luxurious lives. The fact is that the European woman works much harder, for longer hours and under most trying conditions than the European man does. Of course, there are all kinds of women. As in India, so in Europe, as among men so among women there are very many drones also but they do not form the majority. An European woman, however, gets much more out of life than her Indian sister. She works hard and enjoys well. She earns and spends. On the whole she is much better off than her Indian sister. The latter is strong in her affections, in her devotion to her own ideals of duty, in her ideals of self-sacrifice, loyalty and fidelity; the

other is strong in her ideals of independence, and the freedom to live her own life. The fact that in Europe the female population is much in excess of the male explains the difference. Most of the women in Europe, or in India want to be married but in Europe failure to marry suitably does not carry with it the feeling of helplessness and misery which in India it would. The European woman is copying her Indian sister in her ideas of personal decorations. The ear-ring, the bracelet, the bangles, the neck-lace are all finding a vogue. The armlet shining on a bare white arm is becoming the rage of fashionable life. The Indian woman yields to none in the world in her devotion to her children, but the European is generally a more efficient and a more careful mother. Women's interest in games and athletics, formerly the monopoly of men, is ever on the increase.

EUROPEAN POLITICS

According to the Lala,

European politics are almost being revolutionised both in theory and practice. No eminent European thinker or writer now believes in the theory of the supremacy of the State. The State and the subject have been superseded by the nation and the citizen. The nation is supreme and not the state. No one is a subject. All are citizens.

Economic Changes in Europe.

Regarding economic changes, the Lala observes :—

Economic changes fill the whole atmosphere. Capitalism is almost universally condemned. Orthodox theories of economics are discredited. Socialistic literature is widely read and appreciated. Trade union and workers' organisations are universally gaining in power and influence. Direct action is coming into greater and greater vogue but with less success. The greatest change is in the wages of labour and conditions of labour. The former have increased beyond recognition and the latter have considerably improved. European capitalism is quite anxious to make terms with labour and keep these happy and contented so long as the latter would not completely dispossess and make short shrift of them. Bolshevism is very much dreaded. Graphic accounts of its misdeeds, real and imaginary, fill the columns of the European press. The one anxiety of European bourgeoisie is to keep it out of doors, and to kill it, if possible. Fear of Bolshevism plays an important part in European life of to-day and is the greatest underlying cause of the betterment of labour conditions.

ECONOMIC FALLACIES

In exploding some economic fallacies, Professor Manu Subedar observes :—

In spite of the fact that political economy has now come to occupy a prominent position in the curricula of many Universities in India and in spite of both centres of education and number of students having increased, it will be hardly disputed by anybody that in discussing practical problems, numerous fallacious assumptions creep in the reasoning of official writers as well as non-official publicists. No science demands greater watchfulness if useful results are to be achieved

than the science of political economy, and I cannot do better than direct attention on some of these fallacies in response to the invitation of the Editor of the "Swarajya" for an article for the Annual Number.

The fallacies which he exposes are that India is a merely agricultural country, that increase of trade means increase of prosperity, and that when Europeans use the words "development of resources" with reference to India, they really mean what the words denote and not exploitation in its sinister sense.

AMERICA'S BAN ON ASIATICS

Dr. Sudhindra Bose observes :—

The new Immigration Law of 1924, which excludes Asians from America technically known as the land of Freedom, will go down in history as the most unprovoked and most discriminatory piece of legislation ever enacted by a nation against a whole continent. It involves political and international issues of far-reaching importance. It may even mark the beginning of the parting of ways between Asia and America definitely.

It is to be remembered that all Orientals who come to America are not 'laborers', 'coolies'. Some of them are as well born and have as high a tradition of culture behind them as the best that Europe or America can show. Why, then, is there such a feeling of touch-me-not toward all Asians?

THE CAUSE OF FRICTION

He who will go below the handy and cherished pretexts will find that the fundamental cause of friction is not economic, but social. The chief reason why Asians are barred is because they are regarded as inferiors. That the so-called economic reason for anti-Asian discrimination, relative to the nationals of European countries, is pure myth has been ably demonstrated by an anonymous "Japanese" Publicist" in *The Japan Advertiser*, a Tokio American daily,

A Bengali Bird-Myth

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra writes :—

Regarding the evolution of this bird Indian black-headed oriole, the following aetiological myth is current in the village of Kuarpur in the Madaripur Sub-Division of the District of Faridpur in Eastern Bengal :—

Once upon a time, there lived a woman who had several daughters-in-law. But she hated the youngest daughter-in-law with the greatest of rancour. Whenever guests or relatives came to her house, she compelled her much-maltreated youngest daughter-in-law to serve the said guest or relative with her own meal. As the cruel mother-in-law would not cook any fresh meal thereafter for her hated youngest daughter-in-law, the latter had to remain fasting during the whole of the day-time. One day, a relative having arrived in the house, the ill-treated youngest daughter-in-law was, as usual, obliged to entertain him by serving out to

him the platterful of her own morning-meal. But as usual, no fresh meal was cooked for her thereafter. The result was that she had to remain fasting the whole of that day.

Being unable to endure her mother-in-law's cruel ill-treatment any longer, she besmeared the whole of her own body with the paste of the yellow turmeric, and placed upon her own head an earthen pot (handi) blackened with soot and went away from the house, crying out : "*Kutum ay, Kutum ay*", that is to say, "O guests and relatives ! You are (now) welcome (lit. you may now come), (though you have been the cause of my death)." She was, subsequently, metamorphosed into the yellow-plumaged and black-headed bird which now bears the appellation of the Indian Black-headed Oriole or *Bene Bou* or *Halde Pahi*, and which utters, even to the present day, a call-note sounding very much like the aforementioned words "*Kutum ay Kutum ay*".

Railway Posters

The Bengal Nagpur Railway Magazine gives reproductions of some striking railway posters and writes with reference to the subject :—

The Railway poster in India is practically unknown. What future the poster has in this country can only be estimated after a very careful enquiry as to the incidence of Railway travel and the influence of the right kind of publicity.

Whether such publicity would be effective is also another question that would have to be answered.

In England railway posters have undergone a revolution. One railway for instance has had a series of posters prepared by no less than seventeen members of the Royal Academy. Other railways have followed suit, so that to-day the most beautiful posters now being exhibited belong to the railways companies. Each in itself is a beautiful picture—a real work of art.

There is of course no question that such posters influence traffic in England. Once a year at least the whole Nation goes holiday-making. It is always a question as to whether fresh ground should be broken and the artistic poster is a strong lure to fresh fields and pastures new. It is not to be thought that the series contain only pictures of alluring and beautiful scenery. Not at all. An ordinary goods Depot comes in the list, also the cab of an express locomotive showing the driver and fireman. Industries are portrayed in vivid colours. The railways have definitely called in Art to their aid and it will be a matter of keen interest to see if the scheme succeeds in establishing a permanent relation.

When Sir John Millais' picture "Bubbles" was acquired by Messrs. Pears for a soap advertisement there was a tremendous outcry and commercial adaptation was henceforth taboo. Now however it seems that such ideas are either dead or dying. Art goes forth into the market-place as a helper of commerce.

Profit-Sharing

We read in *the Bombay Co-operative News* :—

The French Ministry of Labour has recently completed a study of profit-sharing in France. The inquiry was made because a number of bills had been introduced in the National Assembly to make profit-sharing compulsory and it seemed advisable to the Government to secure official information as to the present status and results of profit-sharing.

No legislation has been enacted in France regarding the sharing of profits in industrial or commercial enterprises generally; but a law of December 18, 1915 made profit-sharing compulsory for workers' co-operative productive associations which receive support from the State. By a law of September 9, 1919 profit-sharing was compulsory in all mining operations which should receive concessions in the future, and a law of April 26, 1911, provided for the formation of incorporated co-partnership societies in which stock apportioned among the employees assures the workers an interest in the profits realised. The law of October 19, 1921 relating to the new regime of the Railways, has been considered by some to permit the creation of a system of profit-sharing on railroads. The question was considered in the National Assembly, during the discussion of the law but the text which was finally adopted provides only for a bonus granted for the purpose of promoting the interest of the personnel in the development of traffic and in economy in co-operative expenses.

Information was secured relative to 328 workers co-operative productive associations, employing about 12,000 workers. The profits divided among the members of these associations varied from 25 to 75 per cent., the majority of associations paying from 25 to 30 per cent. The profits distributed in 1920 by 195 of the associations amounted to 3,906,458 francs, 9,239 employees participating. The average amount received by workers who had been employed the entire year varied from 100 francs in the clothing industries to more than 1,000 francs in the glass and porcelain industries.

Profit-sharing due entirely to private initiative, was found to be in force in 75 out of 168 establishments which were reported to the Ministry of Labour as having profit-sharing systems.

10 of the firms employed more than 1,000 persons, 7 from 500 to 1,000, 32 from 100 to 500, and 25 less than 100. There were profit-sharing plans in operation in 17 banks and insurance companies, 15 in the metal industries, 13 in mercantile establishments, 5 in the clothing industries and 4 in the boot industry, while the remaining 21 were scattered among various other industries.

The results of profit-sharing for the year 1921 were reported for 62 establishments, employing 99,550 workers.

The total amount of the profit-sharing dividends for 1921 was 25,743,000 francs. The average dividend per employee was 906 francs.

The general opinion of the employers in the undertaking in which there was a profit-sharing scheme was that it exerted a favourable influence on the stability of the working force. The opinion was not so unanimous, however, in regard to improvement in production or employee relations, although several employers considered that production had been increased and that labour troubles

had been much clearly established by the study whether profit-sharing is increasing or on the decline. While more than one-third of the plans had been put into effect since 1919, a number, and among them some of the oldest, have recently been abandoned.

A Bill has recently been introduced in the Portuguese Senate by Mr. Ferreira de Simas for the establishment of a profit-sharing scheme applicable to all Portugal.

Under the proposals of the Bill, all commercial industrial and agricultural undertakings and employer's must allow their work-people to participate in the profits of the enterprises by which they are employed without any responsibility being attached to the works by their employment contract in cases of business losses or failure. On their side, the workers must, by the insertion of a special clause in their contract of employment, renounce all rights to share in the management and supervision of undertakings, and in the auditing of accounts.

"The Indian Review"

HUMOURS OF THE POST OFFICE

Mr. H. A. Sams has contributed an enjoyable article on humours of the post office. He tells us among other things :—

Postal officials are not usually imaginative, but a clerk in the Circle Examiner's office of a certain Circle was an exception. The order had gone forth that 2 rupee stamps of a particular issue were to be used up. He got a letter on which customs duty of several thousand rupees had to be paid. He saw his chance and attached to the Customs Receipt sheets of 2 rupees stamps pasted end on until the length stretched from one end of a corridor to the other. The Postmaster General took the letter and roll of stamps to show to the then Director-General. As the sheets were unfurled, the Director General first smiled, then giggled and ended up with a fit of uncontrollable laughter.

Some clerks are not quite so brainy. At one post office the Postmaster-General was trying to get the clerks to insure their lives. Most of the questions on the application form such as "Have you ever been insane?" obviously required the answer in the negative. Then came

"Are you of temperate habits? Have you always been so?"

Most of the clerks answered both questions also in the negative!

NEED FOR MARINE BIOLOGICAL STATIONS IN INDIA.

Dr. K. N. Bahl thus concludes an article on the need for marine biological stations in India :—

To reach the goal of "Swaraj," we must not only try to be politically independent but must also develop our system of higher education so as to make us self-reliant and not dependent upon other countries. The number of Indian students

going abroad to finish their education is inordinately large, and the Lytton Committee held that "the perfecting of our educational machine in India" was the key to the problem of Indian students abroad. In every branch of human knowledge, we must improve our equipment and try and reach the highest standards possible. The establishment of marine stations is one of the ways to reach a high standard in Biology in Indian Universities.

WHAT BRITAIN EXPECTS OF INDIA

In her article on Britain and India, the Lady Emily Lutyens asks "what does Britain expect of India?" and answers:—

What does Britain expect of India? The great difficulty which all friends of India and Great Britain have to meet is the reproach of a lack of unity among Indian politicians. It is that more than anything else which gives the reactionaries the right to say that Indians do not yet know what they want, neither are they willing to unite together and sink their minor and local differences for the great national cause of Swaraj. Therefore it seems to me that the *first* step is for the leaders of all the parties to meet together and to prepare a common programme and to define very clearly exactly what is meant by Swaraj. The first step towards this unity was taken in Bombay last month when a really representative Committee was formed to consider the outlines of a Constitution.

POPULATION AND SUBSISTENCE IN INDIA

Mr. D. S. Gordon observes in his article on population and subsistence in India:—

One of the reasons why early marriages have continued to be in vogue has been the ease with which subsistence could be found in the past. In fact, it was no disqualification at all for a bridegroom not to have an income; for the maintenance of the family was the look-out of his elders; or, if he belonged to a joint-family, it was the common concern of all the members. The situation, however, has now changed with the change in economic conditions; the upper and the middle classes have become more circumspect. But in regard to the lower classes the effect has been quite otherwise. In their case a wife and children really augment the scanty earnings of a man, so that the man undertakes little responsibility and bears no burden in marrying. Indeed, it is even said that children are the poor man's insurance, for they somehow grow up and support their parents in old age.

But it is obvious that this tends to perpetuate a section of people who will always live on the borderland of starvation with no prospect of physical or intellectual improvement. It is necessary, therefore, to cultivate higher ideals, especially among such as these. Marriage should not be regarded as a socio-religious affair which happens as a matter of course. On the other hand, a sense of individual responsibility must develop in each father of a family, and the community must come to regard the capacity to provide for a family as a *sine qua non* of marriage. Until this comes to pass no reduction in the birth-rate and no material improvements are possible.

"Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

BRAHMI SEALS

We learn from an article by Mr. K. I. Jayaswal that very ancient Brahmi seals, three in number, were found at Patna by Cunningham. After Cunningham's discovery six seals have been found. Four of them are glass seals, of which three were dug out by Dr. Spooner at Kumrahar, and the fourth was found by Mr. Manoranjan Ghosh at Bulandi Bagh.

The glass seals have no catches on their back. The back portions are plain and smooth. It seems that they are moulds for preparing clay impressions which when burnt would have been the real matrices. On this hypothesis alone we can explain the positive legends of the seals and the want of catches. The legends in relief show clearly that the seals have been cast, which proves a developed stage of glass industry at Patna where the present glass industry has probably come down from ancient times.

The first three seals appear to belong to a period *circa* 200 B. C. Out of the three, the second is more archaic than the others. The fourth is more important from epigraphic point of view. The letters are certainly older than Asoka's time.

The seal may be even older than 300 B. C. and we may even call it pre-Mauryan.

Dr. Spooner and Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh are to be congratulated on the discovery of these important finds in such a unique material. To my knowledge, glass seals have not been discovered elsewhere.

The fifth seal was discovered by Mr. Jayaswal. The lettering shows that the seal belongs to the 2nd century B. C.

THE USE OF GLASS IN ANCIENT INDIA

Mr. Manoranjan Ghosh says in his article on the use of glass in ancient India:—

It is a common belief that glass was introduced in India by foreigners during the Muhammadan time. Before entering the Archaeological Department, I had also the same notion until I came across glass objects in the excavations at Taxila. The Pataliputra excavations gave us glass objects with letters which supplied a more definite clue and conclusively proved that glass manufacture was common in ancient India. A study of ancient Indian literature has confirmed the belief that glass was known in India from very early time and its use common in life in the time of the Buddha and from that time onwards there are continuous references to glass in Pali and Sanskrit literature.

Mr. Ghosh goes on to quote references to glass in ancient Indian literature. The first passage he quotes is from the Satapatha Brahmins, of which the date is about the eighth century B. C. Passages are then quoted

from the Vinaya Pitaka, Kautilya's Arthashastra, the Sukraniti, Katha-Saritsagara, and the Susruta. "The above passages clearly prove that glass was known in ancient India from the time of the Satapatha Brahmana."

Mr. Ghosh then proceeds to tell the reader in what places glass has been found in the course of archaeological excavations. From this section of his article we shall cull only a few details.

In the Manikyala Stupa in the Punjab glass has been found deposited within the stupa. The case of the Manikyala Stupa is about first century B. C. Pandit Dayaram Sahni, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Punjab, has found glass bangles in association with seals containing peculiar hieroglyphic legends and neolithic implements at Harappa, Montgomery District, Punjab.

Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology in India has found blue glass tiles at Taxila in Buddhist chapels which can be dated as early as second century B. C. Glass flask and fragments of glass have also been found at Taxila which according to Sir John Marshall can be dated as early as sixth century B. C.

We have already seen what glass seals have been found at Patna.

Mr. R. D. Banerjee has found glass beads and other objects at Mohenjo-daro in Sindh at a distance of six miles from the railway station at Dokri in the Rohri-Kotri sections of the North-Western Railway. He places the glass and the Harappa-like seals found there as early as 2500 B. C. He observes very close affinity in the objects found there with the objects excavated at Crete by Arthur Evans.

Outside India the earliest date for the use of glass was in Egypt 1400 B. C., because numerous glass beads and coloured glass have been found in abundance in the tomb of Tutankhamen who flourished about that date. Mr. Arthur Evans has found glass beads in the Palace of Knossos, Crete, and dates them as early as 3rd millennium B.C.

SANSKRIT WORKS ON ELEPHANTS

Messrs. Vinayatosa Bhattacharyya and G. K. Shrigondekar describe the extensive literature that there is in Sanskrit on elephants, the methods of catching them, their tending and treatment.

OUR HISTORICAL SENSE.

Mr. B. C. Bhattacharya deals with :

The question whether the Ancient Indians recorded no contemporary events or whether they never had the knowledge of writing history in the modern fashion. The latter question to be applied to Ancient India would be assuredly a self-contradiction. The first question can be most adequately answered.

History fundamentally deals with memorable events—events connected with the life-history of contemporary kings, religious teachers, and power-

ful clans. This kind of history we find in abundance in Indian literature, ancient tradition, coins and inscriptions. In some cases, it is possible to get a full glimpse into the daily life of ancient peoples in India.

MAGICAL PRACTICES, OMENS AND DREAMS AMONG BIRHORS

Roy Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy gives a brief account of the rites and practices, spells and taboos by which the Birhor seeks to enter into some sort of relations with the more important spirits and to delude or scare away or control the lesser spirits so as to secure good luck and avoid bad luck to the community, the family and the individual, "either by utilizing or avoiding some magical virtue supposed to inhere in certain material objects or in certain pantomimic or other practices or in certain words or spells, or through the help of certain impersonal powers or energies which the Birhor magician thinks he can set in motion through appropriate actions to further his own ends or those of his clientele or community." Mr. Roy also treats of the interpretations of omens and dreams among the Birhors.

NIBVANAM

Mr. Kalipada Mitra discourses on the meaning or meanings of *Nibbanam* in Buddhist literature and arrives at the conclusion that "Nibbana is left *avyakta*, ineffable, indeterminate, a mystery by the Buddha."

"Welfare"

LUXURY

We make the following extracts from Major B. D. Basu's article on Luxury :—

Prof. Ross writes :—

"Intercourse with abroad acquaints a people with foreign luxuries and implants new cravings. The sudden growth of the standard of consumption beyond the means of satisfying it sharpens the struggle for wealth, undermines old personal ideals, and subverts the old valuations of things. As tastes and appetites which hold them in check, heavy borrowings from a foreign culture are apt to demoralize, for a time, the upper classes of the people. The Greek moralists deplored the rage for Asiatic luxuries, which whetted the greed for gold and led the Greeks to take the pay of the Persian King." (Ross's *Social Control*, pp: 407-408).

Unfortunately the same is happening in India to-day.

Luxury brings about race suicide, for it is accompanied by a disinclination to bring into the world, or rear, children. It is luxury to which should be attributed the success of Neo-Malthusianism of our times.

Again, it is luxury which begets what is known as "Fashion." Count Giacomo Leopardi, in his "Dialogue between Fashion and Death" very humorously calls them twin sisters. He makes "fashion" speak to Death,—

"I say then that the tendency and operation common to us both is to be continually renewing the world; but whereas you have from the beginning aimed your efforts directly against the bodily constitutions and the lives of men, I am content to limit my operations to such things as their beards, their hair, their clothing, their furniture, their dwellings, and the like. Nevertheless, it is a fact that I have not failed at times to play men certain tricks not altogether unworthy to be compared to your own work :.....In short, I contrive to persuade the more ambitious of mortals daily to endure countless inconveniences, sometimes torture and mutilation, ay, even death itself, for the love they bear towards me."

"Death" is made to exclaim,—

"By my faith, I begin to believe that you are my sister after all. Nay, it is as sure as death, and you have no need to produce the birth certificate of the parish-priest in order to prove it."

PROS AND CONS OF INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE

In an article on this subject Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar makes the statement that

The French *Chambre des deputes* has been devising a scheme of legislation for industrial insurance, or as it is known in French, *les assurances sociales*. The government is bent on taking immediate steps in order to relieve persons with incomes not exceeding 10,000 francs (about Rs. 2000) per year and cover their risks such as arise from sickness, maternity, old age, invalidity and death. The insurance is to be compulsory. Premiums are to be paid at the rate of 10 per cent of the wage of which half will be charged of the employer and the rest of the employee. Altogether 9 million persons are going to be insured in this manner.

The system was introduced in Germany by Bismarck in 1883 in order to cover sickness.

Against the scheme,

M. Villey says that the scheme is philanthropic but is contrary to the principles of economics and is likely to produce evil consequences. In the first place, the incidence of the premium will tend to fall on the employer. But will it not in that event ultimately touch the workman's wage? In any case the wage-earner's own foresight and sense of individual responsibility is likely to be killed.

Germany being the pioneer in industrial insurance, Prof. Sarkar also summarises the experience of the German people, and begins thus :—

In 1907 lecturing at the Industrial Club of Chicago, Professor Schumacher (then of the University of Bonn, now of Berlin), concluded as follows: "The result of all these measures is that Germany is today ahead of all other countries in the matter of arrangements for the protection of life and health. We largely attribute the most

remarkable feature in the modern development of our German nation, of modern German life, to this industrial insurance legislation.

"We are convinced that only on the basis of such a far-reaching industrial insurance legislation the object could be attained of which we are so proud an increase of our population together with the general improvement of the standard of life in the broad masses of our people."

RURAL SURVEY

From Professor Dr. Rajani Kanta Das's article on rural survey, we learn among other things that

In point of efficiency, India stands 22nd among agricultural countries. When it is pointed out that most of the farm produce is exported as raw materials and not as manufactured goods and that more than half of the fisheries, forest land and mineral resources remain untapped, unafforested or unmined, it becomes easier to understand why India is the poorest country in the world.

The vital problem of India today is that of industrial re-organisation with a view to augmenting social capital and national dividend. The supreme need of India is the introduction of modern arts and sciences into productive processes, of which agriculture forms the pivotal point in both national and village economy. It is upon a solid industrial organisation that a sound and progressive national life can be built.

Modern industrialism has already established itself in India, especially in manufacturing industries. But its field is not limited to the textile industries.

Modern industrialism is not an unmixed blessing. Its indiscriminate adoption may cause more harm than good. The old village was not only an industrial unit, but also a social and political whole. It had its own individuality, which had withstood the ravages of ages under the rise and fall of dynasties and empires. The real solution of India's problem must come from within and not from without. What is needed is to help India evolve an industrial system which will form the substructure of her culture and civilization and at the same time ensure her political development and social progress.

The re-organisation of the village with this object in view will necessarily raise such pertinent questions as the following: (1) What are the essential features of the village? (2) Why and how has the dis-organisation been brought about? (3) What are the existing institutions through which modern science, art and philosophy can be infused into its social, industrial and political aims and objects? (4) How can the people be awakened to strive for fuller and richer self-realization?

These and similar questions cannot be adequately answered without a comprehensive survey of village-life. Like the diagnosis of a disease, rural survey must precede rural reconstruction. A survey of this kind will naturally take into consideration such features of the village organism as land, people, industrial systems, political organisations and social institutions.

Such a comprehensive survey is bound to be very broad and will encroach upon the domain of several theoretical and applied sciences, both natural and social. But when studied from the

larger aspects of sociology with economics as the background, all the diverse elements and parts will be correlated into an organic whole, which is called collective life or society.

W. W. PEARSON

Of the late Mr. W. W. Pearson, Mr. Ashoke Chatterjee observes in an illustrated article :—

Our dear friend prayed and worked so that the world could be a better place to live in, so that there could be more real happiness and the growls of dissatisfied blood-lust die out for ever, so that the air earth be not again and again scorched by the ire of covetous criminality and wanton fratricide. He devoted his life to the cause of Human Well-Being and he did not want to be a 'good soldier', because he was a good teacher.

A tall spare figure, a face expressive of joy in sacrifice, eyes that could see the sorrow and suffering hidden in the heart of others, a smile that gave unpretentious sympathy and won friendship and a nature simple as a child's but strong like that of a knight-errant, are the things that come up in my mind when I think of William Win-stanley Pearson.

TOYS FOR CHILDREN

Mrs. Nestor Noel pleads for more toys to be given to children, even when they are thought to be too old for them.

People are very particular to give their children enough to eat. Certainly most children nowadays—provided their parents are able to supply it—have more than enough to eat.

Yet while their little bodies are stuffed, their hearts are often starved for want of toys.

"I suppose you are busy buying toys," I remarked to a mother one day, a few weeks before Christmas.

"O no," she said. "My children are too old for toys!" The eldest one was not yet nine!

"What do you give them?" I asked. She told me that she filled their stockings with peanuts, oranges and candy! More to eat! From time to time, I had taken these children toys and I knew by their delight in my gifts that they would have appreciated toys more than anything else.

HOW A STEAM BOILER IS WORKED

Prof. S. R. M. Naidu, F.R.S. (sc.), of the Visvabharati, describes in detail how a steam boiler is worked, observing, to begin with :—

The life of a steam boiler depends largely on the manner in which it is worked. Recklessness and ignorance on the part of those responsible for the maintenance and upkeep of a boiler are certain to lead to rapid wear and tear and, perhaps, serious accident, or possibly explosion. It is an unfortunate fact that steam users frequently place their boilers in charge of ordinary labourers, thinking that it is quite unnecessary to employ skilled attendants. This is a sad mistake which may result not only

in excessive cost of upkeep, but also in unduly heavy coal bills.

The working of a boiler comprises several distinct operations which may be summarised as follows:

- (a) Filling with water and raising steam.
- (b) Feeding.
- (c) Maintaining a constant pressure.
- (d) Firing.
- (e) Shutting down and emptying.

WHAT CHILDREN REALLY WANT

Mrs. Mary S. Stover tells us in the course of a short article full of insight:

One can do a child grave injustice by getting him everything he wants. This is a world of limitations, thwarted wishes, necessity for sharing with others. The person whose every early wish was granted finds it hard to adjust himself to life.

We ought, however, to choose our gifts from the standpoint of sympathetic regard for the child and less from what catches the adult fancy; there ought also to be more concern for the needs of his developing life. Knowledge of what the child really wants furnishes valuable understanding of his personality. This means not only to know what he wants but why.

CO-OPERATION IN RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

The following paragraphs serve as a sort of introduction to an article on co-operation in rural reconstruction by Mr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., M.R.A.S., B. & O.C.S. (retired) :—

Even if one casually surveys the economic condition of a present-day village in Eastern India one will not fail to be struck with its random and topsy-turvy character, the result of many factors inhering in a decadent age.—The need of a reconstruction on economic lines will, at the same time make itself felt. The need has been there for many a long day; but, is reconstruction possible? To a great extent, yes; yes, only if all the constituents of a village cohere and co-operate. In factions there is no hope of well-being; in rivalries, there is no good; competition and ambition to dominate are vain. Mutual service, helpful co-operation is the force, the moral attraction, that may reconstruct, and bring forth that desirable harmony, the hoped-for progress, that wished-for peace and goodwill, which many an earnest spirit are now dreaming of.

Ordinarily,—and generally speaking—a village community is composed of the land-owning classes, the peasantry and the landless labourers; the rural artisans and handicraftsmen; the petty trader and the grain or money lenders. In a co-operative reconstruction, the best interests of all these classes of the population will have to be served; combining self-service with the service of one's neighbours, to the advantage of both.

THE DAIRY INDUSTRY

The importance of the dairy industry, of which Mr. V. S. Chinnaswami, B.A., (Technical Chemist), writes an illustrated article will be understood from the extract given below.

Mr. W. H. Harrison, Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India in one of his elaborate contributions pointed out from striking facts from history that the prosperity of a nation has a direct relation to the dairy cow. He has therefore stressed upon the importance of the needs of India's Dairy Industry. A. Hayne of Chicago sums up in the following sentences the benefits that the dairy cow has conferred on the human race.

1. The cow is one of the greatest blessings to the human race.
2. No nation or people has become highly civilised without her.
3. She produces the best human food on earth.
4. She makes this health-building, strength-giving food from grass and coarse plants.
5. She provides not only good food for her young and her keeper's family but also a surplus to sell.
6. Without her, agriculture is not permanent or prosperous and her people are not healthy and happy.
7. Where cows are kept and cared for, civilisation advances, lands grow richer, homes grow better, and debts grow fewer.
8. Truly the cow is the Mother of Prosperity. And verily therefore the Kama-Dhenu of Vedic lore has been worshipped as on her depended the household prosperity, health and happiness. But the illiteracy and ignorance of the public has played no small part in jeopardising the milk industry. The present state of the dairy industry is precarious. It was only in the last World's Dairy Congress that Mr. William Smith, Imperial Dairy expert, stated that of all the civilised countries in the world, India was probably the most backward in development of the dairy industry. He stated that it was almost impossible to obtain reasonably pure milk at any price. The milk supply is not only very high in cost but it is also of inadequate quality.

ON ADVERTISING

Advertisers in India will do well to read the whole of the article on the relation of the newspaper and the magazine to advertising, by Mr. Kshitindra Kumar Nag, Ph. B., of the University of Chicago. They will then be better able to decide where and how to advertise. By way of sample we quote the following passages :—

Of all the mediums of publicity for the advertisement of salable goods, the newspaper and the magazine stand first. They are the mediums through which the producer or seller can reach effectively any considerable body of intelligent purchasing classes. From this general supposition it is interesting to note the special merits of each and institute comparisons of advertising values.

The magazine and newspaper have their distinct values as advertising mediums, and each is most essential in making the most out of the commodities that are offered for sale; each calls for a different style of copy and for a different plan of advertising campaign. There are several things for the advertiser to keep in mind before initiating any advertising campaign in either the newspaper or the magazine.

The mental disposition of a newspaper reader is different from that of the magazine reader. The mind of the former is engrossed in the news of the day, and if he receives any impression from an advertisement he must get it quickly and easily. The life of the newspaper is short, seldom exceeds over twenty-four hours. It is a waste of money and space to cover every aspect of a proposition in one issue of the newspaper. If an entire story is necessary, it should be presented over a period of days in series of papers, adding a new phase each day and multiplying impressions until the reader has become convinced.

The circulation of the newspaper is largely local generally, covering only the city in which it is issued.

The newspaper permits the advertiser to make frequent appeals from the product to be sold, the paper being published daily or several times daily. For example, in America, business men's shopping advertisements come out in morning paper; articles for home use are advertised in the evening paper. Again, the daily price-changes of a product can best be announced easily and quickly through the medium of newspaper advertising.

Now, let us note some of the merits of the magazine in respect to advertising. People read magazines more leisurely than they do newspapers and have time to peruse the advertisements more carefully. They are a distinct class of readers, but there are variations within the class which can be appealed to by varying the character of the advertising according to the character of the magazine. For instance, the advertisement inserted in a magazine having its circulation among cultured and intellectual people must be of the highest type from the standpoint of appearance, language, and argument.

The average magazine has a life of thirty to ninety days, that is, the average magazine will be around the average home or the average club from thirty to ninety days, and during that time its advertising pages are repeatedly scanned by members of the family, neighbours, visitors, or members of the club. In some cases, indeed, the magazines are not put away until the end of the year, while in others they are carefully laid away each month as soon as a new number arrives.

The magazine reaches particular groups of people in all sections of the province or the country. In other words, its circulation is national. Then, too, a single copy is often read by several persons.

From the few aspects of the merits of the newspaper and the magazine mentioned above, it is now pretty clear that the newspaper and the magazine perform entirely different functions and have different values in respect to the advertising plan. Whether the advertiser should use the newspaper or the magazine depends upon the kind of commodity he has to sell, the class of people he wants to reach, and the character of appeal he has to make.

A COMMON SCRIPT FOR INDIA

Dr. I. J. S. Taraporevala, Ph. D., Professor of Comparative Philology, Calcutta University, discourses on a common script for India, observing

When we consider this question of script we must bear in mind several important points. The

ch of requirements for a script to be acceptable as common for all India must be the following:—

- (1) It should be easy to write,
- (2) It should be easy to remember,
- (3) It should be scientifically accurate; and, at the same time,
- (4) It should be based on principles quite easily understandable by the man of average education and intelligence.

To these four I might add a fifth qualification, bearing in mind this is the question of a script for India, not of an *international* phonetic script. Hence the additional qualification is:

- (5) It should, if possible, have historical associations with our own past.

In the ancient days, even from the third century B. C., we meet with the unexpected and very welcome fact that all the diverse scripts of India are really of one common parentage, and that they have all inherited to a greater or lesser degree the characteristics of their Parent. Moreover we find that the idea of a common script for all India is not a new one; and that when the whole land was united under the Emperor Asoka there was this common script for the land. About this Parent, the Brahmi, this is what Isaac Taylor says in his work on *The Alphabet*:

"In India the . . . monuments of primitive writing consist of a magnificent series of contemporaneous inscriptions, written before the divergence of the Indian alphabets began, indisputable in date, in a wonderful state of preservation, repeated again and again, almost in the same words, on rocks and pillars throughout the breadth of Hindustan.

"The elaborate and beautiful alphabet employed in these records is unrivalled among the alphabets of the world for its scientific excellence. Bold, simple, grand, complete the characters are easy to remember, facile to read, and difficult to mistake, representing with absolute precision the graduated varieties of sound which the phonetic analysis of Sanskrit grammarians had discovered in that marvellous idiom. None of the artificial alphabets which have been proposed by modern philologists excel it in delicacy, ingenuity, exactitude and comprehensiveness."

Here we have all the qualifications for a perfect script existing in our own land, the handiwork of our own peoples, during at least 2500 years past. We have a script exactly adapted to our special sounds which is able to distinguish them with great nicety. And the direct descendant of the Brahmi, our modern Nagari (Devanagari) alphabet, fulfils all the requirements of a perfect script.

Dr. Taraporevala points out the disadvantages of the Roman script.

THE ECONOMICS OF LEATHER TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Mr. B. Ramachandra Rau, M.A., L.T., F.F.E.S. Lecturer in Economics and Commerce, Calcutta University, writes on the economics of the leather industry, dwelling in the first article on the economic importance of leather and taking a survey of the existing leather industry.

THE RUBBER INDUSTRY

Professor Prannath Pundit, M.Sc., contributes an illustrated article on the rubber industry, concluding:—

"We have seen that India annually exports a large quantity of raw rubber. It is however a pity that the quantity of manufactured goods has not kept pace with the produce of raw-rubber. I quote the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission (1916-18):—This industry is one of those that are essential in the national interest and should be inaugurated by special measures."

INDIGO TRADE

Mr. Doongersee Dharamsee writes on the indigo trade, pointing out:—

The cultivation of Indigo is not only of importance to the indigo industry itself, but that there are other advantages, which materially help to enrich other industries. According to Sir Thomas Holland, it has been found that, acting as a soil fertiliser indigo increases the yield of other crops with which it is grown in association or rotation. Wheat and sugar benefit greatly by association with indigo. As no synthetic substitute will be made in India, the cultivation of natural indigo is therefore a necessary safeguard for the Industries of India. An adequate production of natural indigo is an insurance against the monopoly dangers which may arise if synthetic product is allowed to completely replace it as no synthetic indigotine is made in India.

The cultivation of indigo by Indians is on a distinctly larger scale, than that on plantations controlled by European planters. For the dye is much used by Indian dyers throughout India. If the cheap foreign synthetic dye replaces it, then the Indian industry will die an unnatural death. It is a pity that the European planters do not publish and demonstrate the results of scientific improvements and advance made by them in the growing and production of indigotine to the small cultivators, who would largely benefit by it. The research work done at Pusa has been considerable but unfortunately the results have not reached Indian cultivators yet and indigo cultivation is getting profitless as far as Indian Ryots are concerned.

Revolutionary changes in the manufacture of iron smelting are probable in the very near future rendering the production of coke in huge quantities at a high temperature unnecessary and the production of great quantities of benzene naphthalene etc cheaply will stop, and there is a likelihood for the natural colouring matters, such as indigo, again come to the fore.

PHOTO CERAMICS

Prof. Dr. H. K. Sen, D.Sc., P.R.S., Professor of Applied Chemistry at the Calcutta University writes on photo ceramics, explaining it as follows:—

Photo-ceramics is the art of transferring photographic images to porcelain, enamel, stone-ware, or metallic grounds, and giving these pictures permanency by burning them into the grounds with the help

of heat. The development of this art is so closely associated with the development of the science and art of the phototype process, that inventors who worked out processes for the one, also influenced the development of the other, and indeed, the greater practical utility of the chrome-lithoprinting process caused this small but interesting art of photo-ceramics to attain its present condition of perfection.

NATION-BUILDING AND THE CRITICAL SPIRIT

Babu Ramananda Chatterjee explains in an article on nation-building and the critical spirit how the critical spirit is useful and necessary in the spheres of religion and social polity, in politics, economics, industry and in every other field of national activity, for the purpose of building up a united Indian nation.

"Current Thought"

THE OUTCOME OF MODERN BUSINESS PRINCIPLES

In the course of an article on the age of power, Mr. Wilfred Wellock points out the consequences of modern business principles.

Modern business principles could all be rolled up into one, viz., that it is a man's object in business to acquire as much wealth as he can for himself and his family. By what moral laws he shall be guided to this end, it is not stated. As a fact there are none. He may make five per cent or five hundred per cent; he may "corner" commodities or form combines. The only stipulation is that he shall hold to his bargain. It is not a crime to "cook" a market, or to take advantage of knowing a little more, or seeing a little farther than one's neighbour. The only crime is to squeal when you are caught in the trap, and particularly if you blame the man who set it for you.

The outcome may be imagined: it is the world which confronts us to-day. Materialism is working itself out to its logical conclusion. A series of ever-widening clashes has marked the course of this hopeless conflict. Each manufacturer has fought his neighbour, each combine its competitor, each financial group its rival; while, internationally, the same conflict has taken place, first between industries, then between the combines, and finally between the banks and financial groups.

At times the conflict has broken out into open hostility, within the nations in the form of strikes or, worse, civil war, and internationally in the form of increasingly ferocious war, generating all the time an unwholesome fear, and causing highly civilised nations to spend increasing portions of their boasted wealth on armies and the means of destruction.

The world war was a symptom and a warning, a premise in the logical syllogism that history is working out. That war came as a shock to hundreds of millions of people who had made the tragic mistake of allowing the Press and the Church to do their thinking for them. Yet it was but the

natural fruitage of greed. And worse wars will follow unless the attempt to carry on civilisation by the principle of greed be abandoned.

THE MACHINE WORSHIPPERS

The following extracts will give some idea of what Rene Fulop Miller calls the cult of machine worship:—

In Russia, the machine has become for the multitude the new God, insatiably devouring sacrifices afresh. All the known means are employed in the attempt to uncover its mysterious being, and to subordinate life and the world's doings to its laws.

In every slightest detail, this reverence for the machine bears the unmistakable signs of a sternly practised religious cult. This is clearly perceptible from a visit to the "Studios" or "Work-shops" of the new artists (as the mystery-temples of the Machine Worshippers are called). Upon entering these sacred precincts, along one wall are seen standing, as if mystically conjured up, these machine-like structures of steel, reinforced cement or wood—the mystic idols of the new Machine God. The walls are thickly covered with designs showing various positions, sections, or the processes of building (incarnations)—the aspect and majesty of this God. These technical drawings, numbered A, B, C, D, etc., in their chaste, severe lines, recall at moments those austere holy pictures of the primitives—The Holy Machine cross-section A., the Holy Dynamo-generator B, the Holy Blast-furnace C, etc., and all these are bearing out testimony to the eternal truth of the All-highest, the Absolute, whose law governs the whole world—Amen!

The people of these halls, by their glances and expressions and their completely awe-inspired behaviour, display all the typical outward signs of fanaticism, revealing their inward union with the Divine; both their head-dress and clothing have an air of the ritual costume about them. They stand for hours in the temple of their God, lost in amazement, or meditating—as if deep in prayer before the holy images—the numerous wood and steel constructions and the old designs upon the walls, those extraordinary sacred symbols of the new church. Their mass-gatherings in the presence of these idols are veritable devotional ceremonies in honour of the supreme "Deux ex Machina."

At the famous Monday-midnight rites in the "Foregger-Studios", they perform the Machine-Dance in homage to the Machine God.

Proudly, the Revolution had proclaimed the fully responsible, self-conscious man, owing no allegiance or subjection to superhuman forces, or to a God. The pictures of the old God had been ridiculed, and Allah, Jehovah and Christ derided. Simultaneously appeared the new adoration or religion, with all the paraphernalia, even with all the old ceremonial requisition, merely re-draped to suit the times but nevertheless manifesting a fanaticism and intolerance similar to that of other faiths.

In a semi-circular, red-brick building in Moscow is the office of the High Priests of the Machine-God: the Gastypes Institute for the research of Mechanistic Laws, which ascertains by means of the most exact measurements and computations, the bio-mechanic of the Machine God in men.

In the first hall, the attempt is made to determine the maximum capacity for achievement of the human organism. Four departments, with seven laboratories, are engaged upon the modern alchemistic incarnation of the Machine Man. In the Psycho-economic Laboratory, the economic productivity of the human organism is being established. How much energy is expended at every movement and how a given movement may be carried out as economically as possible, are being definitely ascertained; and the most favourable durations for periods of rest and work are being sternly graded. They have also discovered the exactly determinable psychologic frame of mind essential to the best work; and the various psychological stimuli have been estimated to a hair's breadth. Nothing remains hidden to the scientist; the time taken for every *minor* and *major* movement is determined down to the hundredth of a second. Precision has exulted in the most intoxicating triumphs, comparable only to those of a Caesar, in his most energetic and comprehensive study of the human organism.

Another, equally important place of initiation, is sort of second centre of the Machine Cult, is Mayerhold's "Theatre Workshop." Here the Machine Man is exhibited and demonstrated. The Theatre no longer serves as a diversion: it is a work-yard, a State factory, exclusively concerned with the work of creating the new Man, and Mayerhold is the most distinguished of his manufacturers. He it was who first portrayed upon the stage the machine works of the human body, its bio-mechanical functions. By his exact study of the anatomical and physiological constitution of the human organism, Mayerhold did away with the entire customary trappings of mechanical stage laws. In their place, he substituted the fruits of that really wonderful series of achievements, from the classic investigations of the Brothers Weber to the cinematographic analysis of the Marey Institute, bringing their results into the free realm of the drama.

In Europe and America, the Machine cult is only admitted as a secret tendency, still definitely bound to industrial activities. To the world, the spiritual aspect of a righteous intellectualism is preferred. In Russia, on the other hand, there is open confession of faith in the Machine, and this faith is lived with Russian intensity into religious ecstasy. Therefore, it is quite possible that this fanatic aberration may have stronger and more honourable outcome in the course of history than the rest of the world's customary, and slightly sour, genteel diplomatic relations between commerce and the life of the mind.

DUTCH AND PORTUGUESE IN JAVA

In his second article on the Hindu civilisation of Java, Mr. C. F. Andrews quotes certain passages which show that

At this time, terrible evils were inflicted upon the islands of the Malay Archipelago by both Dutch and Portuguese alike. When the islands could not be of any help to one of the warring powers, their fruit trees and plantations were destroyed, so as to bring famine to the population. The following account is given of the last stages of their process, describing all the steps of de-population.

Holenweir was quite stripped of inhabitants,

the cloves were spoiled before the harvest was ripe. When the people returned, the fruit was found all spoilt on the trees.

After these proceedings the Agent visited the island and destroyed all fruit-bearing trees and sago-palms, so that the inhabitants were deprived of food and stores. The rebels were finally compelled to destroy their clove trees. Four thousand of these trees were cut down. The natives of the island would not listen; so on the night of the 22nd December we surprised the chiefs who were gathered at their assembly and all the means of livelihood were destroyed, especially clove trees. Later on, the inhabitants wishing to rebel, we went to Subo. The inhabitants of Hiton have been commanded to destroy all fruit-bearing trees and sago-palms and other necessities of food, which have been planted for no other purpose but to serve as food in time of rebellion; and it is very probable that they will make another effort to throw off the yoke of the Company. Agents have been sent round the islands to find out the situation of the clove trees, so that, in case of need, orders may be sent for their complete extermination. Our intention is to eradicate all fruit-bearing trees, except in the above-mentioned place which we are able to protect. Our own opinion is, that the first extermination of the trees will have to be followed by others, and the only means of enjoying beautiful scenery is the destruction of the clove trees and on outlying islands in order to protect ourselves against the treachery of the natives and the wicked efforts of our enemies."

Mr. Andrews gives some idea of the admirable work done by Sir Stamford Raffles.

Sir Stamford Raffles had been marvellously successful in Java, as an administrator. He had been also the very first to rescue the old Hindu and Buddhist ruins in that island from further inevitable decay. Probably, his influence alone saved Borobudur from utter destruction. He discovered this wonder of the world, covered over with earth, and liable at any moment to crumble into ruins, owing to land slides and heavy rains. Posterity cannot be too grateful to this truly great Englishman for his wonderful care of antiquity and his archaeological enthusiasm and research. Long before any one was thinking of preserving ancient monuments, he began this remarkable work in Java.

The Dutch took up the work of administration, which Sir Stamford Raffles had laid down. During the nineteenth century, their administration has been on the whole, in certain economic directions, remarkably successful. The population of the island has enormously increased, so that to day it numbers nearly five times what it was in 1815.

As regards the Muhammadan invasion, Mr. Andrews observes :—

The Muhammadan invasion, which followed this Hindu civilisation, swept away the greater part of the earlier culture, and made the Malay race virile and strong in war; but weak in intellectual and artistic pursuits. A certain amount of art still remained in the music, dancing and social life of the people, but very little else was in evidence after the Mohammedan invasion had swept over the land."

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

We learn from Gandhiji's article on Satyagraha in South Africa that there

Absolutely free Indians now number between forty to fifty thousands, while the 'Free Indians' so-called, that is, the labourers who are freed from their indentures and their descendants, number about a hundred thousand.

JAPANESE AND INDIAN PAINTING

According to Mr. Manindra Bhushan Gupta—

Landscape has no place in Indian art. Only in Mogul and Rajput painting, we see landscapes, and even there only as the background of pictures. The reason is that India has expressed her art through the varied moods of human life, while Japan has expressed her art through the varied moods of Nature. In our art, Man is of primary, Nature only of secondary, significance. In Japanese art, Nature is first and man comes after. The physical beauty of a man or woman has never aroused the imagination of a Japanese. The Japanese have no fascination for the human body; so rarely is any naked figure seen in Japanese painting.

Japanese art became folk-art at the time of the Ukiyoji artist. In India such a large school of folk-art has never grown up. Ajanta painting was not at all a folk-art, but Rajput painting was. Mogul painting can never be said to be folk art, as the artists were chiefly court painters. Only the Bengali village painters known as "poto" were real folk artists. Day by day, these artists are disappearing.

Value and Defects of Present-day International Law

Mr. Arthus Davies writes in *The Young Men of India* :—

What is the value of the international law we have?

(1) There is a recognition that a family of nations exists. That there, therefore, ought to be and are rules that govern their relations inter-

(2) The rules have a moral content, *e. g.*, in theory the smallest and weakest nation is in respect of its independence and sovereignty on a basis of equality with the largest and most powerful. Idealists must beware of failing to appreciate that, with all its shortcomings, the world stands in a higher position to-day because of 300 years of the Grotian International Law than it would have done without it. They must likewise beware of cutting away these ideas on which what has been accomplished are based, *e. g.*, the ideas of independence and sovereignty—before the world is ready to receive any higher idea—*e. g.*, of a unitary world state. Otherwise their efforts may lead to anarchy or tyranny.

What, on the other hand, are the obvious defects of present-day international law? Some of them are:

(1) Its moral content cannot be better than that of the most backward members of the family.

(2) In fact, its ultimate arbiter is the sword alone.

(3) Nations where material interests are not concerned in any given disputes, are not required to interfere, and it is even hardly conceded that such interference is at least permitted.

(4) Many of its principles are so vague and so countered by opposing principles as to be of very little value as practical guides to conduct.

Civilising Forces in England in the Nineteenth Century

In the same magazine, Mr. J. S. Hoyalnd writes :—

There were three main tendencies in the sphere of ideas which co-operated in the task of arousing the conscience of England to the appalling barbarities which were being perpetrated by the new industrial system. These ideas proved in time strong enough to rouse to activity men of determination and strength of character sufficient to ensure, after a long and hard struggle, the righting of the wrongs in question and the starting of the national life upon a new upward course.

In the first place, there was the scheme of ideas which had arisen during the Quaker movement in the seventeenth century. In the second place, there was the scheme of ideas associated with the name of John Wesley and the evangelical movement in the eighteenth century. In the third place, there was the scheme of ideas connected with the French Revolution. Men affected by these three different types of thought approached the problems of national degradation and the urgent need of national regeneration, from very different points of view. In many cases they were actively hostile to each other, and to each other's type of thought. But in the end it was seen that these three tendencies supplemented and reinforced each other, and that their combined force was finally strong enough to bring about almost miraculous changes in the state of the country.

A Bill to Constitute the Commonwealth of India

In the draft of the commonwealth of India Bill, printed in *The Young Citizen*, we find the following fundamental rights defined :—

I. The liberty of the person is inviolable, and no person shall be deprived of his liberty except in accordance with law and by ordinary Courts of Law, provided, however, that nothing in this Section contained shall be invoked to prohibit, control or interfere with any act of the civil or military forces of the Commonwealth of India, during the existence of a state of war or rebellion.

II. The dwelling or the property of every person is inviolable, and shall not be entered or expropriated or confiscated except in accordance with law.

III. Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion are, subject to public order or morality, guaranteed to every person.

IV. The right of free expression of opinion as well as the right to assemble peaceably and without arms, and to form associations or unions is guaranteed for purposes not opposed to public order or morality. Laws regulating the manner in which the right of forming associations and the right of free assembly may be exercised, shall contain no political, religious or class distinction.

V. All persons in the Commonwealth of India have the right to free elementary education and due arrangements shall as soon as possible be made by the competent authority for the exercise of this right.

VI. All persons have an equal right to the use of public roads, places of public resort, Courts of Justice and the like, provided they do not disturb public order or disobey any notice issued by a lawful authority.

VII. All persons of whatever Nationality, residing within the Commonwealth, are equal before the Law, and shall be tried for similar offences in Courts of the same order and by Judicial Officers of the same grade: and no person shall escape the penalty annexed to any breach of the Law, on account of his Nationality or his caste, or his class, or his occupation.

Non-Violence in Ancient India

We read in *Prabuddha Bharata* :—

It is no doubt true that in India, even from the early Vedic period, non-violence was always considered to be the highest virtue. But no virtue, however superior in itself, was ever conceded the right to rule out other virtues in their proper spheres. The disorganisation and confusion that one meets with in the various departments of life to-day, are due to causes, most of which cannot be easily traced to their origin. At a very opportune and critical period in the history of the world, the virtue of non-violence has been brought prominently before the public eye. While we believe it is through the wide acceptance and practice of non-violence alone on the part of the individuals and nations alike that any permanent peace and harmony can be established in the world, we must utter also a note of warning. So long as weakness and cowardice (physical, intellectual and moral) is allowed to masquerade under this guise, no good but harm only will be the result. Nor can any section of humanity in any particular part of the world ever realise to the full the ideal of non-violence, so long as the rest act upon the principle that might is right.

Granted this is all true, what is the alternative? Certainly, not violence. In course of time, the doctrine of force, when pushed to its logical extreme, will reveal its self-destructing nature. In the meanwhile all those who set no limits to the possibilities of human evolution, will have to go on with the patient labour of love and demonstrate both by example and precept that considerations of the moral and spiritual personality of man must be the supreme goal, in the interests of which all claims of class, race, nationality, etc., could only be given a subordinate position.

The Arab Question

Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall observes in *The New Orient* :—

If it is necessary for England to reverse her recent policy towards the Arabs and Muslims generally, which has brought her no advantage in reality while it has ruined her prestige, it is nonsense for us Muslims to inveigh that any settlement of the Arab question can be made to-day without England. I have come across some articles in the Indian Press, expressing regret and even horror at the fact that Ibn Saud should even condescend to parley with a British Agent. Ibn Saud has come down to the sea, and every prince who has a coastline must make terms with England. It is absurd to blame a man for self-defence, or for conforming sensibly to the requirements of a given situation, which is all that the Sultan of Najd has done or is likely to do. I hope that he has come down to the sea for good in more ways than one; that he and all his people have forsaken their position of secluded dignity, however independent in the centre of Arabia, and will henceforth take an active and a leading part in the Islamic world. We need their virtues and their zeal, and their example in the way of sacrifice.

The Duty of Hindus

In the same magazine Professor Mohammad Habib says :—

The duty of the Hindu whose soul is in genuine harmony with the anthropological processes, that have produced him, is clear. He must take for his guide the selective reason that illuminated the footsteps of his ancestors, and select from among the innumerable practices and customs of his land those best suited to the needs of the day. There are no chains on his hands and no fetters on his feet. Reason—free, untrammelled, human reason—was the light that sparkled on the horizon of his forefathers four thousand years ago, and it must also be his guiding star in these latter days.

Thoughts for the Month

The Editor of the *D. A. V. College Union Magazine* gives his readers the following thoughts which have come across in his reading :—

Enthusiasm starts the race, but perseverance wins it.

You won't push far ahead by patting yourself on the back.

Any time is a good time to start carrying out a good idea.

The worse troubles are generally those that never happen.

The reason some people don't get on is because they won't get up.

Experience is what you get while you are looking for something else.

Many people have a lot of good in them, but unfortunately they keep it there.

Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin

Professor M. Habib of Aligarh pronounces in the *Hindustan Review* the following considered judgment on one aspect of Sultan Mahmud's career:—

No honest historian should seek to hide, and no Mussalman acquainted with his faith will try to justify, the wanton destruction of temples that followed in the wake of the Ghaznavide army. Contemporary as well as later historians do not attempt to veil the nefarious acts but relate them with pride. It is easy to twist one's conscience; and we know only too well how easy it is to find a religious justification for what people wish to do from worldly motives. Islam sanctioned neither the vandalism nor the plundering motives of the invader; no principle known to the *Shariat* justified the uncalculated attack on Hindu princes who had done Mahmud and his subjects no harm; the shameless destruction of places of worship is condemned by the law of every creed. And yet Islam, though it was not an *inspiring motive*, could be utilised as in a *posteriori justification* of what had been done. It was not difficult to identify the spoliation of non-Muslim populations as a service to Islam, and persons to whom the argument was addressed found it too much in consonance with the promptings of their own passions to examine it critically. So the precepts of the Quran were misinterpreted or ignored and the tolerant policy of the Second Caliph was cast aside, in order that Mahmud and his myrmidons may be able to plunder Hindu temples with a clear and untroubled conscience.

It is a situation to make one pause. With a new faith everything depends on its method of presentation. It will be welcomed if it appears as a message of hope, and hated if it wears the mask of a brutal errorism. Islam as a world-force is to be judged by the life of the Prophet and the policy of the Second Caliph. Its early successes were really due to its character as a revolutionary force against religions that had lost their hold on the minds of the people and against social and political systems that were grinding down the lower classes. Under such circumstances the victory of Islam was considered by the conquered population as something intrinsically desirable; it ended the regime of an aristocratic priesthood and a decrepit monarchy, while the doctrine of equality, first preached in the eastern world, opened a career to the talent of the depressed masses and resulted in a wholesale conversion of the populations of Arabia, Syria, Persia and Iraq. Now Hinduism with its intense and living faith was something quite unlike the Zoroastrianism of Persia and the Christianity of Asia Minor, which had so easily succumbed before the invader; it suffered from no deep-seated internal disease and, a peculiarity of the national character of the Hindus, deeply seated in them and manifest to everybody, was their intense satisfaction and pride in their customs. "They believe", says Alberuni, "that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no king like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty,

foolishly vain, self-conceited and stolid. According to their belief, there is no country on earth but theirs, no other race of men but theirs and no created beings besides them have any knowledge or science whatsoever. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholars in Khorasan and Persia, they will think you both an ignoramus and a liar." People with this insularity of outlook were not likely to lend their ears to a new message. But the policy of Mahmud secured the rejection of Islam without a hearing.

A religion is naturally judged by the character of those who believe in it: their faults and their virtues are supposed to be the effect of their creed. It was inevitable that the Hindus should consider Islam a deviation from truth when its followers deviated so deplorably from the path of rectitude and justice. A people is not conciliated by being robbed of all it holds most dear, nor will it love a faith that comes to it in the guise of plundering armies and leaves devastated fields and ruined cities as monuments of its victorious method for reforming the morals of a prosperous but decadent world. "They came, burnt, killed, plundered, captured—and went away"—was a Persian's description of the Mongol invasion of his country; it would not be an inappropriate summary of Mahmud's achievement in Hindustan. It was not thus that the Prophet had preached Islam in Arabia; and no one need be surprised that the career of the conquering Ghaznavide created a burning hatred for the new faith in the Hindu mind and blocked its progress more effectually than armies and forts. "Mahmud," says the observant Alberuni, "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed those wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate hatred of all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places where our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places. And there the antagonism between them and all foreigners receive more and more nourishment both from political and religious and other causes."

"The evil that men do lives after them; the good is often buried with their bones!" Mahmud's work, whatever it might have been, was swept off fifty years after his death by the Hindu Revival. Those who had taken up the sword perished by the sword. East of Lahore no trace of the Mussalmans remained; and Mahmud's victories while they failed to shake the moral confidence of Hinduism, won an everlasting infamy for his faith. Two centuries later, men, who differed from Mahmud as widely as two human beings can possibly differ, once more brought Islam into the land. But times had changed. The arrogance of the Mussalmans had disappeared with the conquest of Ajam by the Mongolian hordes. The spirit of the Persian Renaissance had blossomed and died, and the new mysticism, with its cosmopolitan tenderness and with doctrines which did not essentially differ from what the Hindu *Rishis* had taught in ancient days, made possible that exchange of ideas between men of the two creeds which Alberuni had longed for in vain. Instead of the veterans who had crossed the frontier in search of their winter spoils there came a host of refugees

from the burning villages of Central Asia longing for a spot where they could lay their heads in peace and casting aside all hopes of returning to the land of their birth. The serpent had reappeared but without his poisonous fangs. The intellectual history of medieval India begins with the advent of Shaikh Moinuddin of Ajmere and its political history with the accession of Sultan Alaaddin Khilji: the two features which distinguish it from preceding generations are the mystic propaganda started by the Chishti Saint and the administrative and economic measures inaugurated by the revolutionary Emperor. With the proper history of our country Mahmud has nothing to do. But we have inherited from him the most bitter drop in our cup. To later generation Mahmud became the Arch-fanatic he never was; and in that incarnation he is still worshipped by such Indian Mussalmans as have cast off the teaching of Lord Krishna in their devotion to minor gods. Islam's worst enemies have ever been its own fanatical followers.

Provincialism in Co-operation

Mr. Abdus Sathar writes in the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* :—

Should a member of a co-operative society be patriotic? By all means. But how would a co-operative society's patriotism differ from that of the prize-patriot? Citizen-patriotism is country-bred; it is confined to one's own country and breeds the love of the country one lives in. But co-operative patriotism is patriotism for the movement, a movement is wide as the world itself, and not confined to any particular land. Therefore, co-operative patriotism is international, not provincial. A true co-operator loves the movement, not the particular aspect of it which happens to manifest itself in his own country. He is desirous of making the movement a world movement. Therefore, all aspects of the co-operative movement interest him. He is concerned with the various aspects of it as they exist in each country and with co-operative struggles as they confront each nation. Others' difficulties are his own, others' burdens are his own burdens. This is the sign of a true co-operator.

Countries there are which study a particular branch of the movement only, that branch of the movement which is prevalent in their own country.

Not only this, in their opinion to apply the name of co-operation to any other aspect of the movement is a misnomer. For example, people might call consumers' co-operation the only form of co-operation worth the name. But that is wrong. Wherever people make a joint effort to better their economic and moral condition, there is co-operation. And each of these joint efforts should form the subject of study of every true co-operator.

Citizen-patriotism breeds race prejudice and race conceit too, as is evidenced by the domineering attitude assumed by the nations of the West in their dealings with the so-called inferior races. In co-operation there can be no question of superiority. The true student of co-operation approaches each question with the humility of a true seeker after truth, a seeker who feels the vastness of that Infinite Mind whose amplifications are limitless.

A co-operative college or any school or college devoted to the study of co-operation must study all sides and all aspects of the movement.

India's salvation lies in tolerance and liberality and above all in that broad outlook which is the first requisite and the very essence of internationalism. Therefore, an Indian co-operative college, should one be established, must not allow any sort of provincialism or State patriotism to creep into it. Each and every side of the movement, great or small, magnificent or insignificant, must come within its purview. It must concern itself with the successes of the great as well as the struggles of the small. To the successful, it must never deny the just praise due to them and to the struggling it must never refuse to extend its helping hand.

The Value of Horse-shows

We read in the *Journal of the National Horse Breeding and Show Society of India* :—

Before the institution of shows a breeder had no opportunity of comparing the results of his labours with those of other breeders or of gauging the requirements of the market. He could breed on his own lines and to his own ideals but he had no opportunity of checking the accuracy of these and there was nothing to rouse that spirit of emulation and rivalry to breed better stock than his neighbours: and, without the public show it was impossible to fix a standard which it should be the aim of the breeder to equal or surpass.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Bias in Writing History

MUTUAL INDEBTEDNESS OF NATIONS

Principal L. P. Jacks writes in *The Contemporary Review* :—

Every nation in Europe that can claim a history owes some part of its national characteristics to others. During the long period of their life and

growth together, interaction has been going on, in the course of which each national type has begged borrowed, stolen, imitated or otherwise acquired much that belonged originally to the others, while the others reciprocally have acquired much from it. It has been a vast, though for the most part unacknowledged system of co-education.

This process of give and take has, of course, been far from uniform. Some nations, while giving much have taken little, or *vice versa*. France has given

much to Russia, but taken far less in return. Small nations, as a rule, have taken more from their great neighbors than they have given back, though some of them, like Holland and Switzerland, have exercised a notable influence all round.

There is not a single European type in existence to-day which can be explained or understood without reference to the rest.

"SELF-MADE" NATIONS AND MEN.

But, the writer observes:—

With few exceptions, now happily becoming more numerous, most national histories leave the impression on the reader, and are often intended to leave the impression, that the nation whose doings are recorded is *self-made*. There are histories of England and (still more conspicuously) histories of America which remind one of a certain type of autobiography which self-made plutocrats, under the mistaken belief that their fellowmen are anxious to emulate them, sometimes perpetrate in their old age, for the purpose of glorifying the Ego. Everything accomplished by these self-constituted heroes is, of course, set down to their own valor or astuteness, in utter disregard of the fact that at every step they were climbing up on the shoulders of their fellows, and making use of forces which originated from better men than themselves. Every history written on a purely nationalist basis is infected with the same lie. It degenerates into a vulgar autobiography. No self-respecting nation would claim to be the exclusive creator of its own power, its own wealth, or even its own character. National histories written for the purpose of making good such a claim belittle the nations which suffer the historians to represent them in that way, just as the autobiographies just referred to, written for a like purpose of self-glorification, only serve to bring their authors into contempt.

100 PER CENT. AND 5 PER CENT. PATRIOTISM

He goes on to add:—

But though we are quick enough to detect the absurdity when perpetrated by foreign historians in the supposed interest of their own countries, we tolerate it in our own without protest. But not wisely. There is no kind of Englishman more likely to bring ridicule on his country than the "hundred per cent" variety when he takes to the writing of history.

Into the total make-up of man, it may be said at a venture that not more than five per cent. of national characteristics can be introduced without making him something of a fool. Beyond that percentage, his patriotism fall under a Law of Diminishing Returns, he grows progressively more ridiculous and more dangerous, until at the hundred per cent level he becomes an insufferable monster and deserves to be executed by his fellow-countrymen as a traitor and a felon. Five per cent.—to be raised at a stretch to seven—may be freely allowed; not only allowed, but positively required as essential to the make-up of a good citizen. Everything in human life depends for its value on the other things with which it is mixed, and the ninety-three per cent of our good Englishman which belongs to the world will not be worth much unless it be well salted with the seven per cent. which belongs

exclusively to England and makes him distinct and English.

NATIONAL AXE-GRINDING

In the opinion of Principal Jacks

It should be obvious that so long as the purpose of history is regarded by historians as a means of grinding the national axe, it will abound in distinctions, half-truths and falsehoods, and there is no matter for deep satisfaction in the fact that a powerful and growing revolt has set in against this mode of writing it.

WESTERN AND OTHER CIVILISATION

With reference to the "Unity Series" of books brought out by Mr. F. S. Marvin Principal Jacks says:—

I would also suggest that the contributors to these volumes are on dangerous ground when they insist, as some of them do, on the superiority of Western to all other forms of civilisation. That I am persuaded, should be regarded for the present as an open question, in view especially of the unquestionable fact that without the friendly co-operation of the East, the problems of the West are insoluble. Mr. Bertrand Russell may not be right in thinking that China is nearer the line of development to be taken by the future civilisation of the world than any Nation of the West can claim to be. But at all events the Chinese will co-operate greatly in whatever international synthesis destiny may have in store for our civilisation, and neither they, nor the Eastern nations generally, are in any mood to submit to airs of superiority on the part of Western writers. Western civilisation is still on its trial, and it is not yet clear how it will compare, in the final issue, with other civilisations on which it is now too ready to look down.

The Mecca¹ Pilgrimage in the Life of Islam

Mr. Arthur Jeffery writes in the *International Review of Missions*:—

In a recent lecture at the School of Oriental Studies in Cairo, Professor Margoliouth drew attention once again to the fact that the pilgrimage to Mecca is practically the one bond of unity in the world of Islam. Islam assuredly has no political unity, for the most recent census of the Moslem world reveals the Moslem population divided in political allegiance among some twenty different governments, and six-sevenths of that population under western suzerainty. There is not even the ideal political unity of which Pan-Islam was the symbol, for the House of Islam has not yet been able to decide which is its real Commander of the Faithful. Nor is Islam a religious unity. Not only is there the great gulf fixed between Shias and Sunnis, but its so-called orthodox sects are poles asunder, and all through its history there has been the clash of opposing doctrines within its fold. Nor is Islam a cultural unity. The Muhammadanism of Malaya is a gloss over Malayan Animism, and Islam in China is an Arabized Confucianism, while in lands of more advanced civilization Islam has adapted itself to, and expressed itself in, the culture of the peoples whom it conquered. Not even ha-

its sacred tongue, the 'language of Paradise,' been a bond of cultural unity, for though it has impressed its script on other tongues and made at times a deep impression on the vocabulary of the peoples Islam has conquered, yet it has created no linguistic unity in the Moslem world, for the vernaculars still hold sway, while in Java Arabic is mostly famous as the substances of charms and amulets, and in Africa it makes 'big magic.'

If Islam is in any sense a social unity, that unity is focused in the Mecca pilgrimage, when in the streets of the Holy City there meet and mingle Moslems from every quarter of the House of Islam. There are wild Bedouin of the Arabian desert, and sleek, elegantly tailored Turks from Angora or Stamboul; rough Afghan mountaineers and soft merchants from Bombay; smooth-faced Chinamen from Kansu and bearded Russians from Kazan. There are Egyptians and Moors and Swahilis; learned scholars from Hind and densest dullards from Ethiopia; warlike Moros from the Philippines and pacific Bengalis. There are white-faced Persians and coal-black Sudanese, Caucasians from Anatolia and Mongols from Turkestan. And here during the pilgrimage they are in a sense one great family, drawn by a common faith to a common centre to share in a common enthusiasm for a common end. Here, if anywhere, Islam is one.

It is probable that Muhammad meant it to be a centre of unity, when he took it over from the pagan religion that he superseded. The pilgrimage is older than Islam.

Fame and Greatness

Mr. H. M. Forbes tells us in *Chambers's Journal*:—

According to a renowned statesman, 'the world never knows its great men'; according to Bernard Shaw, Hall Caine, G. K. Chesterton (all of whom I have questioned on the subject), the number of great men who die wholly unrecognised is indisputably considerable. But, this interesting question apart, what about the reputation of the actual immortals? Why, for instance, is one name held in affectionate remembrance, while another—a worthier by far, as often as not—survives only as it were on sufferance?

The truth is, what keeps a reputation ever-green is not so much high talent, splendid services, an unimpeachable record, as that amazingly fascinating thing, a picturesque personality. This assertion in these days of biographical plays and pictures any producer would substantiate. Why is it that the public is so much more interested in Napoleon than in Lee, in Lincoln than in Daniel Webster, in Dr. Johnson than in Charles Reade? Why do the masses never tire of hearing about Charles James Fox, about Charles XII of Sweden,

This is speaking generally of the great masses of the population. It is true, however, that among the intellectuals, Arabic is known all over the Moslem world. Some writers make a great point of this and write bombastic periods on the unity of Islam from China to Morocco and from Russia to the Cape through the universality of the Arabic language. How little practical truth there is in this, however, is shown by the whole class of interpreters at Mecca who live on the inability of the majority of pilgrims to speak Arabic.

about Bonnie Prince Charlie? All for one identical reason—that already indicated. The hero of the people must not merely be a man of action, he must be something of an actor. To live in the heart of the multitude a great man must have some other claim to immortality than mere greatness. He must be unusual in some other sense. He must collect pieces of orange peel like Samuel Johnson; he must employ bank-notes as book-marks like De Quincey; he must stuff the carcasses of dead birds with snow after the style of Francis Bacon; he must take to climbing church steeples like Clive; failing which, in the matter of personal magnetism, whatever else he may do he can never hope to be one of the darlings of the gods.

The part played by love in the scheme of immortality is incalculable. Not for nothing was the adage coined—'All the world loves a lover'. The scholar loves Dante for one reason; the man in the street for another. It is the poet's passion for Beatrice, like Petrarch's for Laura, like Burns's for Highland Mary, that has fixed these great names in the minds of the educationally unredeemed.

After adding a few more names, the writer observes:—

Amazing as it may seem, next to romance it is devilment which most fascinates and bewitches the multitudes! To the man in the street Fox is never so picturesque as when running up debts to well-nigh two hundred thousand. Byron as when his tame bear was causing uneasiness to the college authorities, O'Connell as when engaged in a desperate duel.

According to Macaulay, the great ladies of London society were once much fascinated by the devil-may-care tactics of a certain highwayman whose robberies were more than forgiven him on account of his gallantries. When he was at long last captured and condemned to death, heaven and earth were moved to save him from the hangman's noose, some of the fair petitioners being the noblest in the land. The petition itself failing, the fair sought to allay their sorrow by doing homage to the remains as they rested in funeral splendour in a chamber which, for the melancholy occasion, had been superbly hung with trappings of woe!

But it was not only in the good old days that the desperado enjoyed a warm corner in the heart of the sentimental.

As with men, so with women. The woman who entrances the crowd is the woman with a romantic story.

Jainism

We read in the *Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, which reproduces a page of a manuscript of the *Kalpa Sutra* with the picture of Mahavira enthroned:—

The faith called Jainism appears to have arisen in India simultaneously with Buddhism in the sixth century B. C. Both religions aim to point the individual toward the perfect spiritual life; and each builds its own way of salvation upon the foundations of the ancient Hindu ideas of transmigration (Samsara) and inexorable causation (Karma). Buddhism emphasizes ethics; Jainism

metaphysics. While to Buddhism the soul does not exist as a separate entity, to Jainism it is immortal and may attain divinity. Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, called the Jina, is also named the "Finder of the Ford" across the ocean of universal death and rebirth.

The two religions have had an opposite history. Buddhism is nearly extinct in India, while counting its hundreds of millions of adherents elsewhere in eastern Asia. Jainism has survived in India alone. It was once important politically, and still is influential through the character and wealth of its adherents. The percentage of crime is asserted to be lower among the Jains than among the Hindus, Muhammadans or Christians in India; and it has been estimated that half the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jain laity. Jainism has left its impress upon Indian art in architecture, sculpture and painting. The Jain shrine at Mt. Abu, built of marble with elaborate sculptured ornament, has been called the most superb temple in India and comparable only with the Taj Mahal.

Illustrated manuscripts like those of the Museum collection are very rare even in Jain libraries. The pages retain the form of the strips of palm leaf or birch bark used before the introduction of paper. The illustrations are colored drawings about three and one-half inches high and two and one-half to three and one-half wide, placed as if pasted on the page. The faces and figures depicted are most remarkable in character, and, like the composition of the different scenes represented, adhere strictly to canonical forms. The illustration reproduced below is the first page of a manuscript of the *Kalpa Sutra*, a sacred book held in high esteem by the Jains for a thousand years. The manuscript is dated 1497, and, with the possible exception of a similar manuscript in the British Museum, is the oldest known. An inscription states that it was prepared on behalf of a certain merchant, his family and colleagues. Several leaves from the manuscripts are at present shown in the Indian Corridor. G.

Gandhi Number of "The World Tomorrow"

The December 1924 number of *The World Tomorrow* is a Gandhi number. It has a Portrait of Mr. M. K. Gandhi on the cover and the following articles among others:

Gandhi. By John Haynes Holmes.

The Influence of Mahatma Gandhi. By C. F. Andrews.

The Soul of Mahatma Gandhi. By E. Stanley Jones.

Since Gandhi's Imprisonment. By T. H. K. Reznice.

Gandhi and Indian Industrialism. By Taraknath Das.

What Gandhi Faces. By Syed Hossain.

Does Non-Cooperation Succeed? By A. Fenner Brockway.

Books on Gandhi and India.

Future Cultural Relations of East and West

In an article in *The New Orient* of New York on future cultural relations between

east and west, Mr. Bertrand Russell discusses the considerations which lead him to the conclusion that,

In so far as Western culture consists of industrialism, it is fated to conquer the East. Japan, at an early stage, adopted this view and acted upon it; hence the political independence of Japan at the present day. India is being industrialized by British capital, on account of the cheapness of Indian labour. China will have to industrialize herself or submit to being industrialized by foreigners. The Soviet Government is bent on industrializing the regions under its control as quickly as possible. The Near East is cursed by the possession of oil, and is therefore subjected to the joint exploitation of all the Western nations. Persia, at the moment, is on the way to becoming a dependency of the United States; the rest of the Near East is mainly controlled by England and France. Nowhere is it possible to resist the Western thirst for oil which entails a great measure of industrial development.

Assuming that Asia is to become industrial, is it possible to retain any of the distinctive traits of the various Asiatic civilizations? Or must all Asia become gradually more and more like Pittsburg?

Marx taught that the economic factors of a civilization are the source of all its other characteristics. If he was right, Asia, by becoming industrial, must inevitably become just like industrial Europe and America unless its industrialism were to take some different form from that of the West.

He also mentions the reasons why,

Although I think the civilizations of the East in many ways better than that of the West I do not expect to see any of their distinctive characteristics preserved, with the sole exception of religion. And even religion, while remaining nominally unchanged will, in practice, cease to be other-worldly and enter the service of the State as the handmaiden of the drill-sergeant.

One conclusion which is forced upon us by the above arguments is that any future civilization must be a world-civilization, not the civilization of a nation or even a continent. Asiatic ideals cannot be preserved in Asia except to the extent to which they can be spread over mankind. The days when isolation was possible are past. Asia must teach the West or unlearn her distinctive virtues. In order to teach the West, compromise will be necessary; something of what the West has to teach in the way of technical efficiency will have to be assimilated, since otherwise the East will continue to be exploited and oppressed by the West, and however unjustly, despised by the average Westerner, who is incapable of admiring anything except efficiency.

The evils at present associated with industrialism are not inherent in it as a method of production; they spring from its accidental association with competition and private monopoly.

The East has less respect for the successful hustler, and might therefore succeed in humanizing industrialism. In order that this may be achieved, it is necessary to mitigate competition, especially in the form which is at present most prominent; the competition for the possession of raw materials by means of armies and navies. All raw materials

ought to be owned internationally, and rationed to the different nations according to their needs. This would constitute a true international government such as can never result from a purely political institution like the League of Nations. The main reason for modern wars would be eliminated if no nation and no group of capitalists could reap a private profit out of the monopoly of some important source of raw materials. The result might be that industrialism would be devoted to increasing human happiness, not, as at present, to the spread of ferocity and destruction. To bring this about is, to my mind, the great work which Asia (including Russia) has to perform for mankind in the future.

When a typical Westerner is confronted with the ideal of an industry not under the lash of competition, he objects that it would not be efficient. This may be partly true. But when men's main purposes are bad, efficiency is only harmful. It would be far better to pursue the common good with some slackening of efficiency than to pursue mutual destruction with the energy and ruthlessness which the West admires. Although while the present system lasts, the East may need, as we said a minute ago) to acquire something of Western efficiency, this should be only a transitional stage, leading on to a world where industrialism is used to give leisure and a civilized existence to all. This is a distant goal; perhaps the Western nations will destroy each other in mutual suicide before it is reached. But it is a goal which must be reached if industrialism is to be made endurable, and it is better than anything that is possible without industrialism. It would result naturally from the application of Eastern ideals to the modern economic world. I, therefore earnestly hope that Asia will come to the rescue of the world, by causing Western inventiveness to subserve human ends instead of the base cravings of oppression and cruelty to which it has been prostituted by the dominant nations of the present day.

The World's Largest Koran

We read in *The Living Age*:—

Of all the strange and precious objects (of art and otherwise) that have been auctioned off at Sotheby's in London, one of the strangest came up for sale last month. It was a Koran (intended for use in a mosque) which is said to be one of the largest, if not the largest, in the world.

The book is four feet tall, with pages two and a half feet wide, and is a foot thick. The covers are of wood. It takes two men to lift this truly ponderous tome. Each page contains but ten lines of script which is four inches high, and the borders are richly illumined with floral designs. The whole book is covered with gold brocade. It was sold to an Oriental for two hundred pounds, and will probably go back to its home in the ancient East. For the same reason that leads curators of museums to juxtapose ostriches and humming birds, the auctioneers offered for comparison a tiny Koran measuring one and a half inches square.

The Destiny of South America.

Manuel Ugarte writes in his book *El Destino de un continente* ("The Destiny of a

Continent") thus, in part, with regard to South America:—

"The people of a virgin continent of fabulous undeveloped wealth, born under new conditions unprejudiced by social precedent, inspired by democratic ideals, ought, in a century of economic rivalry like our own, to face life with a practical preparation fitting them to deal with the problems thus presented. Instead of that, we have taught our people the routine learning of nations that have already fulfilled their destiny. Latin, *belles-lettres* and purely scholarly attainments are worthy contributions and precious possessions of a higher culture, but they can exert little or no influence on the development of societies in process of formation, that are struggling to subdue nature, that are called upon first of all to defend themselves, to establish themselves, to make themselves master, by their own intelligence and toil, of their particular patrimony. This antithesis between practical needs and empirical instruction is the source of all our difficulties. It is the cause of the conflict between our urban intellectuals with their pretentious literary accomplishments, and the country population, which, in spite of its illiteracy, performs the really useful work of the country; and its final fruit is stagnation and dependence upon foreign enterprise and capital.

Our communities, prepared for anything else better than for the practical task that fate has assigned them, either let their resources lie undeveloped, or alienate them to the foreigner. And bear in mind that by undeveloped resources I do not mean merely treasures to be drawn from the soil and the subsoil—mines, forests, petroleum deposits and the like—but the social apparatus through which a modern State functions: railways, public works, sanitation, clothing, food, and other things innumerable. In each of these branches it is exceedingly rare for the native to become a practical provider to the community. This is not due to his indolence, as is often charged. His indifference is rather the effect of his disillusionment and his mental misdirection. The ultimate cause is his supercilious literary pride, which unfits him for practical pursuits, and his lack of scientific preparation, which reduces to a minimum his efficiency in any productive vocation.

Even those who start out to devote themselves to agriculture, stock-raising, or other occupations suitable for a country in the earlier stages of its development, do so without professional preparation, and with no knowledge of the modern methods pursued elsewhere.

Our school courses have not even the remotest connection with the demands of our age, our physical environment, our state of social progress, our needs as a community. Primary instruction has been confined to teaching merely auxiliary acquirements, such as reading and writing, while advanced courses have been monopolized by the useless and ornamental accomplishments of a parasitic group. That explains why we must go abroad for capital, for engineers, for skilled artisans, every time we have to build a highway, a railway, or a bridge.

By confining education to these purely ornamental subjects the Latin Americans have surrendered the profits of their rich territories to strangers, and have made their countries tributary nations. Their wealth has been systematically extracted, converted into useful forms, transported, manu-

tured, and sold with the aid of foreign capital, by firms, specialists, and traders whose sentiments and interests are those of distant lands. Every object of personal use—our clothing, household furniture, even much of our food; all our public services and works, such as tramways, telephones, street paving; all our national enterprises, such as railways, telegraphs, and armaments, are furnished by other countries. To be sure, every nation is more or less dependent on its neighbors, and international trade is the lifeblood of the community of peoples. But for this very reason, that wealth is never durable which is derived solely from the fortuitous fertility of the land and local markets. Trade does not redound to the advantage of a nation except when the people of that nation hold it in their hands. A country never prosperous unless it can pay for what it gets abroad with what it produces at home, and lives within its income.

Thus, a faulty and misdirected education, intended to encourage enterprise initiative, industry and a fruitful economic life, condemns us to pay tribute to the stranger in connection with almost every act: when we take a tramcar, when we attend a movie-show, when we use a telephone, when we sign an insurance contract, when we enter an automobile, when we open a book, when we turn on a light, when we ascend in an elevator, when we do business at a bank, when we purchase a bicycle, when we tread a carpet, when we wear shoes, when we look at our watch—for every one of these articles, conveniences, or necessities come from outside the country and is supplied by foreign firms. The paper in our favorite periodical, the pen with which we write our letters, the very bunting from which we make our national flag, has been manufactured outside our boundaries, and what is worst of all in many cases our raw materials taken from our own territories without our people receiving the slightest profit from the transaction.

What Latin America actually buys in final analysis is not physical goods, but the scientific superiority, the technical skill, the business capacity, that come from an education that she herself might give to her own sons with no more effort than is necessary to draft a sensible plan and consistently to apply it. We have become so accustomed to our inferiority in many matters that the very thought of overcoming it strikes us with surprise. But our condition is not something remediable and beyond the power of man to change. The idea that we may sometimes build our own ships, manufacture our own arms, manage our own railways, utilize the metals from our own mines, conduct our own freezing works and packing house, and do a thousand other things of the same sort, is just beginning to dawn in the minds of our younger generation, which at last shows ambition to address itself to the great task of developing the continent that stands at our elbows vying our enterprise and labor.

While the prejudices begotten of our faulty education unfit us for practical pursuits, they are aimed to make us superior in the realm of art and letters. Our people often say, 'The Anglo-Saxons are the masters of practical life, but we excel them in the higher spheres of thought.' The falsity of this is so evident that one almost shrinks from discussing it. Even assuming that the natural aptitudes of the two races were different in this respect,

we should be no less foolish for that reason to neglect the practical pursuits on which national power is founded. But do we unquestionably possess this superiority in purely intellectual achievement of which we boast? Do our thinkers and artists actually have a precedence in art, philosophy, and science? Can we cite definite masterpieces and inventions to prove this assertion?

Rarely has history produced a people more richly endowed than ourselves with native intelligence, quickness of perception, and imagination. But the absence of inspiring intellectual guidance, lack of moral discipline, a purely mnemonic education, dearth of high ideals, and devotion to routine, have kept the latent capacities of our people from bearing fruit.

When the Japanese were forced to open their islands to the trade of the world and found themselves face to face with the formidable superiority of occidental culture, they instantly took measures necessary for self-preservation, instead of continuing to worship their ancient legends. They met their rivals on their own ground; they borrowed from the West whatever promised to be of profit to them; and realizing that political independence is the child of economic independence, they promptly applied themselves to winning the latter.

If Latin America would substitute for her present system of education one suitable for the modern age, she might gradually accomplish similar results. In speaking of a new education, however, I do not mean that we should confine ourselves to a merely trade education in the various practical vocations to the neglect of all higher forms of culture. Without the latter, knowledge is but a body devoid of soul. It is only the highest elements of culture that give men a spirit of initiative, intellectual freedom, and creative energy. First of all, we should throw overboard the primitive idea that education is merely acquiring a certain stock of information. It is far more important, more exalted, than that. It becomes a beneficent and creative force in national life only when it is directed toward positive goals of social progress, solely when it serves a national ideal to which each individual subordinates his personal good.

When Latin America gives her sons a technical and moral training for life, suitable for the day in which we live, our wasted energies will find more profitable employment than fomenting revolutions, and we shall rid ourselves of the unhappy illusion that we own the wealth of our country merely because it is produced beneath our flag. In many respects we remain to-day virtually colonies of Europe and the United States, and our subordination will not end until we steer our course through the centuries by a new chart, and equip ourselves to reach a nobler port.

These passages in English translation are taken from *The Living Age*. We have made such long extracts because, though India is not "a virgin continent" like South America, our problems are in many respects not unlike those of that continent!

—

Seeing Without Eyes

We read in *Current Opinion*:—

That it is possible for a human being to see

without using his eyes, and without recourse to hypnotic suggestion in any form, is the conclusion reached by a French savant, Jules Romain (Louis Farigoule), who has just published the result of his painstaking researches in what he calls "extraretinal vision" or "paroptic sight." In order for this paroptic sense to function, the normal eyesight, and to some extent the normal consciousness, must be abolished, another state of consciousness being induced in its place. In his book "Eyeless Sight," M. Romain contends that practically anyone may attain some degree of success in developing extraretinal vision, by constant experimentation upon himself.

Various areas of the body seem to be instrumental in rendering possible this secondary vision. These are: the finger-tips, the forehead, the back of the neck, and particularly the skin of the chest, over the "solar plexus." Sometimes objects are perceived which would lie wholly outside the normal field of vision—when apparently seen by the back of the neck, for example. Sometimes the objects are merely placed in space at a distance of about a yard from the subject and in front of him.

There seem to be two types of paroptic vision; in the first, the subject feels that he somehow sees with the sight-centers of the brain, in the usual manner; this M. Romain calls "homocentric vision." In the second the subject sees with his "solar plexus"; this is called "heterocentric vision."

It was found, by experiment, that as soon as the normal optic apparatus was stimulated in any way, this secondary vision ceases. It is as though the secondary vision were acquired only after much effort, with return to the normal order of things as soon as the slightest opportunity is given.

How may this remarkable phenomenon be accounted for? M. Romain believes that it represents a power, still possessed by all humanity in more or less limited degree, which was originally inherent in all living beings. The most simple organisms seem to possess a sort of diffused sense or sight, all over their bodies, which becomes specialized, into the eyes and general optic apparatus only among the higher organisms. These organs having usurped the special function of sight, the rest of the body loses it; but M. Romain feels that it has never been lost completely, and that by means of suitable experiments it can again be stimulated into activity.

But, as the *Scientific American* comments, this would indicate that there are still left within the skin hundreds of thousands of very minute and primitive "eyes" capable of reacting to the stimulus of light in an appropriate matter. Can this be shown to be the case? As the result of his researches, M. Romain believes that he has proved the existence of such primary organs, or ocelli, to which the paroptic sense must be attributed.

Birth Control

S. H. Halford states in *The Socialist Review* :—

Some years back I was responsible for a contribution to the *Review*, entitled, "Sex and Statistics,"

in which figures from our own Registrar General's reports were given showing how birth restriction was affecting the population, not merely numerically but in quality.

Briefly, both his investigations and mine prove that birth control does and must reduce the proportion of intelligent persons in the population in which it is practised. It does not really need much unprejudiced thinking to convince any of the most deluded believer in the effect of environment that this is so. Necessarily, the more intelligent social strata most extensively adopt restriction and therefore must reduce their proportion contribution to the general population.

Even in regard to its effect upon sexual morality we are not now so entirely without evidence as Bentham seems to think. Those who like to go to the expense of purchasing the Blue Book containing the minutes of the recent Joint Committee on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, will find there, the evidence tendered by the Home Office at Scotland Yard, some very useful and remarkable facts and figures out of which a great deal can be deduced. They tend to prove that birth control knowledge encourages and extends very large habits of promiscuous intercourse favourable to large increase of venereal disease. I know how extensive, powerful, and blind British prejudice are in any matter relating to sex, but they may be extremely so in persons who imagine with confidence that birth control knowledge will reduce immorality. It may indeed reduce mercenary prostitution and the diseases consequent thereon, but the evidence I have referred to suggests that it will and does enormously stimulate non-mercenary prostitution; with the much greater disease rate that attaches to that as compared with the mercenary type. Indeed, as the Home Office witness stated to the Joint Committee, if anyone who has known the West End of London twenty years or more ago will walk round it now after dark, he will see with his own eyes a difference so vast as to easily convince him.

A Call to Combat Race Suicide

The following extracts are taken from an article in *The Literary Digest* with the above heading :—

A happy marriage is the greatest of blessings and there is no career which compares in all its rewards with that of motherhood. The pronouncement, though it comes from the lips of a great educator who is himself happily married and a father, might be considered as too obvious for repetition; but it is coupled with the statement that parenthood among the educated is declining at a rate unpleasant to consider. Investigation shows that Harvard graduates over a long period of years average only 1.7 children. It is, therefore, for the old-fashioned view of marriage and its responsibilities, lest race suicide continue at its present rate among people of European stock, that Dr. Charles W. Eliot pleads. The plea is contained in a recent address before the Harvard Dames, a group of the wives and sisters of men connected with the University of which Dr. Eliot is President Emeritus. Personal inquiry conducted by Dr. Eliot among a number of your people brought from the majority of men the opinion that marriage is the most important event in life.

But Dr. Eliot found some women who entertain hopes or expectation about their own careers who are not so sure that marriage is of such importance. The apparent reasons for this hesitancy on the part of women, says the veteran educator and philosopher, are the desire for independence of all ties and the desire for a better career for women. To Dr. Eliot the idea that there is a better career than that of motherhood is a delusion, "but it is a delusion which obviously in these days is harbored and entertained by a certain small proportion of young women." Actually, asks Dr. Eliot, as we quote him from the *Boston Globe*, does not marriage open to women "the highest, most beautiful, most rewarding career in life—a career in comparison with which all other careers open to women are inferior?" He goes on:

"It may be inferior because of the physical disadvantages in the women, it may be inferior because of unfortunate circumstances connected with her childhood and youth, but at bottom, is there not danger that these new expectations in women are going to have serious effects on the habits of women throughout life? I believe that marriage, and the natural normal result of marriage—the bringing up of children—is infinitely the best career for women and for men also.

"If we look about at our acquaintances in the society in which we live, I think we may easily see that the number of happy marriages is very much greater than the number of unhappy marriages, and also that the unhappy marriage is the worst disaster that can befall any one—the worst disaster. Does not that go to show that marriage is the most important event in life? If failure in marriage is the greatest of disasters, so a happy marriage is the greatest of blessings."

It seems, however, that modern education is

tending to discourage marriage and parenthood and to that extent is cutting off the flower of the race.

Dr. Charles W. Eliot concludes his address by saying: "I hope you all realize that there is no career in life which compares in promise, in expectations, in satisfactions, in all the rewards of a career, with that of motherhood."

Gandhi's Great Achievement

Mr. Wilfred Wellock observes in *The Socialist Review* :—

The only point at issue is as to whether a nation can be raised to the level of moral elevation whence non-resistance can be successfully applied. Gandhi has gone far, both in South Africa, and in India, toward proving that it can. That, indeed, is his great achievement. He has not only worked out the theory of non-violence, he has applied it in a mass direction, and on a gigantic scale. This I regard as his real contribution to modern civilisation. In many ways Gandhi's exposition of non-violence is superior to Tolstoy's, and for the reason I think, that his character is superior. Gandhi is first and foremost a saint; but he is something of a thinker too; and he is also a man of action, whose contact with "affairs" has neither weakened nor impaired his principles nor stained his character. It is beyond refutation that no man who has ever lived has influenced so profoundly in his own lifetime the lives and the conduct of so large a number of human beings as has this physically insignificant Indian saint, whose thoughts and struggles are recorded in these three wonderful volumes.

NOTES

Excuses for Usurpers and Exploiters

In reviewing a certain historical work on the origin and growth of the British power in India, an Indian reviewer of a leading Indian daily says that the following points gathered by him from the first three volumes of the work throw some light on England's mysterious success in India :—

(1) Dupleix found out that no power could succeed in India without the cooperation of the people of the land. They had no patriotism and were divided among themselves. It was so easy to set them against one another and take sides.

(2) They had intelligence and physical courage and would prove excellent fighters if trained on western lines.

(3) Their simplicity, trustfulness, faithfulness and devotion to their leaders, made them an easy prey to the English.

(4) The "heathens" were hypnotised by the smooth and specious promises of the English Christians. They were made to part with their liberty and earthly possessions. The rise of the British power in India was like the progress of the white ants.

(5) Whenever it was their interest to do so, the English violated the solemn engagements they entered into with the people of India. Colonel Maitland summed up the causes of the Great Indian Uprising in two words—bad faith.

(6) The Indian rulers made the mistake of keeping in their service officers of European extraction. These were never loyal and were glad and ready to betray their masters.

(7) The planting of British Residents in the courts of Indian Rulers enabled them to breed domestic dissensions and prevent union with their brethren. "The British Friend of India Magazine" for March, 1843, asks "how did the Company acquire Bengal, but by perjury and forgery. Or Arcot, or any other principality."

(3) The system of subsidiary alliance was meant to wipe out the French from India as also the independent existence of the Indian States.

(4) The grant of concessions by Indian Rulers to foreign Christian Traders led to their supremacy.

(5) The ruin of Indian trades and industries and the political downfall of India began when the Moghal Emperor, in mistaken generosity, granted to English merchants such concessions as the rulers nowadays would give to any power, Christian or otherwise.

(6) The deliberate destruction by Watson and Clive of the Indian Navy paved the way to the rise of the English.

After mentioning these points in his own words, the reviewer observes that these views of the author are supported by the documents which he has cited, and proceeds to add :—

They however lose sight of or do not lay sufficient emphasis on these facts :

(1) We ourselves were our enemies and lost self-rule.

(2) If they have come by their acquisition wrongly, it is but human nature and we might have done the same or worse.

(3) If they played us against one another, it is our fault that we allowed them to do so. Jayachandra of Kanauj led the way.

(4) If they took away our liberty and undermined our national institutions and character, they have given us something—their civilisation with all its good and evils.

(5) If they are here to-day, it is only because we are not united in asking them to go away.

It is not our purpose in this note to criticise the critic so far as the merits or demerits of the work he has reviewed are concerned. Nor do we wish to enquire whether the author has lost sight of or refrained from laying sufficient emphasis on the points mentioned by the reviewer. Our object is to draw attention to some general principles and to some characteristics of Indian civilisation which may be deduced from India's ancient history.

We do not claim that on the whole we as a people are superior to other peoples, and it may be that on the whole we are as bad as or worse than the English. What we submit is that two wrongs do not make one right. It may be that, if placed in the position in which the English were placed, we might have behaved as ill as or worse than the English. But that does not justify what they did. There are liars, cheats, thieves, robbers and murderers among the inhabitants of all countries ; but their existence everywhere has not led to the revision and modification of the moral code of mankind. Similarly, if it could be shown that all nations or all trading companies or incor-

porated bodies have been guilty of particular kinds of unethical conduct, that would not justify or whitewash those kinds of conduct, nor lead to the lowering of the standard of international or intergroup morality by which moralists judge nations and groups of men. It is one of the duties of a historian to narrate how certain events happened and how certain nations or bodies of men behaved under certain circumstances and pronounce moral judgment on them. If other nations or groups of men have behaved similarly or worse, they were also wrong.

We have said above that on the whole we do not claim any superiority for ourselves as a people. But it may be that in some respects our ancestors behaved better than some other nations of the earth. Take the case of doing good to other people by helping them to be spiritually-minded, cultured and civilised. The reviewer says that though the British people have taken away our liberty and undermined our national institutions, they have given us their civilisation with all its good and evils. Let us refrain from discussing whether the doing of evil may be justified by the subsequent doing of some good, also whether the "civilisation" of India by the English was an act of disinterested and deliberate philanthropy or a by-product of the pursuit of power and pelf. Let us only say that the British people or the peoples of European extraction in general have not been the only "civilisers" in the world's history. Indians also did some civilising work in ancient times. And the question which we would ask all our sisters and brethren to put to themselves is, how did our ancestors do it ?

Did our ancestors domineer over and exploit other countries without themselves settling in those countries and mixing with the indigenous population thereof, and did they civilise them in that way ? We have no proof that they did any such thing in the country in which we find abundant proofs of Indian culture in ancient times.

Take the case of China. Great Chinese scholars have said that Indian teachers and Indian civilisation helped China greatly in her progress in culture, civilisation and spirituality. The other day Bishop Fisher said in his lecture in Santiniketan that no country had ever been able to conquer China, but that on the contrary China had absorbed all her invaders. He made an exception only in the case of India. India's conquest of China was, however, he observed, a conquest of love,

ected by Indian Buddhist missionaries and their teachers. This view was subsequently endorsed by Prof. Lim, a Chinese scholar, in one of his lectures in Santiniketan. The influence of India on China still endures. This is admitted by Chinese scholars themselves. Of course India also learnt many things from China. But what we wish to emphasise here is that India's influence on China was not exercised by conquest or commercial exploitation : it was an altruistic achievement.

What is true of China is also true in the main of Tibet. So, we ought not to remain hypnotised in the belief that Indians have all along been like the British or that it is possible for Indians to do things in a better way than the British have done.

In Central Asia, remains of extinct civilisations have been unearthed by the labours of European explorers, to whom our heartfelt thanks are due. These civilisations were Indian in origin. But there is no proof that these regions were governed by migratory Indian governors and officials sent out by some Indian ruling power in India and commercially exploited and sucked dry by migratory Indian business men through the destruction of the indigenous industries of those regions by the exercise of political power. These extinct Central Asian civilisations were products of intermingling of races and cultures.

Japan was influenced by India in ancient times but not through conquest and political, commercial and industrial exploitation.

Islands in the Indian Archipelago like Java, Bali, &c., were civilised by the Hindus. Similarly, the countries of Anam, Cambodia, etc., called Indo-China, were civilised by the Hindus. But the process was different from and better than the political and economic imperialism of the West. Moreover, though when the Hindus began the work of civilisation in these countries, they were inhabited by backward and sometimes savage races, the civilisers raised the indigenous peoples to a higher level, and thus the resulting culture and civilisation were the work of two peoples fused together. Hence it is that whatever remains of Indian culture and civilisation we find in these countries are not purely Indian but the product of Indian and indigenous genius combined.

The civilising work abroad, of peoples of European extraction has been in the main carried on by the co-operation of merchants, missionaries and military men. India's civilising work abroad has been in the main far

different. Her teachers and missionaries have crossed oceans, snow-covered mountains, deep and broad rivers, waterless deserts, forests infested with wild beasts and regions inhabited by men perhaps wilder and more terrible. Many such Indians lost their lives, without indemnities being claimed or extracted by India. Of course, there have been Indian merchants and colonisers also. But we do not know that they deliberately destroyed or monopolised indigenous industries abroad, exterminated or enslaved any native races. It may be suggested that they did not because they could not. In any case, the guilt of extermination and industrial Vandalism does not rest on their shoulders.

We do not like the kind of comparison in which the object is to bring out the superiority of our own selves or of our ancestors. It is an odious task. And it does not do any good to anybody. On the contrary, it tends to make our people vain boasters and idlers. Modesty and humility are to be preferred. We do not believe that all that is occidental is material and worldly, and all that is Indian is spiritual and heavenly. We do not believe that we are all spiritually-minded and live up to the highest ideals of our country, and that all occidental are worldly-minded and do not live up to their spiritual ideals, which certainly exist.

But we cannot agree to believe, nor are not willing to be hypnotised into the belief, that there are not *some* achievements at least to the credit of our people which are superior to the achievements of some other peoples or that it is unthinkable that the behaviour of our people under certain circumstances might possibly be better than that of some other people under those circumstances.

The reviewer has spoken of the British people giving us "their civilisation with all its good and evils." It is well known that Britain also has been indebted to India in many ways. We do not refer here to the material benefit which Britain has derived from her connection with India. That has been immense, and too patent to escape the eyes of any unprejudiced observer and student of history. We speak here of the non-material advantage which Britain has derived from contact with India. That Indian thought and ideals have greatly influenced Britain and other Western countries has been admitted by many thinkers. Only the other day we came across the following sentence in the *Sanit*.

Weekly Chronicle, edited by Mr. A. Morgan Young.—

"Indian thought has had a profound influence on the thought of Europe during the past century."

It may not therefore be unjust to infer that for any benefits conferred on India by Britain, India has more than amply paid by the material and non-material wealth which the British people have received in return. But for the wrong done by the British people to India compensation has still to be made. This forms part of the compensatory effort which many Western Christian peoples should make. So far as we are concerned, we are grateful for all the really altruistic services which these peoples are rendering. But so far as they themselves are concerned, it will be time for them to begin to be self-complacent when they have liberated as many countries as they have enslaved, saved as many tribes as they have exterminated, enriched as many peoples as they have ruined by economic warfare, and rescued as many persons as they have killed, maimed and disabled.

It is to be noted here that what good India has been instrumental in doing to Britain has been done without political and economic subjugation and exploitation. Japan has also similarly influenced the West. As the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* says:—

Japanese influence is to be seen in far more Western homes than western influence is to be seen in Japanese homes. The aesthetic influence of Japan has been profound, and decoration in the West is very different to-day from the soulless symmetry of a hundred years ago.

This Japanese influence is not the result of Japanese conquest and exploitation.

It is well known, too, that though the British or any other Western power has not conquered Japan, that country has made far greater progress in self-rule, modern education, modern science and modern mechanical arts and industries in half a century than India under British rule has done in nearly two centuries. China is also making progress in these spheres of human activity without being conquered by any Western power, perhaps we ought rather to say that the progress of Japan and China is due to their not having been conquered.

So, as the reviewer has raised the question of what we might have done in certain hypothetical circumstances, or what generally might have been, we also say as a mere matter of speculation that, not only was it possible in ancient times, but even in our

modern days progress can be achieved without being conquered, enslaved and exploited.

If Chesterton Lived in India

The Catholic Herald of India says that in the first copy of Mr. G. K. Chesterton's new paper, *G. K.'s Weekly* what the paper's policy will not be and what readers will not find in it is detailed as follows, in part, by the editor:—

"Arrangements for photographing Mr. Lloyd George's smile, Mr. Baldwin's pipe, Lord Birkenhead's cigar, Mr. Churchill's hat and Lord Beaverbrook's coronet, are not yet completed and never will be.

"Similarly, readers anxious to enter the competition to decide who has the Most Beautiful Grand Mother in the British Empire should not send in photographs after the end of last week.

"All serious students of social conditions interested in the experiment of strong-minded American heiresses refusing to live with their husbands will search the paper in vain for anything about it."

If Mr. Chesterton had started his paper in India, he would perhaps have added:—

"All serious students of social conditions interested in the illustrious career of the Muslim ex-mistress of a Hindu Maharaja, who subsequently became the concubine of a rich Muslim young man who was murdered in the attempt to abduct her from his automobile will search the paper in vain for anything about those male and female human beings or their beatific portraits."

Bombay Malabar Hill Murder

The murder of any person, be he saint or sinner or placed somewhere between them, is deplorable, and the murderer should be sought out and properly dealt with. The attempt to abduct any woman or disfigure her, be she of good character or bad, ought certainly to be also condignly punished. Therefore, what the Bombay police are doing to arrest and bring to book those who murdered one Mr. Abdul Kadir Bawla in the attempt to abduct or disfigure his mistress, a dancing girl of the name of Mumtaz Begum, is worthy of praise. But we cannot appreciate the publication in the papers of the portraits of the woman and her murdered lover, and details of her past life. She might have been the mistress of more Maharajas, and rich men than she has actually been. But even that would not have made her a

heroine whose career would deserve to be recorded day after day in column after column of numerous newspapers. If newspaper readers desire to feed on garbage or wallow in salacious filth, surely it is not the business of journalists to supply such stuff.

It seems that Mr. Bawla was a public man of a sort. No one can grudge him his due meed of praise for the degree of dutifulness which he showed. But should not men be judged by their characters also? If a man drives in the company of his mistress and flaunts his vicious life, if he does not make her his wife even though neither the scripture nor the custom of his community stands in the way, it cannot be said that he cares for social purity and the sanctity of family life as every man ought to, or that he really has any respect for womanhood. Rich libertines have often given to the women they have injured more than a hundred thousand rupees, but that has not been accepted as a proof of the nobility of their nature or of the purity and genuineness of their love or of their idealism in relation to woman.

Nor can the state of that society be considered healthy and desirable in which driving and living openly with a dancing-girl is not considered disgraceful. The blunting of the moral sense must have proceeded far when so much is being made of those who led impure lives, simply because of their wealth and "connection" with men in "high" position.

In the story of the murder of Mr. Bawla the heroism and nobility of four British officers, Lt. Seagert being the most prominent among them, stand out as the bright relieving feature. They were passing along when the murdered man and his mistress and secretary were attacked, and immediately came to their rescue. Though Lt. Seagert received some shots, he did not let go one of the miscreants whom he had caught.

Mrs. Robinson's Case

In England some degraded specimens of humanity formed a conspiracy to blackmail Raja Hari Singh, nephew of the Maharaja of Kashmir, in consequence of which, he was discovered where he ought not to have been. To hush up the matter, he agreed to part with £300,000. A woman named Mrs. Robinson, her husband, and some other rascals were to share in this loot. We need not

enter into more details, which have been published, in the papers. Owing to the notoriety which these facts brought the adulteress, Mrs. Robinson, a paper called *The Sunday Chronicle* got her to contribute serially an account of her life and immoral adventures. It betokens a very degraded state of society that a woman and her husband should with other persons form a conspiracy of this disgraceful character to fleece an ass of a libertine. And it betokens still deeper degradation that a public print should find it possible and profitable to print an account of her vicious life written by herself. What sorts of homes are those into which such a paper finds ready entrance?

We have no desire to throw stones at English society, seeing that, if Birlas Mumtaz Begum had possessed any literary talent, some "enterprising" Indian paper would have most probably secured her as a contributor.

The vast sums which Hari Singh has squandered abroad are said to be his private property. But in the last resort, they must have been derived from the poor people of Kashmir. Of course, there are other princes who are as great spendthrifts. But that does not prove that Hari Singh is fit to rule, though it is probable he will succeed the present Maharaja of Kashmir; for the less impeccable an Indian chief is, the more squeezable must he prove to be, considering the relation in which the Indian states stand to Britain.

The Evening Standard, a British paper, in its issue of December 5, 1924, had an article by one Miss May Crommelin, with the heading, "With 'Mr. A.' in Kashmir." It is introduced by the editor thus:—

While wandering round the world, Miss May Crommelin the novelist, happened upon the Court of Kashmir during the wedding festivities of Hari Singh, the "Mr. A." of the "affaire Robinson". She gives here a vivid pen-picture of a remarkable young man.

This shows what makes a man a society hero in England.

May Crommelin has indited the following paragraph among others:—

I was shocked to hear an Indian Prince called so unjustly a "nigger" last week in court. But I was far more shocked a few hours ago—shocked and sorry—when I found that "Mr. A." was the fine young Hari, so loyal to us.

Whatever the other qualifications or disqualifications of a biped of the genus homo may be, he who is "so loyal to us" must be fit to be a ruler of men. So the people of

Kashmir may rest assured that "the fine young Hari" will be their Maharaja some day. A strong-minded intelligent man of good character can neither be easily fleeced nor be easily made to "grant" concessions; —the opposite sort of man is more convenient to deal with. So he cannot but be "fine".

Contradictory Accounts in the Press

New India notices the fact that the account of Lord Lytton's visit to Jessore in a Calcutta Indian paper is exactly the opposite of that in a Calcutta Anglo-Indian paper. The Indian paper states that all shops were closed and the streets were deserted. The Anglo-Indian paper states on the contrary that the whole town of Jessore turned out to welcome His Excellency.

We know from a very reliable source that when the Governor of Bengal visited another town, a telegram appeared in some papers that there was complete boycott of the visit by the towns-people though that was not the fact. When a copy of a paper containing that telegram reached its correspondent in that town, he and his companions laughed and made merry over the fact that they had been able to hoodwink the public!

According to these unscrupulous fools, disregard for truth is a means of national salvation.

What's in a Name ?

Our attention has been drawn to a curious practice of the Bengal Government which calls for a word or two of comment. It would appear that officers of the Provincial Service are ordinarily styled in the official gazette as 'Babu' or 'Moulavi' according as they happen to be Hindus or Mahomedans. According to our information, so strictly is this rule observed that they are never designated as 'Mr.' unless they can prove to the satisfaction of the Government, that they live in European style. In pursuance of the rules governing promotion in these services, a few of these officers are, from time to time, appointed to what are called 'listed' posts, i.e., posts in the superior service which are reserved for officers of the Provincial Service. When a Provincial Service officer occupies one of these posts as officiating Additional or District Magistrate (or Judge, his nomenclature is at once transformed from 'Babu' or 'Moulavi' to 'Mr.'. The reader must not ima-

gine that this metamorphosis is necessarily correlated to any change in the habits of life of the individual thus honoured. The new style of address is adopted without his leave or license, whether he abandons his national mode of living or not, and as a matter of course. But the funniest part of the story yet remains to be told. The position of a Provincial Service officer, when he begins to officiate in the higher service, is analogous to that of a chrysalis which has not yet developed into a full-fledged butterfly. He has to pass through many a vicissitude of fortune, and has to revert to the Provincial Service many a time, before his confirmation as a member of the superior service takes place. During his periodical reversions, he is again officially styled by his whilom appellation of 'Babu' or 'Moulavi' and thus made to know his place and keep it. An observer of this unexpected transformation unaccustomed to the ways of Bumbledom will be tempted to exclaim 'O Bottom, thou art changed ! Bless thee, thou art translated !' Indeed, so ridiculous does the situation sometimes become that in the same gazette, while in one part the official in question, as relinquishing charge of his 'listed' post, is addressed as 'Mr.', in another part, a few pages down, where his posting in the Provincial Service is notified, he is styled as 'Babu' or 'Maulavi.' And so hide-bound is officialdom to its traditions, that it gravely perpetrates this piece of practical joke, and invests the same officer with a dual personality like Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in Robert Louis Stevenson's famous story, without a twinge of its facial muscles, or without being once moved to think how absurd it must all appear to the man in the street.

We do not mean any disrespect to the Judiciary and Magistracy who belong to the Provincial Service. They are all our countrymen, and many of them, we dare say, are most estimable gentlemen. But are there not even a few among the holders of these 'listed' posts, who have presumably risen to their high rank by reason of their superior merit, who have the courage to point out the anomaly of the practice referred to above, and protest against its continuance? We have reasons to believe that some at least of them feel the ignominy of being thus made the victims of official caprice in the style of their address, and would prefer to be called 'Babu' or 'Moulavi', for almost all of them live in Indian style both before their promotion to the 'listed' posts and after their retire-

ent from such posts. Only an exiguous number adopt the European style of living, and that only in part during the time they hold these posts, and to them alone the title of 'Mr.' should be given. But if the title is conferred on all holders of 'listed' appointments without distinction, why, in the name of common sense, should it not be continued for the rest of their service, after it is once bestowed? And above all, what does the adoption of this title of address, in the case of every holder of a superior post, and its revocation in the case of the same officer as soon as he has to revert to inferior rank, indicate? Does it not clearly denote that in the bureaucratic code no Babu or Maulavi can be a member of the superior service, and on the other hand no one belonging to the Provincial service can, as a rule, aspire to the dignity of being addressed as Mr.? In other words the English title of address is supposed to possess an intrinsic superiority which it is mere presumption on the part of Babu or Moulavi to claim. The humiliation underlying such an assumption ought not to be put up with by any self-respecting member of the Provincial Service and indeed so entirely devoid of justification is this practice that we believe that it has only to be pointed out by those concerned to be relegated to the dustbin of obsolete customs and invidious distinctions which have had their day and are no more.

In our opinion, every officer living in Indian style and used to being called Babu or Moulavi, should, when promoted to a post usually reserved for civilians living in European style, be asked whether he would prefer to be addressed by his usual designation or to adopt the title of Mr. and his choice should decide the question so far as he is concerned, and the upward and downward curve of his future career should not thenceforth be denoted by his designation in the official gazette as 'Mr.' and 'Babu' or 'Moulavi.' In these days of democratic government, it is really going too far to taboo the titles of Babu and Moulavi from the ranks of the superior civil service. They must be officially rehabilitated to a position of equality with the title of 'Mr.' and no artificial character of nobility should be conferred on the latter so as to vest it with a dignity and distinction that does not intrinsically possess and cannot therefore claim.

Would any member of the Bengal Council take up the matter and see that justice is done to Indian titles of address and that they

are treated on a par with the English title of address in official notifications and other official documents? The offensive word native has been substituted in official correspondence by 'Indian', and it is time that the last strongholds of bureaucratic prejudice and racial invidiousness should be made to yield to common sense and fair play in these matters.

Sydney Smith on the Licentiousness of the Press

"A vast concern is expressed for the liberty of the press, and the utmost abhorrence for its licentiousness: but then, by the licentiousness of the press is meant every disclosure by which any abuse is brought to light and exposed to shame—by the liberty of the press is meant only publications from which no such inconvenience is to be apprehended; and the fallacy consists in employing the sham approbation of liberty as a mask for the real opposition to all free discussion. To write a pamphlet so ill that nobody will read it; to advertise in terms so weak and insipid upon great evils, that no disgust is excited at the vice, and no apprehension in the evil-doer, is a fair use of the liberty of the press, and is not only pardoned by the friends of government, but draws from them the most fervent eulogium. The licentiousness of the press consists in doing the thing boldly and well, in striking terror into the guilty, and in rousing the attention of the public to the defence of their highest interests. This is the licentiousness of the press held in the greatest horror by timid and corrupt men"—*Essay on the Fallacy of Anti-Reformers.*

Sydney Smith on Good Government and Official Exposure

"As Mr. Bentham observes, if there be any one maxim in politics more certain than another, it is that no possible degree of virtue in the governor can render it expedient for the governed to dispense with good laws and good institutions. It is quite obvious to all who are capable of reflection that by no other means than by lowering the governors in the estimation of the people can there be hope or chance of beneficial change. The greater the quantity of respect a man receives, independently of good conduct, the less good is his behaviour likely to be. It is the interest, therefore, of the public in the case of each to see that the respect paid to him should, as completely as possible, depend upon the goodness of his behaviour in the execution of his trust. But it is, on the contrary, the interest of the trustee that the respect, the money, or any other advantage he receives in virtue of his office should be as great, as secure, and as independent of conduct as possible ... public men must expect to be attacked, and sometimes unjustly. It keeps up the habit of considering their conduct as exposed to scrutiny. ... The friends and supporters of Government have always greater facility in keeping and raising it up than its adversaries have for lowering it."—*Ibid.*

Opportunities of Studies in America

There has been a considerable amount of misunderstanding in India about the recent immigration legislation of America as affecting students from India. Though restrictions of entry have been increasing a great deal I may note here that there is no difficulty for a really *bona fide* student to enter the United States of America.

If India is to hold her own in world politics, if we desire to emancipate ourselves from the economic thralldom of the Western nations, the only way is to send hundreds of boys and girls to foreign lands for first-hand knowledge of Western methods of production, distribution, organization and management. America offers the best field for such a study. This is the only place where exceptional facilities are available for research work.

There is no doubt that entirely self-supporting students are debarred from entering the States, but even then a really intelligent student who finds himself in monetary difficulties and who works outside his college hours without neglecting his studies is allowed to stay in the United States by the immigration authorities.

The Indo-American Information Bureau, P. O. Beacon, New York, U. S. A., (whose temporary address up to May 1925 is c/o Clark University, Worcester, Mass., U. S. A.) would be very glad to supply any information needed by a needy student on receipt of one rupee in Indian stamps or currency. The deposit is needed as a guarantee of good faith and genuine enquiry and will be refunded to the depositor on his arrival in this country.

V. V. OAK

Sydney Smith on Female Accomplishments

Sydney Smith's Essay on Female Education, written more than a century ago, amply repays perusal. In his time, in England, a woman, of forty was more ignorant than a boy of twelve, so the conditions were more nearly akin to what they are in India today : much of what he writes, therefore, though long out of date in his own country, applies with full force to us in India. In his time, there was much jealousy among men respecting the education of women. The novelty of teaching women more than they were already taught was apt to raise in the manly mind the sensation of the ludicrous. To all such Sydney Smith's reply was :

"Nothing is more common, or more stupid, than

to take the actual for the possible,—to believe that all which is, is all which can be ; first to laugh at every proposed deviation from practice as impossible—then, when it is carried into effect, to be astonished that it did not take place before".

Educate women as well as you educate your men—this is the burden of Sydney Smith's Essay.

"The pursuit of knowledge is the most innocent and interesting occupation which can be given to the female sex ; nor can there be a better method of checking a spirit of dissipation than by diffusing a taste for literature. The true way to attack vice is by setting up something else against it."

Sydney Smith has no illusions as to the power of education to improve the character. He says :

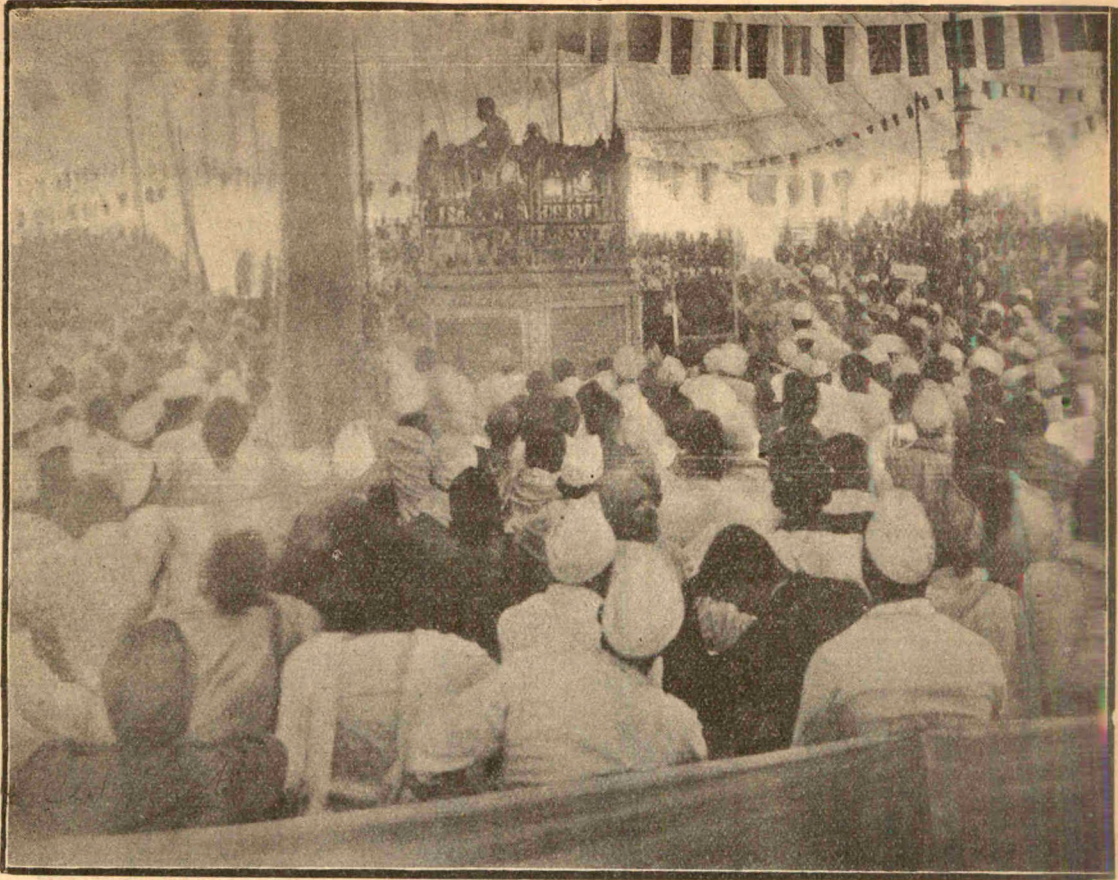
"It is true, that every increase of knowledge may possibly render depravity more depraved, as well as it may increase the strength of virtue. It is in itself only power : and its value depends on its application."

Women hazard everything upon one cast of the die ;—when youth is gone, all is gone. One of the greatest pleasures of life is conversation, and they are enhanced by every increase of knowledge.

"Education gives fecundity of thought, copiousness of illustration, quickness, vigour, fancy, words, images, and illustrations ; it decorates every common thing, and gives the power of trifling without being indignant and absurd." "Diffuse knowledge generally among women, and you will at once cure the conceit which knowledge occasions while it is rare."

The formation of character during the first seven or eight years of life depends almost entirely on women. If the education of women were improved, the education of men would therefore be improved also. But Sydney Smith does not treat of female education as a mere accomplishment. A mind full of ideas possesses the elastic spring which the love of knowledge can alone convey ; it diffuses, equally over the whole of existence, a calm pleasure, suitable to every variety and every period of life. Instead of tying their whole lives to one unvaried line of petty and frivolous occupation, the minds of our women should be filled with strong sense and elevated curiosity. Much of a woman's life is solitary, there are sufferings which she must endure alone in silence. Daughters should not therefore devote their whole time to sewing, patching and mending kept with nimble fingers and vacant understandings till the season for intellectual improvement is utterly passed away.

A century before Sydney Smith's time the prevailing taste was for teaching women housewifery ; in his time, it was for accom-



Mahatma Gandhi Addressing the Indian National Congress from the Roscrum (Belgaum)

plishments. This is the stage at which we in India have now arrived. It will therefore be instructive to hear what Sydney Smith has got to say on the subject.

"The object now is to make women artists, to give them an excellence in drawing, music, painting, and dancing...Now one great evil of all this is that it does not last...No mother, no women, who has passed over the first few years of life, sings, or dances, or draws, or plays upon musical instruments. These are merely means for displaying the grace and vivacity of youth, which every woman gives up, as she gives up the dress and the manners of the eighteen: she has no wish to retain them; or if she has, she is driven out of them by diameter [i.e. girth] and derision. The system of female education, as it now stands, aims only at embellishing a few years of life, which are in themselves so full of grace and happiness, that they hardly want it; and then leaves the rest of existence a miserable prey to idle insignificance. No woman of understanding and reflection can possibly conceive she is doing justice to her children by such kind of education. The object is to give to children resources that will endure as long as life endures—habits that time will

ameliorate, not destroy,—occupations that will render sickness tolerable, solitude pleasant, age venerable, life more dignified and useful, and therefore death less terrible; and the compensation which is offered for the omission of all this a short-lived blaze,—a little temporary effect, which has no other consequence than to deprive the remainder of life of all taste and relish. There may be women who have a taste for the fine arts, and who evince a decided talent for drawing, or for music. In that case, there can be no objection to their cultivation; but the error is, to make such things the grand and universal object,—to insist upon it that every woman is to sing, and draw, and dance—with nature, or against nature,—to bind her apprentice to some accomplishment,—to prefer [it] to real solid improvement in taste, knowledge, and understanding. A great deal is said in favour of the social nature of the fine arts. Music gives pleasure to others. Drawing is an art, the amusement of which does not enter in him who exercises it, but is diffused among the rest of the world. This is true; but there is nothing, after all, so social as a cultivated mind."

Woman's education must necessarily differ to some extent from man's, but it should not differ in essentials and need not be worse



Mahatma Gandhi Reviewing Volunteers (Belgaum)

n quality. We should remember Robert Louis Stevenson's warning:

"Man is a creature who lives not upon bread alone, but principally by catchwords; and the little rift between the sexes is astonishingly widened by simply teaching one set of catchwords to the girls and another to the boys."

The life of frivolous dissipation, and of petty accomplishments, which make such a brave show but in reality mean so little, is coming into vogue among the upper middle classes of our society. Our unfashionable grandmothers were mostly without education, and they often missed the joy of elevated thoughts which education brings in its train; but they took life more seriously than their grand-daughters, for whose butterfly existence they would feel nothing but contempt. In a sense, both have, in a large measure, missed the meaning of life, and that being the case, the humility of our feminine ancestors is much to be preferred to the grand airs of

the 'accomplished' girls of today. And in that part of education which consists in the cultivation of the emotions as distinguished from the understanding, there are not many who would hesitate to give the palm to our self-sacrificing female forbears. If we are to educate our girls at all—and educate them we must—we should remember that what is wanted is not the picking up of a few so-called accomplishments, but the acquisition of real, solid knowledge, with all that it stands for in the realm of deepening, broadening and uplifting the mind.

X.

Passport.

The Japan Chronicle states:

No more passport visas are necessary for persons travelling between Japan and the following countries: France, Italy, and Holland. This is a very good sign. The passport system has been kept on



A View of the Indian National Congress in Session

all this time not because of any need, but simply to get a little squeeze from travellers. Great Governments are gradually waking up to the fact that such petty extortion is beneath their dignity.

What is the object of the passport system as enforced in India, or elsewhere in the case of Indians?

Preparedness

We read in the same newspaper:—

"The formula that unpreparedness increases the chances of war was repeated by Mr. Wilbur, America's Naval Secretary, in his plea for more armaments,....."

It would be interesting to know what in the opinion of diplomats and generals increases the chances of peace.

Preparedness seems to be like whisky. If it is cold, drinkers will advise you to take "drop" of whisky; if it is hot, the prescription is again a "drop" of whisky.—If a nation

wants to go to war and be victorious, preparedness is considered essentially necessary; if a nation longs for peace,—why, preparedness is, again, what is wanted!

But in reality, there will never be either disarmament or peace, so long as some "great power" does not courageously and in loyal adherence to a great ideal set the example of disarmament, even at the certain risk of being invaded and conquered. No great ideal was ever realised except at the cost of martyrdom,—at any rate, at the risk of martyrdom. Individual greatness is achieved by individual fidelity to a great ideal and the consequent actual or possible martyrdom. The way to national greatness lies exactly in the same direction. We speak of real enduring greatness, not of overflowing wealth, big navies, large armies, and numerous air squadrons.



Review of Congress Volunteers (Belgaum)

Sivaji's Greatness

Professor Jadunath Sarkar has recently summarised some of the characteristics which made Sivaji great. Says he, in part :--

"The first of those was probably his policy of allowing freedom of worship and thought to all and sundry,—complete liberty of speech, action, and mind. The second was his recognition of talent wherever it might be, and his giving of responsibility to all whose abilities fitted them for it. Mahomedans were as numerous in his service as Hindus and more than once he received the approbation of the Moslem emperors at Delhi for the way in which he employed Mahomedans in all departments. With him ability levelled all men and placed them on the same plane, and to this policy he owed much of his success and power."

Professor Bose's Address to Presidency College Students

On the occasion of the completion of forty years of professorship by Sir J. C. Bose, first as Professor of Physical Science and subsequently as Emeritus Professor, an address was recently presented to him by the students of the Calcutta Presidency College. In the course of his reply Professor Bose said :--

The success that has come to me is more than enough to satisfy all my personal longing. But my ambition for you knows no bounds : for it will be you representing the young generation that will carry on the work which we leave unfinished, it will be for you to build the greater India yet to be, by the selfless devotion of your lives.

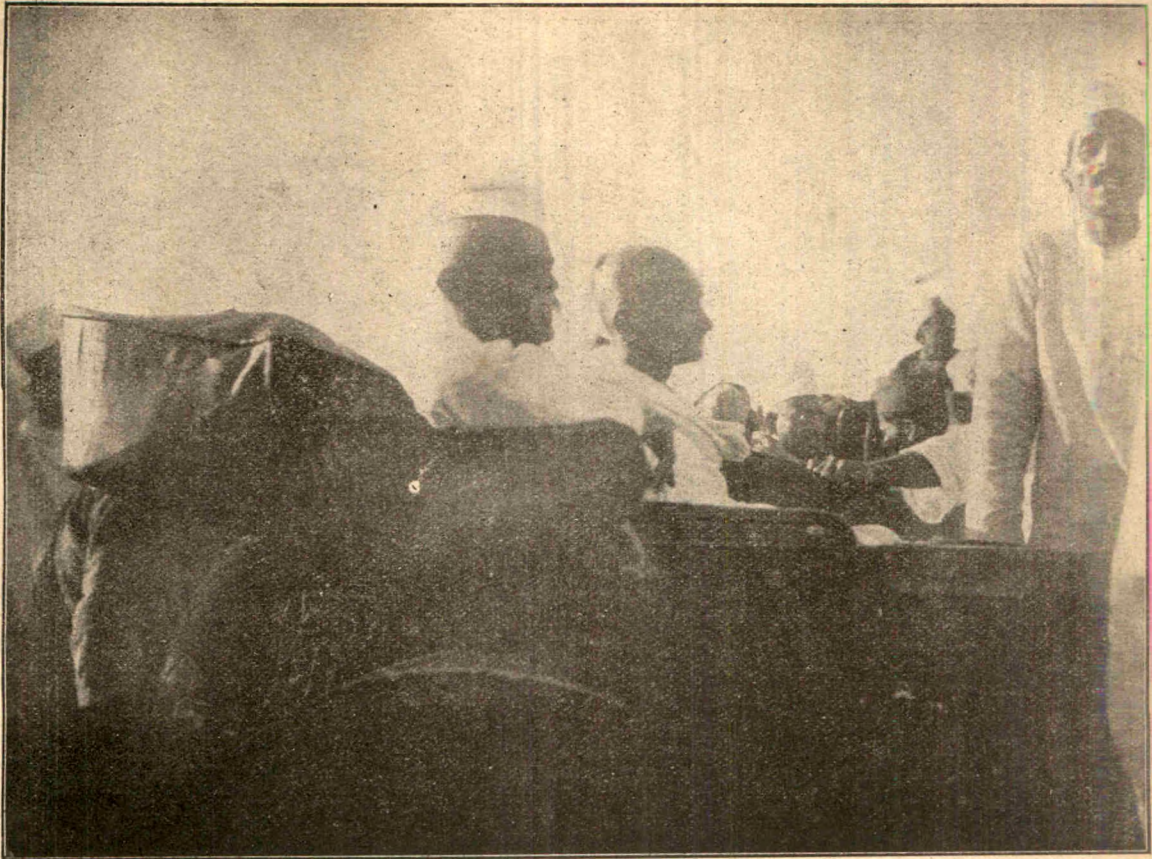
This is in harmony with the Sanskrit maxim which tells us to desire to be surpassed by our sons and disciples.

Speaking of his professorship at the Presidency College, Dr. Bose said :--

Forty years ago, Lord Ripon's Government appointed me to be the Professor of Physical Science in spite of the strongest protest of Sir Alfred Croft, the Director of Public Instruction, and Mr. Tawney, the Principal of the Presidency College. Sir Alfred Croft told me frankly that an Indian was temperamentally unfit to teach the exact methods of modern science ; I would besides be unable to maintain discipline in the Presidency College, the students of which enjoyed the notoriety of being the most unruly. I did not make any grievance of this prejudice based on ignorance ; it was for me to make them feel ashamed of it. The students I found to be quite different from what they were represented to be : during my long Professorship I never found the slightest difficulty in exacting the most rigid discipline. My teaching was found to be above reproach and some of my most important researches were carried out at off hours in the absence of anything that could be dignified as a laboratory. The result of all this was that both the Principal and the Director not only became my staunchest friends, but even strong partisans.

Regarding his discoveries in the realm of of physiology, the Professor observed :--

I got into trouble when I tried to enter the preserves of the Physiologist. There was the same pack feeling which resented the intrusion of a stranger, who belonged to the fold of physicists. My results were incredible and opposed to accepted theories. I was challenged to show my instruments at work. I had to carry them all the way from India ; when I landed in London the porter carried



Mahatma Gandhi, the President of the Indian National Congress leaving Belgium
Accompanied by the Chairman of the Reception Committee

the box upside down, with the result that the heavy base crushed the delicate recording portion beyond recognition. So the costly visit to Europe was for that time a complete failure.

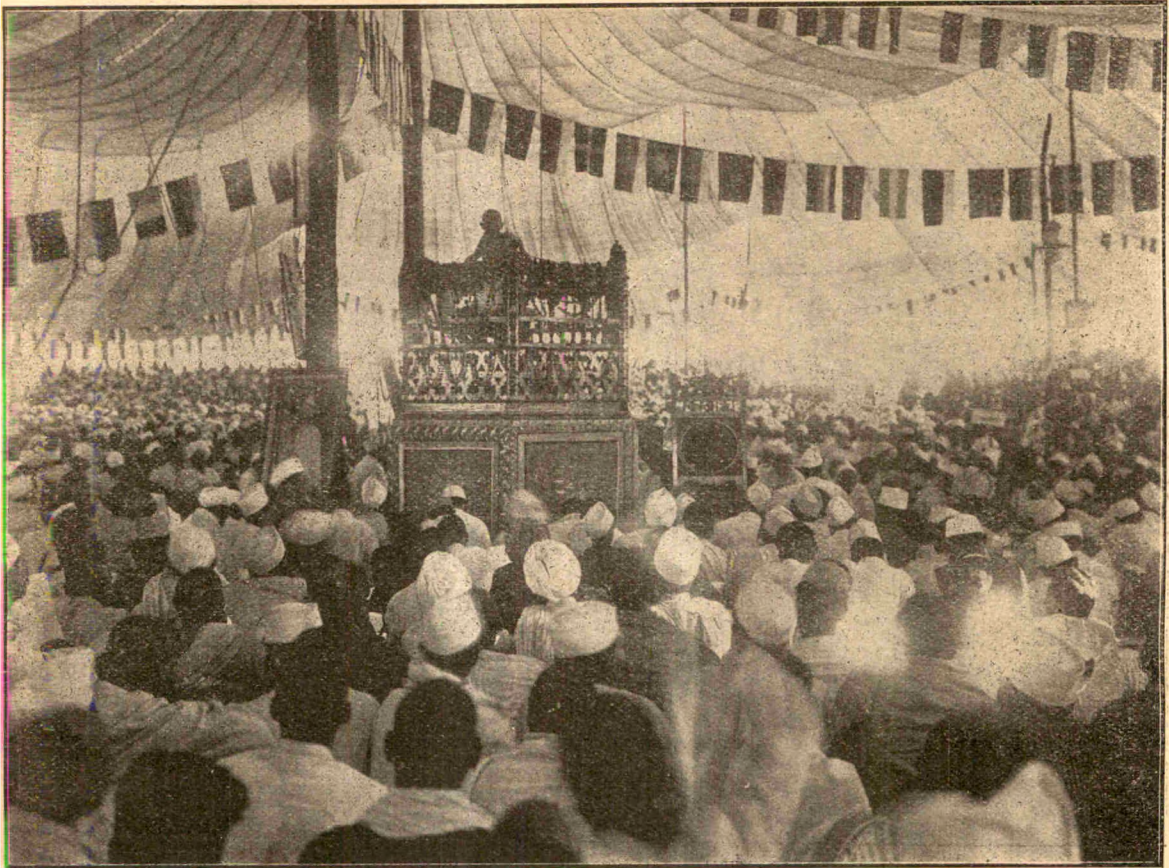
FATE HANGING BY A HAIR

The next time I made a portable instrument which I carried myself. It was the now famous Magnetic Crescograph which produced the incredible magnification of a hundred million times. This was regarded as theoretically impossible. I had a laboratory fitted up which was open to all scientific men. But a persistent opponent challenged me in "The Time" to exhibit it at a neutral place, the implication being that the performance of my apparatus was due to some jugglery. Of course my opponent wanted simply to put me to trouble. He well knew that the vital portion of my indicator was suspended by a thread finer than a hair which would break during transport to a new place. I could not refuse the challenge, and the leading scientific men assembled to test the apparatus at the University College, Gower Street. I carried the instrument safely in a steady motor-car, but when I got down the slight jerk broke the thread. By merest chance I had a seccotine capsule by me, with which I joined the broken ends of the thread. The

seccotine did not dry and my delicate indicator was being pulled down by its weight all the time, but for fifteen minutes the thread held together and during that time my experiments were all completed. The excitement in the press knew no bounds, and it was perhaps my pluck under unfair conditions that won for me the largest number of friends among scientific men and the lay public. From all this it will be clear now how infinite must be the patience and persistence for winning any recognition or success against general ignorance.

In two previous issues we drew attention to the Italian philosopher Croce's opinion that all workers,---be they scientists or philosophers, poets or artists, or men engaged in other honourable pursuits,---and not merely statesmen or politicians, should rightly be considered as doing public work. Therefore Sir J. C. Bose was entirely right in claiming:

Every one of us is united in the common purpose of winning for India an honoured place in the Federation of Nations. This we shall achieve by our united and persistent efforts and by strict observance of the rules of the game. The race is not to the swift but to the wise. By wisdom is



Another View of the Congress in Session (Belgaum)

meant not the subservient discretion of the weak, but that which comes from consciousness of power which is achieved only through righteousness. Whether India is to gain her salvation through conflict or through the other method more consonant with her ancient tradition, there can be no misgiving about her future. For there is something in Indian culture which is possessed of extraordinary latent strength, by which it has resisted the ravages of time and the destructive changes which have swept over the earth. And indeed a capacity to endure through infinite transformations must be latent in that mighty civilisation which has seen the intellectual culture of the Nile Valley, of Assyria, and of Babylon wax and wane and disappear, and which to-day gazes on the future with the same invincible faith with which it met the past.

The veteran's confession of faith ought to hearten all privates in the ranks.

On "Misquotations"

The Catholic Herald of India (December 10, 1924) writes with reference to Babu

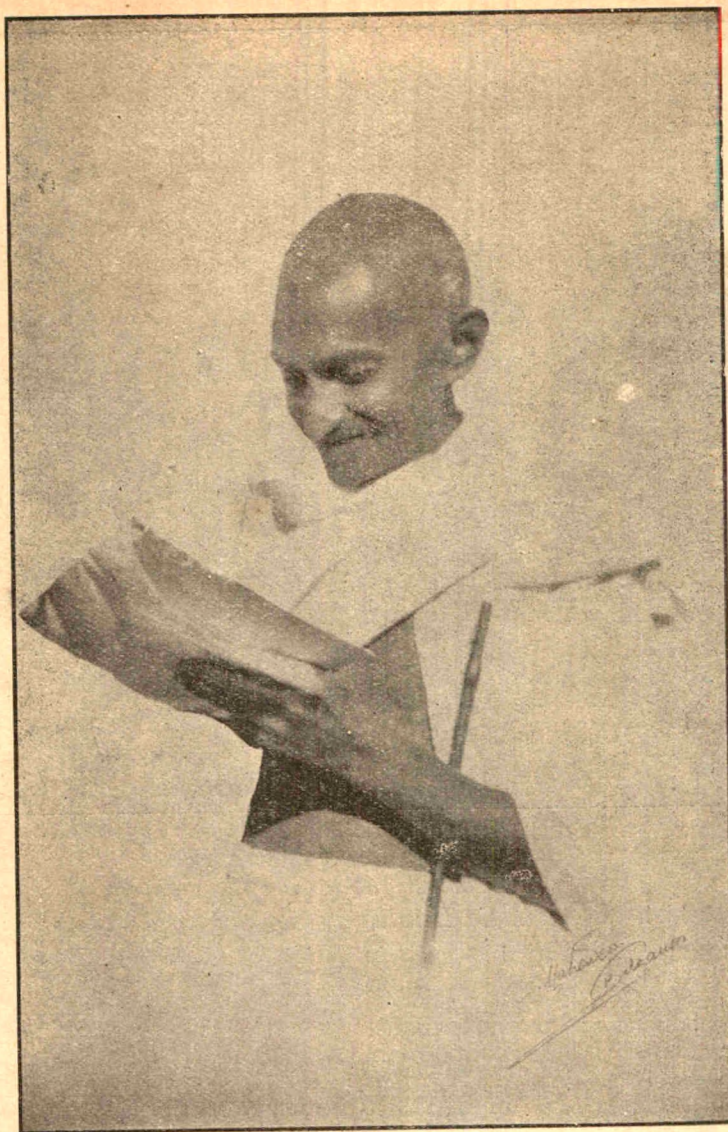
Maheschandra Ghosh's reviews of biblical books :—

MISQUOTATIONS

a. In a previous issue we read that according to the scholarly work of Dalman, Jesus taught the existence of a merely material banquet in heaven. On tracing the reference we find, to our pleasant surprise, that Dalman says *just the opposite*, and most emphatically, in so many words, immediately after the words quoted by M. C. Ghosh (Luke XXII, 29) : "Never," says Dalman, "did Jesus mean these words to be taken in a literal sense".

Babu Maheschandra Ghosh quoted Dalman in his review of Professor J. Eslin Carpenter's "*Buddhism and Christianity: A Parallel and a contrast*", which was published in *The Modern Review* for June, 1924. The passage in which Dalman was quoted in that issue, p. 661, runs as follows :

Jesus and his followers used to drink wine. Eating and drinking at his table in his kingdom was a special privilege of his apostles. (Lk. XXII, 30). "This repast was no mere figure of speech," (Dalman : *The Words of Jesus*, p. 111). Jesus himself said that he drank wine and that his enemies



Mahatma Gandhi, the President of the Belgaum Session of the Indian National Congress

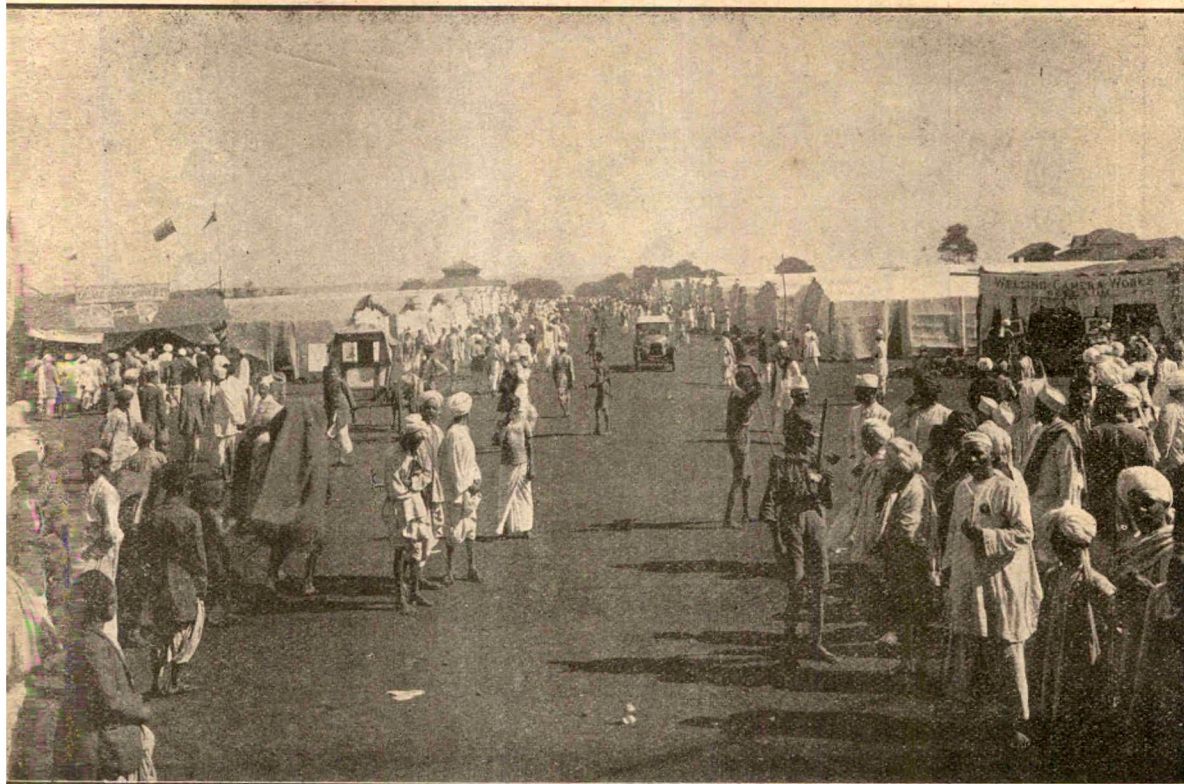
called him a "winebibber" (Matt. XI, 19 ; Lk. VII. 34). This proves that some of his enemies condemned drinking ; but he, the Messiah, had no objection to drinking.

Here we do not find Babu Maheschandra Ghosh asserting that "according to the scholarly work of Dalman, Jesus taught the existence of a merely material banquet in heaven". He simply quotes some of Dalman's words—from a sentence which, as we shall see, Pfeiderer also quotes in a footnote. Neither Pfeiderer nor Babu Maheschandra gives Dalman's context, not considering it essential. But let us come to the "misquota-

tion". In "*The Words of Jesus*" by Gustaf Dalman (authorised English version by D. M. Kay, B. D. B. sc. 1909), page 111, the passage quoted from runs as follows ;—

From the Gospels it may be inferred that the conception of an actual repast for the pious was already an old established idea. Even for Jesus this repast was no mere figure of speech. But he speaks of it in plain language only for the purpose of emphasising the fellowship which the righteous of all ages are destined to enjoy. Never did He refer to the repast as a mere repast.

Here we do not find the words, "Never did Jesus mean these words to be taken in



A View of the Congress Camp (Belgaum)

a literal sense," which the *Catholic Herald* prints within inverted commas and ascribes to Dalman.

Regarding the meaning of what Dalman has written, our opinion is (and it is admittedly the opinion of one whose vernacular is not English) that Dalman held that by the repast Jesus meant neither only a material feast nor only spiritual fellowship, but partly both.

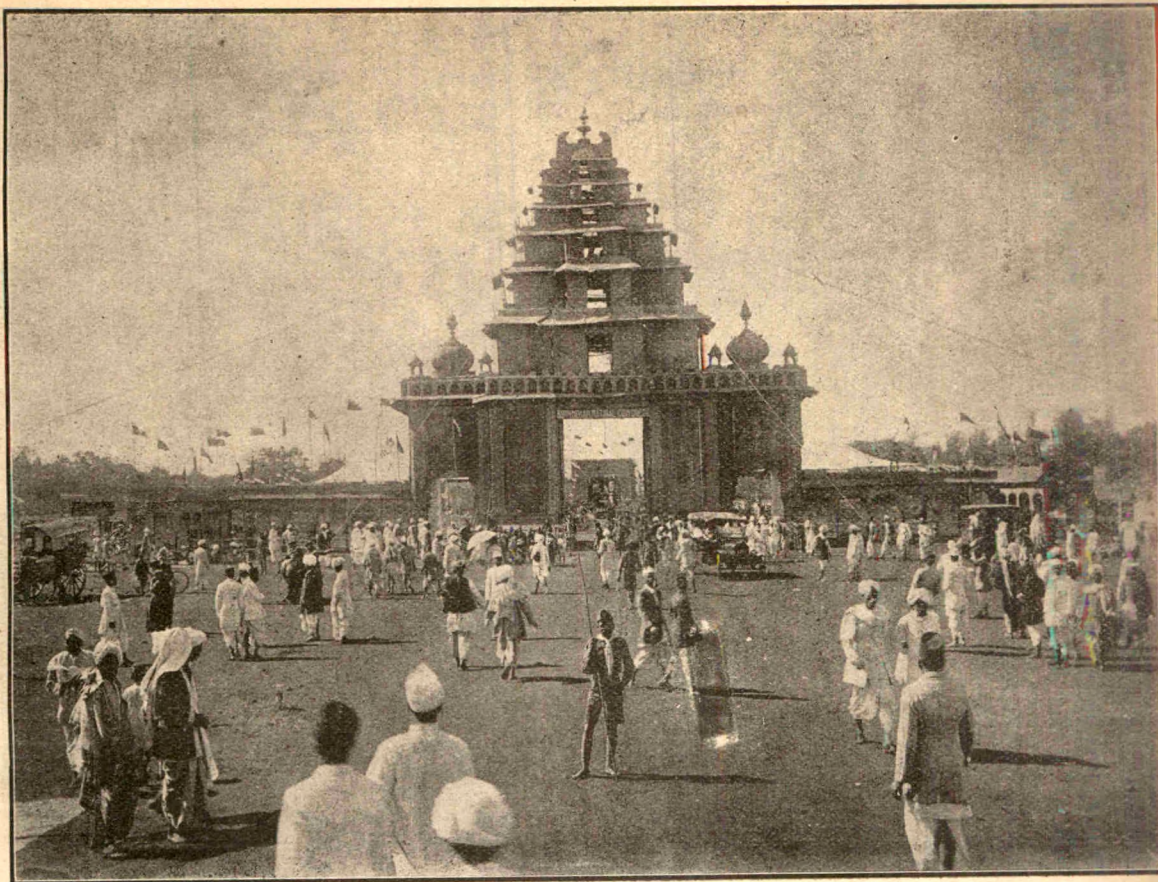
Not being biblical scholars, we do not venture any opinion of our own regarding the actual meaning of what Jesus said. But we may be permitted to quote the opinion of Pfleiderer, who writes:—

"Dalman is doubtless right in remarking, '.....The difference between the preaching of Jesus and Jewish views consists, not in the idea of 'the life', but in what Jesus has to say of the theocracy (*Gottesheerrschaft*) and of the righteousness without which life in the theocracy can never be attained' (*Worte Jesu*, p. 132=E. T. 162). Naturally, it consists in a condition of perfect happiness, of complete joy and satisfaction. Therefore the loyal servant has held out to him as his reward the prospect of entering into the 'joy of his Lord' (Matt. XXV. 21). Frequently this joy is represented as a partaking in the Messianic feast, the guest at

which shall sit at meat with the patriarchs, or eat and drink at Christ's table (Matt. VIII. 11; Luke XIII. 29; XXII. 30). Now as that is not to be thought of as a mere figure*, and as the scene of this ferial joy is certainly the "land" of Canaan (Matt. V. 5: cf. Ps. XXXVII. 11, Enoch V. 7, XC. 20), Jesus seems to have thought of the condition of the partakers in the Reign of God, not as a supersensuous existence comparable to that of heavenly spiritual beings, but as an earthly existence raised to a higher power and freed from the evils of the present life. That was certainly the way in which the primitive community of His followers understood it, as may be concluded from the fact that they supposed the description which is found in Apoc. Baruch (XXIX. 5.) of the fabulous fruitfulness of field and vine (in the Messianic times) to be a prophecy of Jesus; and even though they were mistaken in this, the mistake would be unintelligible if Jesus had thought and taught the direct opposite—if he had represented the unending life under the Reign of God as completely freed from earthly conditions and as the blessedness of heavenly spirits.—

* Dalman, *ut sup.*, p. 81 (= E. T. III): "Even for Jesus, this repast was no mere figure of speech". Joh. Weiss (*ut sup.*, p. 120) considers the arguments for figurative interpretation of this conception "extraordinarily trivial"—meaning thereby, no doubt superficial and untenable.

Pfleiderer's foot-note.



The Entrance to the Congress Pandal (Belgaum)

Pfleiderer's *Primitive Christianity*, Vol. II, pp. 417-18. Translated by W. Montgomery, B. D.

The Catholic Herald complains that "under the pretext of reviewing books," Babu Maheschandra Ghosh criticises Christ and Christianity. There is no pretext at all. The books reviewed relate to Christ and Christianity, and there is no natural or supernatural law which forbids the statement of views relating to those subjects held by others, besides the authors whose works are reviewed. Macaulay wrote many of his essays as reviews of books in a famous quarterly. Many other authors have done the same thing. They did not confine themselves strictly to the contents of the books reviewed. But we are not aware that they have been generally considered guilty of pretext. Babu Maheschandra Ghosh's reviews may be bad or indifferent, but he does not do anything "under the pretext of" doing something else. Moreover, for the most part, he quotes standard authors in support of his views.

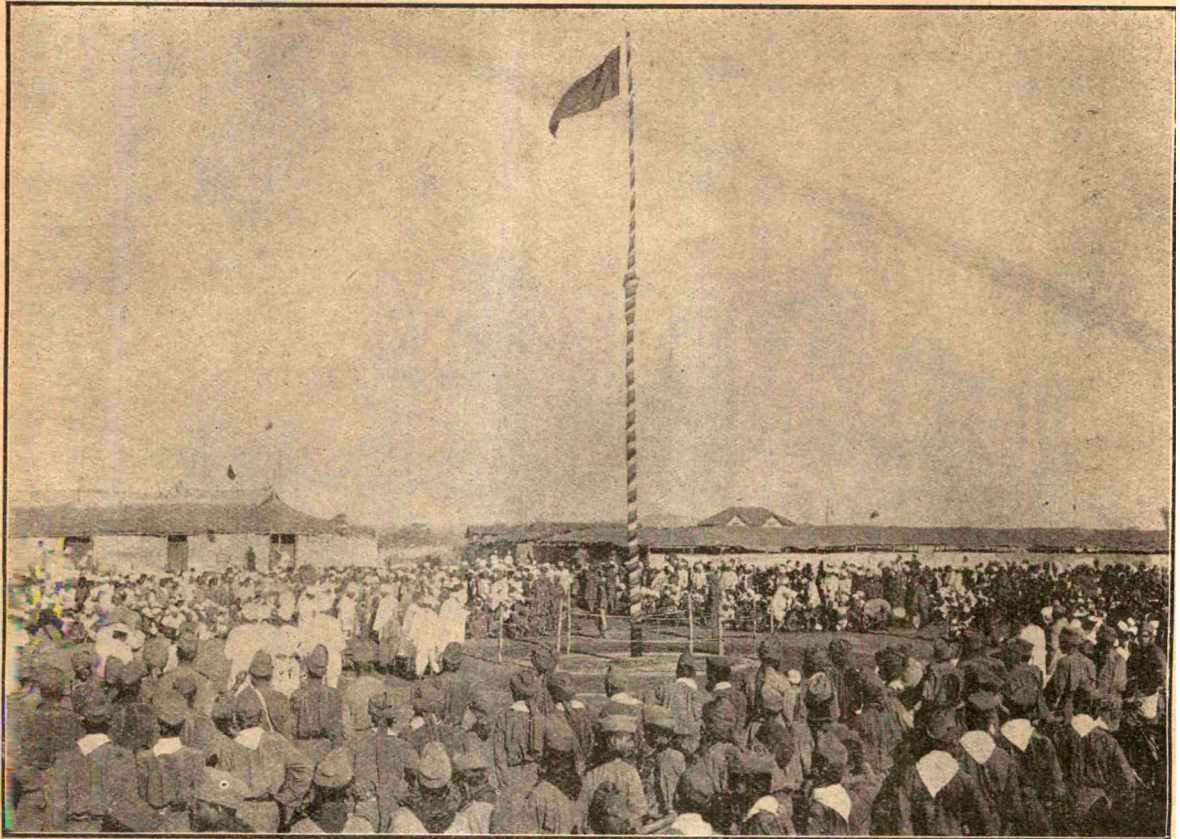
The Working of Local Self-government in Bengal

Lord Lytton said at Jessore that

He had received a most favourable impression of the working of Local Self-Government institutions in the Province. This was a matter of which practically nothing was known in England, and when he went back the best evidence he could submit to his countrymen of the fitness of India for Responsible Government would be derived from the working of the representative element in the Local Self-Government machinery of the Province. All the difficulties which were so often quoted as obstacles to the concession of political responsibility were there present though in a smaller degree. On Union Boards, Local Boards and District Boards he found Muhammadans and Hindus, as well as all castes of the latter, working together, and solid work for the improvement of local conditions was being done.

What has Lord Sydenham and other die-hards got to say to this testimony? Here is a British Governor on the spot who of his own accord bears witness to the fitness of the people for Responsible Government.

Lord Lytton expressed the further opinion



Boy Scouts Saluting the National Flag (Belgaum Congress)

that "the will to effect local improvements was also present. What was chiefly needed was more money." He concluded:—

During the two years which still remain of my term of office, I hope to concentrate upon this problem of increasing the wealth of the Province, and thereby the ability of Government agencies, whether Local or Provincial, to supply local needs. Wealth is of two kinds and may be derived either from human resources or from the resources of the soil. Human wealth is at present greatly diminished, both by ignorance and disease, and it is also common knowledge that the soil of Bengal is capable of a much greater yield than is at present obtained from it.

The problems of Education, Public Health and agricultural improvement, therefore, require special attention from the point of view of increasing wealth.

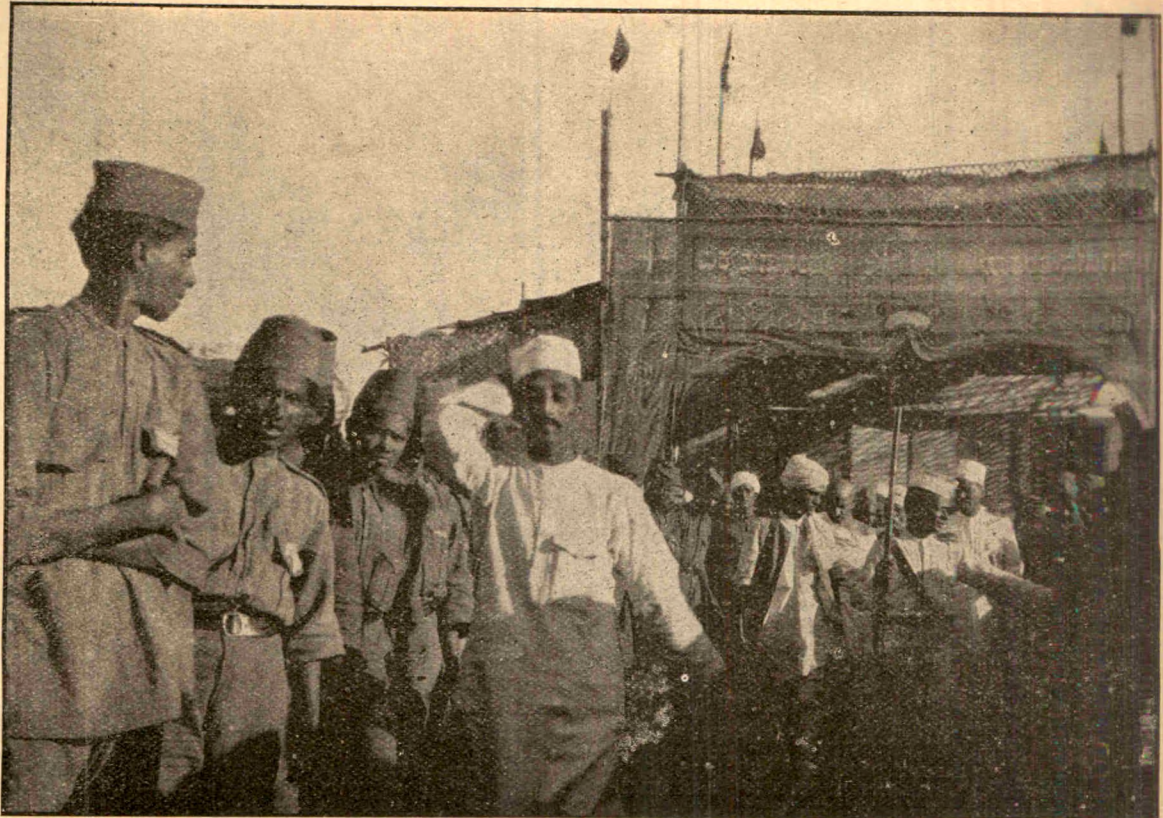
Governors, like other men, must make every effort to fulfil their promises. At the Joint Conference of the Departments of Agriculture, Industries and Co-operation and the Veterinary Department held at Government House, Calcutta, on the 4th and 5th July, 1924, it was resolved:—

This Conference is of opinion that a liberal policy of Government loans is essential with a view to developing special forms of Co-operative Societies.

This Conference urges on Government the importance of irrigation as a factor in agricultural improvement, especially in Western Bengal, and, in view of the considerable development of small irrigation projects in Western Bengal, the advisability of increasing the staff of Co-operative Officers and of posting competent Irrigation Engineers in each district where such development is proceeding, or is possible.

After his visit to Bankura Lord Lytton wrote to the Magistrate of that district on the 30th January, 1924.

"I should like you to know how very pleased I have been to see the interesting examples of co-operative self-help which were shown to me in the Bankura District. The work being done by co-operative irrigation societies in providing by local effort against the dangers of drought and crop failure, is most encouraging and the best possible guarantee of the future prosperity of the district. The members of these societies have shown how wealth can be created even by very poor Communities, and I hope that their example will be widely followed. I have said on other occasions



A View within the Congress Grounds (Belgum)

that Government help ought to be proportioned to local effort, and according to this principle, the people of Bankura have established a strong claim upon the assistance of the Government. I shall not forget this admirable effort and shall see that it is properly encouraged

We should like to know what Lord Lytton has done to give effect to the resolutions quoted above and to keep the promise made in his letter to the Magistrate of Bankura. Assuming that his ministers ever stood in the way of his carrying out his good intentions, we may point out that there are now no such officers. He is practically all in all. The disadvantages of one-man rule are many. But so long as the autocrat has good intentions, there may be some advantages also. So, let the people of Bengal have the advantages of what is practically one-man rule so long as it lasts.

The vital need of irrigation and agricultural improvements in West Bengal was also pointed out independently some time ago by Mr. J. N. Gupta, I. C. S., as commissioner of the

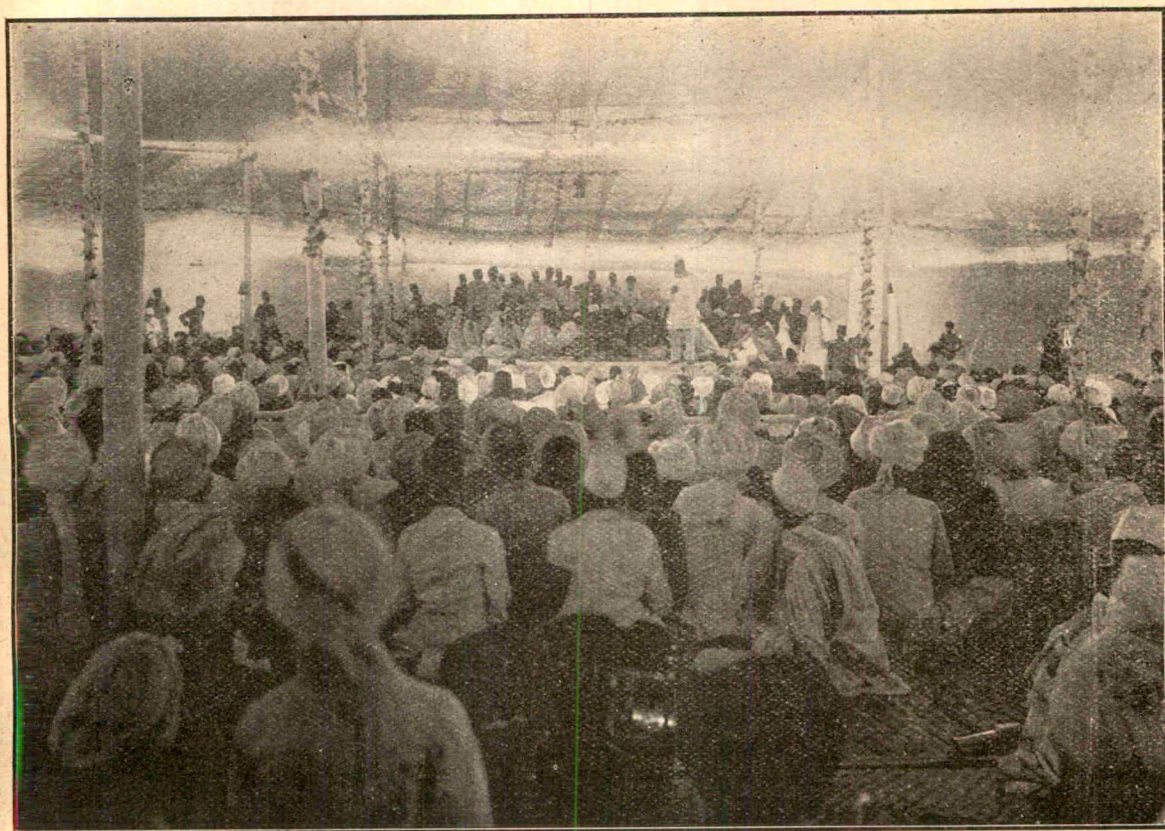
Burdwan division. Let us now have adequate steps taken.

—

Lord Lytton's Unwisdom

Lord Lytton made a speech at the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council at which leave to introduce the Bengal Ordinance Bill was refused by a majority of votes. The speech was made in an excellent spirit and tone. But the line of argument he adopted showed his unwisdom.

He took it for granted that the belief of the people of Bengal that the police not unoften fabricated evidence to get innocent persons convicted rested only on the single instance of what is known as the Musalmanpara Bomb Case, in which one Nagendranath Sen Gupta was accused of having committed murder by throwing a bomb, but was acquitted after trial by a full bench of the Calcutta High Court. His Excellency, therefore, tried to show that the High Court judges were wrong in acquitting the accused, the strong-



The Belgaum Congress in Session

est argument advanced by His Lordship being that the accused himself had now confessed that he did commit the murder. So Lord Lytton thought that the police could be trusted with discretionary powers. We have no desire to comment on this belated, safe and probably not entirely disinterested confession. But we wish to point out that the Musalmanpara Bomb Case is not the only ground for the belief in the unreliability of evidence got up by the police. In fact, the very day after the delivery of His Lordship's speech the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* had no difficulty in referring to many other well-known cases in which the police had been judicially found to have concocted evidence. Probably, other papers also may have drawn attention to such cases.

As regards the Musalmanpara Bomb Case, Mr. J. Chaudhuri, Barrister-at-Law, has shown in his *Calcutta Weekly Notes* that Sen Gupta was acquitted by Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the Chief Justice, and Justices Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Holmhood, because they found

that some of the evidence adduced was fabricated and utterly unreliable. It appears, therefore, that, assuming Sen Gupta's belated confession to be true, the police wanted to make assurance doubly sure by gilding gold and painting the lily—they tried to make the true evidence truer and more convincing by means of falsehood, and thus spoil the whole thing.

Lord Lytton ought not to have placed such implicit reliance on his advisers as to believe so easily that three such distinguished judges as Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Justice Holmwood had come to a wrong conclusion from the evidence placed before them. He seems to have some cocksureness in his nature. For he said in his speech that simply by going through the papers of Sen Gupta's case in the India Office in London he could at once see that there had been a failure of justice in the case as the man appeared to him to be clearly guilty.

We do not believe that every policeman or officer is dishonest and untrustworthy ;

but we do hold that there is so much dishonesty, corruption and lack of character in the police force that police officers cannot indiscriminately be trusted to make a proper use of discretionary powers. Sir Reginald Clarke was the Police Commissioner of Calcutta for a long period. He knows all about secret police reports and the arrest of men in consequence of such reports. Speaking of a weapon like Regulation III in the hands of the Executive, he has recently said in England that "it is one of the most dangerous weapons that any Government can use". As regards spies, informers and secret agents of the police, he observes:—

"I have had much experience of these agencies in the East and often wonder whether they do not raise more devils than they lay."

Discourtesy to Mrs. C. R. Das

Visitors were not allowed to attend the recent meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council at which Lord Lytton spoke, though policemen in plain clothes were seen there. Mr. C. R. Das had been very ill and had been pronounced out of danger only on the morning of the very day on which the Council met. Though very weak, he insisted on attending it. He was carried upstairs in a chair by some M.L.C.'s who were his friends, because other bearers were not allowed to enter. Mrs. C. R. Das wanted very much to accompany him in order to help and nurse him if necessary. But the president of the Council, Sir Evan Cotton, refused her permission. In doing so, he observed that he had cancelled the visitors' tickets of even his own wife and of Lady Wheeler, wife of the Governor of Bihar. But it was not necessary for either Lady Cotton or Lady Wheeler to accompany a sick husband to his place of duty to nurse him in case of need, which it was necessary for Mrs. Das to do. So there was little force in his argument. We do not know if Sir Evan Cotton also meant to suggest that as two English ladies of high position had not been allowed to come in, there was no harm in shutting out the Indian Mrs. C. R. Das. If he meant any such thing, he ought to have known that in her own community Mrs. Das occupies a position not inferior to that of those English ladies. As for the status which wealth gives, Mr. C. R. Das earned and has given up a larger income than what provincial governors enjoy. The position of governors as such is not higher than that of the leader of a

people. There is a story current that on one occasion during an official interview, Queen Victoria felt nettled and reprimanded Mr. W. E. Gladstone, her prime minister, that she was the queen of England. "But, your Majesty," replied Gladstone, "I am the people of England". The queen had the good sense to take the hint. The wife of the leader of a people may be considered to have a position not inferior to the wives of high-placed public servants.

Certification of Bengal Ordinance

The Bengal Ordinance Bill could not even be introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council. And there has been all but unanimous condemnation of the Bengal Ordinance from all parts of India. Still it has been certified and must become law !

We do not say that at all times and in every respect public opinion must be right. But we cannot also say that at all times and in every respect, the bureaucracy must be right. In fact, there is a greater probability of the bureaucracy being in the wrong than the people. In the present case, the people were right in holding that no case had been made out in favour of emergency legislation, as the executive and the police already possessed more than ample powers to deal with the situation.

Government had alleged that revolutionaries could not be brought to open trial because of the intimidation of witnesses jurors and judges by the terrorists. The hollowness of this plea has been exposed in detail in the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* and other papers and by the Indian Association. Government was bearded in its own den by a string of interpellations demanding definite information regarding the alleged intimidation. But the questions were disallowed. That was a practical confession that the Government case had no legs to stand upon.

As we are not yet a sufficiently united people, we cannot effectively oppose Government. We can only observe that it is folly to seek to govern a people without convincing its reason and satisfying its conscience.

The disunited condition of the people has emboldened government so far that it has not cared even to carry out the suggestions of its friendly critics. It has not, for example, made any provision for special bringing to trial all persons arrested under the provisions of the Ordinance.

Swarajist Strategy

Government was defeated on the Ordinance Bill by a combination of Swarajists with the Nationalists and Independents. According to *Forward*, Sir P. C. Mitter led the opposition as the mouthpiece of this united party. But he advocated the reenactment of the Rowlatt Act with certain omissions and alterations. Do the Swarajists and others want this sort of legislation?

Professor Sten Konow

Professor Sten Konow came to the Visvabharati University with a great reputation. The expectations raised have been more than fulfilled. During his stay at Santiniketan he delivered lectures regularly on the following courses:

Indian Religions: A Survey of the Development of Indian Religious Thought from the Indo-European Origin to the Present Day.

Critical and Philological Interpretation of the Kharosthi Dharmapada.

Reading of the Vajracchedika and other Texts in old Khotanese.

A Course of Lectures on Kalidasa's Sakuntala.

In Calcutta, under the joint auspices of the Visvabharati and the Calcutta University he has delivered a course of lectures on the Indo-Scythian Period of Indian History: Introduction to the Interpretation of the Later Kharosthi Inscriptions.

His first lecture at Santiniketan has been published in the January number of the *Visvabharati Quarterly*. Probably all the lectures will be published in the form of a book. Some idea of the scope of the lectures may be formed from the introductory paragraphs of the first lecture, which are extracted below.

About a hundred years ago, in the year 1820, Ram Mohan Roy published his *Precepts of Jesus*, a highly interesting work which exercised a not inconsiderable influence. It dealt with the leading ideas underlying Christianity, and dealt with them in a way which showed that its author was filled with sympathy for the tenets of the religion of Europe.

One would have thought that his enterprise had been hailed with enthusiasm by European priests and clergymen. Such was not however the case. The learned doctors of divinity were rather displeased. They did not think that Ram Mohan dealt with Christianity in the proper way; his view was not the orthodox one; and orthodoxy has often, in most countries, been considered as a necessary condition for being entitled to discuss religious matters.

In these lectures I am going to do just the opposite of what your illustrious compatriot did a hundred years ago, and I am venturing to do so without his deep penetration and intimate understanding of religious mentality. It would therefore be quite natural if some of you might think that my undertaking is a preposterous one and ask what qualifications I, a European, have for speaking to you about matters which are dear to your heart and which you must be presumed to understand much better than I. I know that I run a grave risk, but still I take the risk, and I shall try to tell you why.

Since I was a boy in the Norwegian University I have devoted most of my time to the study of Indian History and Indian civilisation, and I have learnt to love India and to consider her as my sacred home. I have tried to follow the development of Indian thought and Indian religions during the centuries, and I willingly confess that it has seemed to me to be almost impossible for a European to grasp the Indian mind behind all the different stages of that development. There appeared to be such a fundamental difference between many of the different forms which religion has taken in this vast country, that one might sometimes be inclined to doubt that it was the same mind which manifested itself in all of them.

In the hymns of the Rigveda we see a stormy warlike people praising mighty heavenly gods and coveting their favour through sacrifice, well knowing nevertheless that the celestial kings had the power of blessing as well as of withholding their favour, in spite of hymns and sacrifice. Then in the Brahmanas, we seem to be met with quite a different mentality: the sacrifice, the *yajna*, is all-powerful, and the great gods appear to have been reduced to mere puppets in the great drama, where the chief actors are the priests, who know all the details of the complicated ritual. And again in the Upanishads, the knowledge, the deep insight itself, appears as the cosmic power ruling and framing the universe and leading man on to eternity.

Then follow, as a natural consequence of such a frame of mind, religions like Jainism and Buddhism, where it is pointed out that the way to bliss leads away from the multifarious life in which the Vedic Aryan rejoiced, away from the sacrifice which was so highly praised in the Brahmanas, through the abnegation of the I to realisation of eternal truth. And again, apparently in direct opposition to this view, we find the Bhagavatas, with their belief in a merciful personal God, who only asks man to meet Him in devotional love, and then draws him into His eternal heaven of bliss.

It would seem as if these different views cannot be reconciled, as if there were, within Indian religions, several different layers without any internal connection between them.

But an old Rishi has told us that such is not the case:

Eternal truth is one, but it is reflected in many ways in the minds of the singers.

He says this about his own time. He saw the differences, but he also saw the unity; and he leads us to think that where we seem to see nothing but various tenets and beliefs there may yet be a uniting bond, an eternal reality, of which we perceive the varying formulas.

In reply to the address of welcome given

Dr. and Mrs. Sten Konow in Sanskrit, the professor spoke in Sanskrit. At the annual meeting of Visva-bharati also he spoke in Sanskrit. This Sanskrit address was followed

proved powerless when people rose against people and each of them, in the name of the King of Peace, called upon men to take up arms. The Church invoked His name to support in turn the cause of each contending country. From the pulpit men were exhorted to kill one another.

The outlook in the West seemed hopeless when the Poet came and asked us to seek salvation through faith in new ideals. Wise men of the world smiled, but there were individuals who felt that there was yet hope for humanity. The Poet's vision must some day come true. The nations of the world must join hands in a common endeavour to build anew the history of the world.

I am waiting for such new development. It will not do to bring every country and every continent under European rule and European civilization. Asia, asleep for ages, must make her own contribution to the world culture. All the peoples of the world must come together working towards common ideals for the universal welfare.

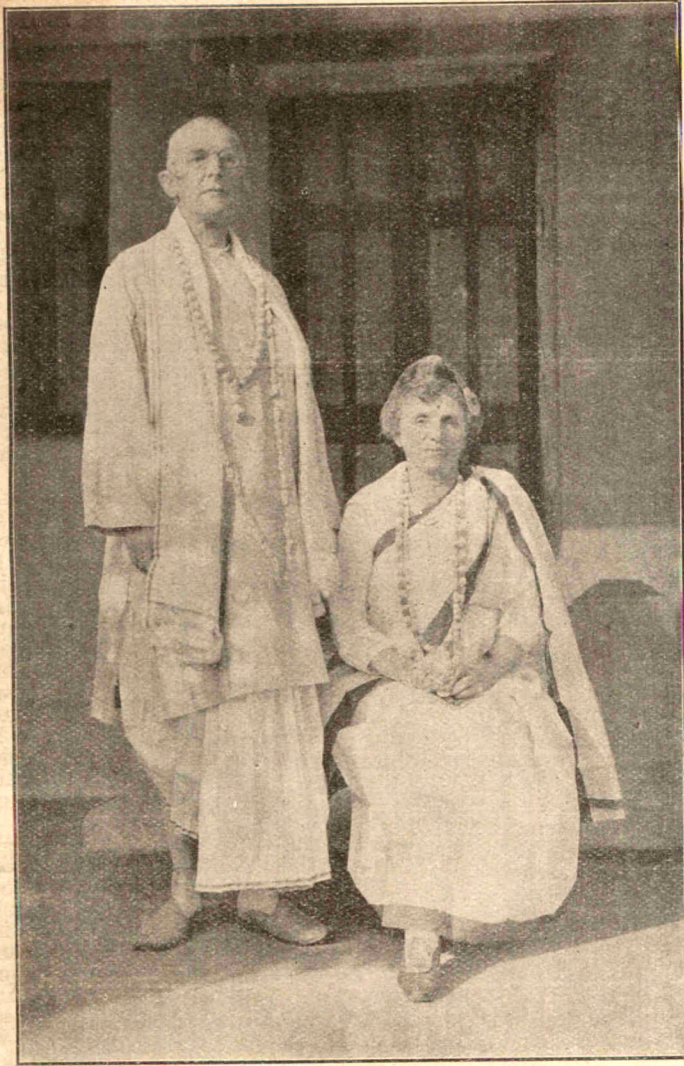
There are differences and there are conflicts of interest and it would be idle to ignore them. But it is the endeavour of Visva-bharati to study them with a view to effect a reconciliation. Life is harmony, rich in variety. Death alone is uniform. The object of Visva-bharati is to achieve unity in diversity.

I take it to be a good omen that the Visva-bharati has been started in India. India has never attempted to conquer the world by force or violence. Millions in India have kept their faith in lofty ideals. Let us move forward inspired by the Spirit of India to fulfil the Poet's vision.

In reply to the farewell address in Sanskrit at Santiniketan, he spoke first in Sanskrit and then in English. It is to be regretted that these speeches have not been reported.

Professor and Mrs. Sten Konow have left at Santiniketan an abiding impress of their personality. From Santiniketan the professor visited Kenduli, the birthplace of the poet Jayadeva, where every year a religious gathering of Vaishnavas is held. What he said there in Sanskrit made a profound impression on the bauls and other Vaishnavas.

The professor's faith in the lofty Indian ideals has led us to think whether we Indians



Bhatta Sri Saila Kanva and Srimati Savitri Devi
[Professor Dr. Sten Konow and Mrs. Konow]
—Photograph by Babu Krishna Lal Ghose

by these few words in English, as reported in the *Visva-bharati Bulletin* :

My friends, we bow down to-day in reverence to him to whom we owe the idea of Visva-bharati. It is a poet's vision. To this home of peace (Santiniketan) men can come from every quarter of the globe in a common endeavour to promote mutual understanding and goodwill.

It is a poet's vision, but it came at a time when men were in sore need. The Gospel of Jesus had

shape our lives according to those ideals.

We have also been led to think that though it was Indian culture and religion which influenced Central Asia, China, Tibet, Indo-China, Java, etc., yet, far from there being men among us who are qualified to teach us all about India's work in those countries, when competent non-Indians are good enough to come out to our country to share with us their knowledge, a sufficient number of students does not take advantage of the opportunity. The importance of these indological studies is not yet understood. Let us hope that gradually we shall come to understand their value, and it will be possible to found and endow a number of chairs for their promotion.

The All Parties' Conference

The All Parties' Conference at Delhi has appointed a committee, to report at an early date.

Early or late, we must have a united demand. That united demand may be the minimum with some parties, and the maximum with others, and those who want more than this united demand may and should be left free to realise their ideal. What is less does not shut out the greater.

When all parties want Swaraj, surely it should be possible for all to hit upon some scheme which will satisfy moderate expectations without obstructing those further developments which others may long for.

The Commonwealth of India Bill

The Commonwealth of India Bill, of which a draft has been circulated for information, opinion and comment, has been carefully and elaborately drawn up. Of course, in no country where there may be occasion for the drafting of such a bill can there be complete unanimity. Opinions will differ. But the least that can be said of the value of such a draft is that it provides us with a definite working basis which we can consider and discuss, add to, curtail and alter.

Mrs. Annie Besant and her co-workers have rendered good service to the Indian people by presenting this definite result of their labours.

In poetry there is some virtue in leaving something to the imagination of the reader. In political idealism, too, there is room for

dreaming. But in practical politics, nothing is gained by vagueness.

Academic Success of an Orthodox Girl

Orthodox Bengal, which means the vast majority of Bengalees, is not well disposed towards the education of women. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that Miss Nirmala Bala Bose, grand-daughter of the late Babu Ananda Krishna Bose, a well-known scholar descended on his mother's side from Raja Sir Radhakanta Deb, has stood first in English in order of merit in the M. A. examination of the Calcutta University. That a girl belonging to an orthodox family has achieved this distinction by private study does her great credit.

Women Novelists of Bengal

The education of women in Bengal not being generally encouraged, as noted above, it is no wonder that the women writers of Bengal do not form a large body. But few though they are in number, they appear to have made their mark in the writing of works of fiction to a sufficient extent to make even an Anglo-Indian journal like *The Statesman* devote an article to them, which runs as follows :—

Women have given a better account of themselves than men in the task of unfolding the delicate shades of thought and feeling which go to make up their inner being. For it cannot be denied that women have other aspects of life and being than are manifested to men. There is still surviving a certain measure of antagonism between the sexes, by reason of which each sex more or less draws the curtain on some part of their inner life, which remains imperfectly revealed to the other. So far as that part of women which she holds out unreservedly to man goes, one might say that man can paint woman better than women themselves; for in spite of the aberration of judgment due to partiality or antipathy for the other sex, man can, on the whole, look upon this part of a woman's life with a greater measure of detachment than women.

But when it comes to the inner woman, her inmost soul and the unfolding of her deepest emotions, there man fails.

One can say, with small fear of contradiction, that, in Bengali fiction, the most successful pictures of the inner life of woman have been given by women writers. The mere male has drawn women with success, so long as he was dealing with the outworks of the fort where her soul dwells. Once in a while they have had the hardihood to venture on a detailed analysis of the mind of women. Rabindranath Tagore, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee and Nares Chandra Sen Gupta have been the most

adventurous authors in this sphere. They have often done surpassingly well, but, most notably, in their pictures of women who are out of the ordinary.

But woman is a story by herself, even in her most humdrum and common surroundings, and if only one could tell the story of her mind through and through, one could make an engaging romance. That is the lesson of the most successful works of women authors in Bengali fiction. Men have not beaten them in the delicate and finely woven pictures of the heart of the woman who is far from extraordinary.

In *Didi*, which was her earliest (?) and most successful work, Srimati Nirupama Devi introduces us to a woman of extraordinary character, but essentially a Hindu woman behind the *purdah*, who is placed in a very difficult situation. Her husband, Amarnath is married to her against his will, at the wish of a masterful father. He rebels against this compulsion, renounces his wife and home and marries another girl. At the death of the father-in-law, Surama finds herself the mistress of a household from which her husband has banished himself, and she rules it with all her skill and masterfulness. Her pride enables her to bear her sorrow and humiliation without flinching.

Soon, however, Amarnath comes home with his girl wife, Charu, who is a veritable child, and almost reminds one in her earlier stages of Dickens's (?) Dora (?). They are thus thrown together. Surama prepares herself for her encounter with her husband with all her pride and hostility and the husband is by no means anxious to be reconciled to her, being occupied with Charu.

This child, however, by her very helplessness and simplicity, wins the heart of her co-wife, and for a time Surama and Amarnath become friends in a distant and disinterested sort of way.

The rest of the book is a finely drawn-out story of the slowly changing emotions of the man and the woman. The first signs of contrition in Amarnath are met by a dignified rebuff. But the canker has begun eating into Surama's soul, and from this time she carries on a long fight against a growing yearning in her for her husband, whom she cannot now hate, and yet cannot desire because of her pride, and of her love for the child Charu. Only a woman could have given the delicate and arresting picture of Surama's soul as the author has rendered it.

MOTHER INSTINCT

A similar though differently conceived theme has been treated by Srimati Anurupa Devi in her *Ma*. There the husband renounces the first wife, whom he loves, for no fault of hers but because his father has unreasonably taken offence and turned her out. He marries again at the order of his father. This second wife first meets us as a selfish and self-willed woman whose feelings are always on edge with regard to her absent and discarded co-wife. Srimati Anurupa gives a more ambitious treatment to her theme than was attempted by Srimati Nirupama. In parts of her work she has gone beyond her depth, and this detracts from the artistic finish of her story. But the picture of this second wife, who is always feeling a void in her husband's heart where she was expecting love, is superb in its subtlety and truthfulness. The mother-instinct of this barren woman proves to be her salvation in the end, and starting as the sworn

enemy of her co-wife and her son she ends as a loving mother to her orphaned step-son. The story of this development of her inner mind bears on every page the delicate touch of a woman's heart and insight.

The talented sisters, Santa and Sita Devi, have chosen their themes from very different surroundings, determined by their different up-bringing. While Anurupa and Nirupama Devi have told of life in the orthodox Hindu household, the heroines of Santa and Sita Devi are mostly girls from college, living and moving mostly amongst cultured people of the advanced Brahmo society. Few people are as qualified to tell the mind of this class of woman, and they have unfolded their story with a noble sense of artistic bearing and a truthfulness and delicacy which are not easily beaten. The first ambitious work was the result of their joint effort—the *Udyanlata* (the garden-creeper). It gives a delightful story of the life of Mukti, a modern girl brought up in a college, with a wealth of detail and lightness of touch which is characteristic of these sisters. There is nothing very extraordinary in the main plot, which is that of two young men in love with the same girl. But the charm of the story lies in the treatment of the theme, which is very arresting, especially the last scene where Mukti is bidden farewell by a discarded lover whom she had never known as such till then, and whom she liked perhaps more than anybody else—only she had never thought of him as a lover.

The situation in which she finds herself after the revelation, makes up a delicate tragedy and the authors leave us imagining all sorts of things that must have been passing in her mind in her last moment of indecision. The tableau of the girl lingering on the staircase after the lover has gone remains in the mind long after the book is closed.

A GIRL'S BRAVERY

In *Chirantani* Santa Devi gives us an attractive pen-picture of a graduate girl who works for her living and slaves at her work for the sake of her brothers, her sisters, and her grand-father. She is loved with great impetuosity by an eccentric and prosperous young man, and she has but to say 'yes' to be above want. But with the crushing weight of poverty on her, she is yet incapable of saying the word, and she waits in critical suspense till she finds her true love, and her suspense is ended.

The author shows living portraits of the life and mind of the type of highly educated young woman who is growing more and more common among us, and also a picture of a poor Brahmo household which pleases the artistic mind by its artless simplicity and absence of superfluity.

The same characteristics are displayed in the *Rojnigandha* of Sita Devi, where the end is tragic. Here a poor girl from college finds employment as a governess and falls in love with her master though her love is never spoken. She is fated, however, to have to wait on her beloved, who becomes the loving husband of a friend whom she loved and worshipped with a romantic passion. The situation is handled with great ingenuity and delicacy and the struggle in Kshanika's heart is given full expression.

Mrs. Sailabala Ghosh has contributed largely to the literature of fiction in Bengal. She is perhaps less keen on painting life than on pointing a moral,

and she has succeeded better on the whole in painting man than woman. The only book in which she has made any definite effort to tell the story of a woman's mind is her *Janma-Aparadhi*, where a depraved husband maltreats his wife and neglects her. The story has a gruesome ending and it must be said that to point the moral more effectively the colours have often been laid on rather too thick. Yet, in spite of the missionary zeal of the author, her picture of the patient, uncomplaining suffering wife of a worthless, bad-tempered and oppressive husband is one that dwells in the mind as a sad reality.

A great many other women authors have come into the field of literature in recent times and some of them have already established their claim to be counted. But their works all bring out the truth of the observation that none but woman can paint the woman's mind.

When after serial publication in *Prabasi*, *Udyanilata* appeared in book-form, it was favourably reviewed in *The Times* by the late Dr. J. D. Anderson, Reader in Bengali to the Cambridge University. *Didi*, *Chirantani* and *Rajamangandha*, and *Sheikh Andu* (by Sailabala Ghosh-jaya) also appeared in *Prabasi*.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's Hinduism

Last month at the Marwadi Vidyalaya, Bombay, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya delivered an address on what should be done to improve the condition of Hindu society. The following has been reported in the press as the substance of part of his speech:—

As a cure for that state of affairs he advocated efforts to unify all subcastes into one great Hindu community, to spread knowledge of their scriptures among the lowest as well as the highest castes amongst them, to do away with untouchability and early marriages, to advance physical culture and to give equal rights to all castes in society and religious practices. He said they must not fail to welcome even Moslems and Christians to gatherings where Hindu scriptures were recited or propounded. He quoted chapter and verse in support of all that he advocated and earnestly pleaded for the spread of the programme of work of the Hindu Maha-Sabha."

Many orthodox Hindus of an advanced type will support Malaviyaji's programme.

Adi Hindu Resolutions

We print below some of the resolutions passed at the seventh All-India Anti-Untouchability Conference held at Belgaum in December last. We have one remark and one suggestion to make. We are against communal representation; but if it be considered

justifiable in the case of any community, the Adi Hindus are pre-eminently that community. The Adi Hindus are, however, divided into so many castes and sub-castes, that it would not be possible to satisfy them by giving all of them representatives and appointments in the public service.

Our respectful suggestion is that the Adi Hindus, in spite of provocation, should not adopt the policy of separatism and retaliation. Now for the resolutions.

COUNCIL REPRESENTATION

1. (a) In view of the fact that representation by nomination of the Depressed Classes in Council has been found not only a total failure but at times a source of mischief, this Conference records its conviction that the Depressed Classes should have their own elected representative on all local and central representative bodies whose number will bear some proportion to their population in respective jurisdictions. This Conference also deems it desirable that appropriate electorate to return their representative wherever possible be constituted.

PUBLIC SERVICES AND LOCAL BOARDS

2. (a) This Conference requests the Government to insist upon preferential treatment being given to deserving candidates belonging to the Depressed Classes, not being converts to Christianity and Mahomedanism, and requests the Government to declare from time to time the percentage of posts reserved for such deserving candidates.

MILITARY SERVICES

3. This Conference requests the Government that a certain number of Regiments be reserved for the Depressed Classes, and if this is not possible, in particular regiments, Companies manned by them may be organised.

BOARDING SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARSHIPS

4. This Conference urges Government to establish Boarding Schools for the Depressed Classes students, two at least in each linguistic Divisions in India of the High School grade where selected students could be given special training and rendered fit for admission to the College classes. It further urges that adequate scholarships tenable by poor deserving boys of the Depressed Classes should be instituted in all grades.

RELATION WITH THE HINDU MAHA-SABHA, ETC.

5. The Adi-Hindus present in this Conference emphatically lay down that so long the Adi-Hindus are not admitted to all the rights of Hindu religion and society including entry into temples, the Adi-Hindus do not and should not treat the Hindu Maha-Sabha or the Bharat Dharma Maha-Mandal or any other similar Body, as in any way representative of their communities.

ADI-HINDU AS AN ALL-INDIA TERM

9. Inasmuch as the so-called Depressed Classes in India considered untouchables, feel very highly nettled by such question-begging designations as above, this conference thinks that it is most fitting to be hereafter called by the name Adi-Hindus in the whole of India and outside. This Conference empowers its Secretaries to move the Local and

Central Governments and all other Bodies concerned so that they will use this changed name of these classes.

CONGRATULATION

10. This Conference thanks Karmavir V. R. Shinde, founder and member of the D. C. M. Society for having handed over the Poona D. C. M. Society to the Adi-Hindu communities request the other Societies working for the welfare of the Adi-Hindus to do the same throughout India.

PACT WITH THE CONGRESS HINDUS

11. In view of the several pacts like that of Lucknow, which the Indian National Congress have from time to time entered into with Mahomedans this Conference now deems it a very high time that all other Hindus should come to a certain definite understanding with the Depressed Classes with a view to bring about first a real effective Hindu unity before entering into such pacts with non-Hindus in future and in this connection requests the following gentlemen to negotiate with the Committee appointed by the recent All-Party Conference in Bombay.

(1) Mr. V. R. Shinde, B. A., founder of the D. C. M. S. of India, and Chairman of the Reception Committee of this Conference.

(2) Mr. C. R. Reddy, M. A., M. L. C., President of this Conference with two members of the Adi-Hindus to be co-opted by them jointly.

Mr. Chintamani on Constitutional Methods

The report of a recent speech of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani's contains the following passage :—

The liberal party stood for attainment of full responsible Government for India at the earliest possible date and did not believe that, in the existing circumstances of the country, any political method, other than constitutional, stood any chance of success.

But it did not swear by constitutional methods as if it were the Vedas or the Bible. If in a good situation, the Liberal party found that there were methods other than constitutional which could be employed effectively with a greater chance of success and with no risk of doing more injury to the country itself than to its opponents, he had not the slightest doubt whatever that the Liberal party would unhesitatingly discard, on such an occasion, what was called constitutional methods and adopt other methods which it might believe to be more effective.

Cultural Features in the Daily Press

It is a happy sign of the times that our daily papers have been gradually introducing various cultural features. Even a half-anna daily like *The Bengalee* has been able to publish important contributions from eminent writers, sometimes with illustrations.

Speaking of illustrations, one cannot but admire those to be found in *New India's*

weekly supplement. They are generally well executed and reproduced, and their selection is unexceptionable. *New India* has never been horsey and doggy and has never gone in for sensational and vulgar pictures. It has reproduced many works of art in its supplements, and the portraits reproduced therein have been those of persons who have done something worthy.

The Bengali Stage in Calcutta

Of late many of the Calcutta dailies have begun to devote much space to the Bengali stage in Calcutta, some also publishing portraits and pictures of the actors and actresses in their stage costumes.

The theatre is not merely an institution for popular amusement but it has been in many countries an instrument of culture and enlightenment and may be a similar means of popular awakening everywhere. We are not, therefore, against the stage or actors and actresses. But as the cause of social purity must be promoted by all the means in our power, we have to enquire whether the Bengali stage in Calcutta is a hindrance or a help.

It is wellknown that the professional actresses in the Bengali theatres in Calcutta are drawn from the class of prostitutes, and that their profession does not enable them or is not used to enable them to give up their immoral lives. On the contrary it enables them to gather round themselves a larger number of gay Lotharios than they would otherwise have been able to do. Examples are not wanting of young men who previously led good lives being ruined by their seductive wiles.

It is generally for this reason that the advocates of social purity have considered the Bengali theatres of Calcutta as sources of corruption. That is to say, the question has been looked at from the view-point of the moral safety of the male sex. Consequently theatre-goers have replied that if weak-minded persons succumb, it is not the fault of these theatres. To which the rejoinder may be that it is the duty of all guardians of public morality to remove sources of temptation. It is for this reason that opium-smoking dens, liquor shops, and brothels are removed,—at least from public thoroughfares. But we do not at present want to carry on any controversy along these lines. We only want the public to consider

the matter from a different angle. We have asked them to do so more than once in the pages of *Prabasi*.

Are we justified in having any places of amusement whose existence presupposes and depends on the existence of a class of prostitutes? There are vigilance Committees and there are laws for minimising or doing away with the evils of prostitution. So it may be taken for granted that all decent people want that commercialised vice must be destroyed root and branch. But there are many respectable ladies and gentlemen who patronise the Bengali theatres, who at the same time want that there should be social purity. They do not pause to think that social purity is unattainable so long as there is a demand in some form for a class of women of ill fame; and under present conditions, the demand for being entertained by professional actresses in Bengal is a demand for the existence of a class of women of ill fame.

The problem before us is this. If we want social purity, we must not have any institutions which directly or indirectly depend for their existence on commercialised vice. So either respectable women would have to take to the profession of acting, or the theatres must be so reformed that the women of ill fame who are professional actresses there may find it necessary and easy to lead pure lives. If neither of these two alternatives be possible, the Bengali theatres should not be patronised by people who want all women to lead pure lives. The larger the number of our theatre-goers, the larger would the number of theatres be. That would mean an ever-increasing number of professional actresses, which, as matters stand at present, would be equivalent to an ever-increasing number of women of ill fame.

It is not that no reform of the Bengali stage is possible. For in many countries there are professional actresses who are good daughters, wives and mothers like other virtuous women.

Humour in "Hindu Polity"

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's "Hindu Polity" is a serious study of a serious subject. But there is humour in its preface. For example, the author says therein that the manuscript of the work was ready in April, 1918.

The book was made over to Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, who kindly took upon himself the

publication of the work, placing it on the university syllabus.

"When a few chapters had been in type the author was informed that scientific plagiarism was at work. Then, the manuscript was stolen from Sir Asutosh, no other belonging out of the group from which the box of manuscript was missing was touched by the critical though secret admirer. Sir Asutosh informed the police, with the result that a professor who claimed to have recovered the manuscript made it over to Sir Asutosh. After three days' confinement, the book obtained liberation."

"Set a thief to catch a thief", so runs the proverb. We do not know whether in the present case the wisdom of the proverb was proved by some tame plagiarist discovering the manuscript from the study of a brother artist.

Mr. Pal's Apology

We were rather surprised when we found the portraits of Mr. Bawla and his mistress in *The Bengalee*. We thought it must have been due to Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal's absence from Calcutta. We are glad to find Mr. Pal apologising for the publication of these portraits, saying:—

"This has been done in my absence and without my knowledge and authority, and I express my sincere regret for the prominent publication of the portraits of Mr. Bawla and Mumtaz Begum that have no title to this notice."

Mrs. Basant on Communal Differences

At the All Parties' Conference Mrs. Basant is reported to have said that communal differences would exist so long as foreign rulers were there to throw the apple of discord. This is true; but it is not the whole truth. We cannot but admit that there are some causes of communal discord arising out of our own beliefs, fanaticism, bigotry, "religious" arrogance and superstitions with which foreign rulers have little to do.

Bounty for Steel Industry

In addition to the protective tariff, the Indian people will have to pay a bounty of 75 lakhs of rupees to the steel industry. So more than two crores of rupees must be paid to the Tata Company's shareholders by the Indian people, though that Company has not been required by law to promote the interests of either the Indian workingmen or the Indian technicians.

Mr. Chimanlal opposed the grant of protection to steel industry. He severely criticised the management of the Tata Company which lavishly distributed dividends to shareholders four years ago without taking into account that depression might come. The Tata Company had broken every promise given in respect of their labourers. Incidentally he asked for a ruling whether shareholders of Tatas who were in this house would be entitled to vote.

The President said that the practice in the House of Commons was that where a shareholder of any Company which received subsidy or protection was a member of the House he would be entitled to exercise his vote but as to the propriety of his voting it was a matter entirely for personal judgment of the member. The same procedure would be followed here as well. It was difficult to apply hard and fast rule. The motion of Sir Charles Innes was carried.

That the Tata shareholders would vote for the bounty to fill their own and their co-sharers' pockets can be easily understood. But did those Swarajist members who were not Tata shareholders vote for it because it was once declared by a Swarajist leader that the Swaraj Party would ask capitalists to contribute to their party funds.

Sir John Marshall on the Antiquity of Indian Civilisation

Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archaeology in India, interviewed by a representative of the "Bombay Chronicle," expressed great enthusiasm for the recent discoveries at Mahen-jo-Daro and Harappa. The discoveries, he believed, extend the history of Indian civilization to ascertainable eras of pre-Babylonian times. The discoveries up till now have brought them to nine buried cities revealed under alternate strata of mud and similar material. They expect to excavate still deeper, say about thirty feet. There may be still three or four or five more ancient cities buried under the portions which still remain to be excavated. They would bring them to somewhere near 7 to 9,000 B. C. The cities that have been already laid bare display, he said, the most interesting panorama of ancient structures, the layout of towns and streets and an unusual amount of antiques including seals of great variety and distinction. There were, he added, brought to view the finest bricks he ever saw. The finds required the most careful handling. And it would be premature, he observed, to anticipate too definitely at this stage the nature and character of the forgotten chapters of ancient history of this country now thrown for examination by the scholars and the historians of the world.

Communal Representation and the Indian Christian Community.

Three times, year after year, has communal representation been condemned from the presidential chair of the Indian Christian Conference. Though the Indian Christian

community is far less numerous than the Moslem community, the former have sufficient faith in God, in their own ability and public spirit, and in their non-Christian countrymen not to want any seats in representative bodies and any appointments in the public service to be reserved for themselves. There is no doubt that their wisdom and charity will be justified by the results.

The Wisdom and Patriotism of Bengal Moslems

A small clique of self-seeking persons headed by Sir Abdur Rahim and others wanted the Moslems of Bengal to support the Bengal Ordinance and thus earn the special favour of Government. With this object in view they convened a conference of their co-religionists in Calcutta and chose Nawabzada Syed Mohamed Hosain of Shaistabad as their chairman. But they did not know their man. So when the Nawabzada went on reading a very patriotic speech, there was consternation in the ranks of the schemers, and Sir Abdur Rahim and some others beat a hasty retreat from the place of meeting. The Nawabzada rightly called upon his fellow-believers to make common cause with all their other countrymen, as they are children of the same soil and neighbours, sharing one another's joys and sorrows.

At a subsequent and larger public meeting of the Bengal Moslems, the Ordinance was condemned.

Hindu-Moslem Unity at Nagpur

The Moslems of Nagpur have shown great good sense and generosity and evinced confidence in their Hindu neighbours by not demanding that the latter are not to lead musical processions before mosques even at the time of public prayers. It is for the Hindus to show that this confidence has not been in the least misplaced.

Kohat Settlement

From what we have read in the Lahore *Tribune*, which keeps up its reputation for level-headedness and persistent endeavour to be fair, it does not appear that the Kohat "agreement" has been accepted by the Hindu refugees in general. It is a pity that the

plished fact. But how can it be so, if the Hindus do not feel that they have got even bare justice and that their honour, lives and property would be safe in future ?

Fine Arts and Music in Lucknow

Lucknow is to be congratulated upon holding a successful exhibition of works of Indian Art, old and new, of various schools. Perhaps at no other Indian Art exhibition were so many fine old water-colours and albums shown as at Lucknow. The usefulness and delightful character of the exhibition were much enhanced by the lectures and talks of Dr. James H. Cousins, who is so unremitting in his labours to bring about a right understanding and appreciation of the Indian Fine Arts and who possesses quite unusual insight and powers of lucid exposition.

Mr. N. C. Mehta, I. C. S., who initiated the movement for this exhibition and worked hardest for it, has thereby earned the thanks of the Indian public.

There has also been a successful All-India Music Conference at the capital of Oudh. A movement has been set on foot to establish a Music College and Art Gallery there for which more than Rs. 40,000 has been already collected.

The First Kamala Lecturer

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee endowed the Kamala lectureship in connection with the Calcutta University in memory of his beloved daughter Kamala Devi, who predeceased him. And he also chose Dr. Annie Besant as the first Kamala lecturer. No better choice could have been made. As the lectures are named after a woman, it was quite in the fitness of things that the most learned woman in India was chosen to deliver the first course of lectures. Those lectures have fully demonstrated the rightness of the choice by their thoughtfulness, insight and scholarship.

Sir C. Sankaran Nair's Presidential Address

In the striking presidential address which Sir C. Sankaran Nair delivered to the Social Reform Conference at Belgaum he dealt chief-

ly with the status of the women of India and that of the submerged classes, and the caste question. He spoke, in part, as follows :—

Tradition going beyond the dawn of history closes that women were free, in fact as free as men both in social and political life. We have accounts of those who are wrongly called primitive tribes, amongst whom women, on their own account and not as servants of man, took part in all the varied activities of life such as now are regarded as peculiarly masculine.

Early marriage, compulsory marriage, compulsory widowhood, denial of freedom to a grown-up woman to choose her husband must all disappear. Age of consent must be raised. It was said by an English member in the Legislative Assembly that in the generation the mortality of mothers due to early marriage was 3,200,000. Polygamy must be abolished. Right to contract a second marriage can be conceded only if the wife is given the right to claim divorce on the same ground together with a share of the husband's property. Polygamy had been a safeguard to the wife who for reasons of health was unwilling to live as wife. A wife in such circumstance should be protected from her husband.

It appears to me that our supreme effort should be directed to securing women the same right as men so far as right to vote in elections of members and the right to be elected as members of municipalities, Local and District Boards, Provincial Councils and Imperial Legislative Assembly, is concerned. The power to vote will secure the return of their supporters. The pressure they will exert as voters or members will secure the necessary Reforms. We are fighting for freedom ourselves. But

If ye do not feel the chain
When it works a sister's pain,
Are ye not base slaves indeed
Slaves unworthy to be freed ?

Let us therefore make up our minds that women shall have votes like men in all Councils and that either women are elected as members or only those who pledge themselves to do all in their power to remove women's grievances.

REVOLT AGAINST CASTE TYRANNY

The other great question with which the social reform association deals is that of the depressed classes. As in the case of women, the time has passed when the Non-Brahmin caste Hindus and the other casteless Hindus pay any attention to the arguments based on religion. The Non-Brahmin Congress which is now holding its session in this town is an answer to those who still want to maintain the caste system. The Non-Brahmin Hindus have determined so far as it lies in their power not to recognise the superiority of the Brahmins, not to co-operate with them in those movements which involve the recognition of those sacred texts which show the Brahmin superiority.

These facts are enough to show that in the case of these low castes as in the case of women the main efforts of the social reform association should in my opinion be directed to giving them the power to vote and the right to be elected as members to all the Local Councils in particular and also to the superior councils.

Sir Sankaran Nair on Franchise Exclusively for Manual Work

Sir C. Sankaran Nair in moving at the Social Conference the resolution conveying greetings to Mahatma Gandhi supported the latter's suggestion that the franchise should be given extensively to manual workers.

"We are concerned," said Sir Sankaran, "with his social activities. He has taken up the great task of uplift of the depressed classes and the removal of untouchability. He has referred to it even in his Presidential address. One of the proposals in his scheme for Swaraj is that the qualification for franchise should be manual work. This is the first time such a proposal has been put before the world and it is one of far-reaching importance. But India is not prepared for it. India is no more fit for it than Jerusalem was prepared for the advent of Jesus nearly 20 centuries ago. The intellectual classes and the propertied classes have up to now held the right to go to Parliament. But neither of these should have the right. It is those who engage in manual labour that should represent the country in the Assemblies."

We cordially agree that manual labourers should have the vote. But we do not agree that *they alone* should have the vote. If the underlying principle be that those who do some kind of honest work or other, should enjoy the franchise, then common sense and simple observation show that there are many kinds of work other than manual labour which also are necessary for human society, which are useful and beneficial and which are honest. Why should these kinds of work be disfranchised?

We have also shown in a recent number of the Modern Review by quoting from the sayings of Sri Krishna, Buddha and Jesus that these great teachers of mankind did not understand merely manual labour by "work."

Let us briefly consider some of the reasons why persons are considered entitled to vote. They are considered entitled to vote,

(1) Because they are the inhabitants of a country interested in its weal and woe. According to this principle, all persons, including children, should have the vote. But as children cannot use any discretion because of immaturity, therefore, in those countries where there is universal suffrage irrespective of sex or other considerations, there is only *adult* suffrage, *not* franchise for children. This shows that it is an accepted principle that the voter should have some maturity of judgment and some power to discriminate between right and wrong. It cannot be said that manual workers are the only adult inhabitants of a country in-

terested in its weal and woe who possess some maturity of reason and conscience.

(2) Because they do some useful and necessary work for the country. We have already seen that it is not true that manual labourers alone do useful and necessary work for the country.

(3) Because they are fit by their intelligence, knowledge, capacity, judgment and possession of conscience, to take part in or manage the affairs of the country. It cannot be said that manual workers alone possess this kind of fitness.

There are many kinds of manual work which can be and is done by machine, and these machines have been devised and made with the aid of the human intellect. Some machines turn out more work and more accurate work than labourers. All this shows that the exercise of the intellect is work of a higher order than mere physical work. Manual workers are to be given the vote, not merely because they perform certain results but because they possess in addition reason and conscience. If mere physical movements and their result were the reasons for proposing to give the vote to manual labourers, then it would not be easy to explain why the human being who plies the handloom is to have the vote and why the power-loom which does more weaving is not to have the vote, why the man who drives the plough is to have the vote and why the steam-plough which does more ploughing is not to have the vote, etc., etc.

In fact, the manual worker is fit to have the vote because he is a man; and man is distinguished from brute beasts and machinery not by the capacity for physical work but by the possession of reason and conscience. If manual work were all in all, why then is Mahatma Gandhi the leader of the people, instead of some illiterate strong peasant who is capable of far greater physical labour than the Mahatma being our leader? It is rather curious that men who owe their pre-eminent position to their own superior intellectual and spiritual development, not to their superior physical capacity for mere manual work, entirely ignore the claims of intellectual and other non-bodily work.

In Russia more than in any other country the claims of manual work have obtained the greatest recognition. But the greatest leader of the Russian revolution, Lenin, was not a manual worker. He was a graduate in law of St. Petersburg University who practised law for some time.

Should manual labour alone ever monopolise the franchise, the result would be that intellectual men would do the minimum amount of manual work necessary to qualify for the vote, but it would be their intellect and devotion that would carry them to the topmost rung of the ladder, not their little bits of manual work. Even in Russia intellectual superiority of a certain kind has got its due.

We do not in the least despise or deny the dignity of every kind of manual labour. But we cannot admit that it alone possesses supreme value. If manual labour were the only thing or the chief thing or the chief thing of value to man, then the man who gives all his energy to manual work would be the greatest of men. But is it not a common experience that mere manual work without any other kind of occupation, *dehumanises*? Even a six hours' day for labourers would dehumanise them, if in their leisure hours their minds were not usefully and innocently occupied.

Extremism is not necessarily the highest wisdom, even if it be the extremism of Mahatma Gandhi, or of his quondam detractor and recent admirer Sir C. Sankaran Nair.

Mahatma Gandhi—A Heretic

It is popularly believed that according to orthodox Hinduism it is only the Brahmans who know the Sastras and who are entitled to lay down what is according to the Sastras and what not. But a recent Bombay meeting presided over by a merchant of the trading caste has made the pronouncement that those who want to abolish untouchability are heretics. Some of the men assembled there wanted even to lynch the heretics, including Mahatma Gandhi. Of course, Mahatmaji would be only too glad to undergo martyrdom; for that would toll the death-knell of untouchability. But as he fights with the weapon of soul force, we suggest that he is not worthy of the steel (or is it the rope?) of the Bombay heroes, and that they should tackle Mahatmaji's Big Brother Maulana Shaukat Ali. It strikes us, moreover, that lynching is not an orthodox Hindu practice; it is prevalent in the *melechha* land of America and is, therefore unfit to be practised by the holy Bombay heroes. We hope this pleading of ours, if nothing else, will save the heretics from lynching.

By the by, it so happens that according to the Hindus, *Śruti* takes highest rank among the scriptures, and we are credibly informed that there is no authority in *Śruti* for untouchability.

Mr. G. K. Devadhar's Presidential Address

For some years past there have been two Indian Social Conferences held in December. This year one was held at Belgaum and the other at Lucknow. The latter was presided over by Mr. G. K. Devadhar. Of him *The Leader* justly observes:—

In the field of social service Mr. Devadhar leads a dedicated life and has by concrete results shown how much service one individual can render to the cause of humanity and progress provided he is inspired by the spirit of service and sacrifice. He is the moving spirit and the guiding genius of social service organizations in Poona and Bombay which eloquently proclaim the faith that is in him and are visible demonstrations of his marvellous organizing capacity.

With reference to his address the same paper observes:—

It is a truism to say that internal causes are responsible for the rise and fall of nations. Reaction and conservatism in the social sphere lead to decay no less than they do in the political sphere, and the Liberals, whose eyes are directed to the future and who profoundly believe in the necessity of progress, have therefore always regarded social reforms as 'a vital force,' to use the words of the president, 'for the improvement of the vast masses of our countrymen even for their political advance.' The president pointed out the essential objective of social reform which is nothing but social justice. Effete and antiquated institutions, injurious customs and practices, and everything which breeds intolerance and class arrogance, narrows the intellectual and spiritual outlook, leads to social cruelty and inequality and in short enslaves instead of emancipating the manhood and womanhood of a community must be treated as inimical to growth and progress. In the words of Mr. Devadhar, 'human being as such must be respected whatever be his or her condition or status in life and irrespective of his or her sex, caste and creed; the principles of spiritual equality inculcated by a liberal religion that emphasises the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God and of equal citizenship necessitated by common nationalism must be recognized cheerfully, ordinary human rights and civic privileges being the foundations of spiritual equality and equal citizenship'. Social reform inspired by such a high democratic ideal is necessary to solve the problem of Indian nationality, unite the various communities, Hindu, Muslim, Parsee and Christian, in one loving bond and furnish the basis for national greatness..... The removal of untouchability is one of the principal planks of the Congress platform, and the proceedings of the Liberal Federation would show that the Liberals are also equally keen on the subject. The question has been earnestly taken up by the Hindu Mahasabha

also. The devoted labours of the Arya Samaj for bringing about their rights of equal citizenship and movement. It recorded the view that the caste system was the greatest obstacle to national solidarity and that it should be immediately discarded. The system has struck such deep roots that its destruction is likely to take a pretty long time. A wider and a keener recognition of its evils is necessary before much headway can be made. The relaxation in the rigidity of caste-rules in various parts of the country may, however, be regarded as the beginning of the end.

Political Principles Affected by Colour of Skin

When any people of European extraction revolt and assert their independence, the government established by them is recognised by European states, if not at once, at least in course of time. But the Moors are not Europeans and therefore the "Republic of the Rif" established by them has not been thought worthy of recognition by France which has recognised the Soviet Government of Russia. The unfriendly attitude of France will be understood from the following extract from *The Literary Digest* :—

The Moor's pride of Ancestry and the memory of a magnificent past in having been thrice victorious over Spain is said to have been hotly rekindled by his success against the Spaniards in Morocco, where, after fifteen years of continuous warfare, he has forced the Spanish to the coast and to adopt a defensive position. Thus, it is pointed out, the Spaniards lose all their gains in the mountainous district of Morocco where Abd-El-Krim, the Moroccan leader, not only wants to hold the ground taken, but seems resolved to establish the independence and self-determination of his people. He contends that the Moors alone are able to preserve the peace and administer the country in accordance with the wishes of its inhabitants. But the Spanish press note that the evacuation plan being carried out under the supervision of General Primo de Rivera, President of the Spanish Military Directorate, and High Commissioner in Morocco, did not contemplate the relinquishment of rights held by Spain under the Franco-Spanish agreement of 1912. On the other hand, the Madrid *Epoca* reports that Abd-El-Krim not only claims the right to establish an autonomous government in all the territory occupied by him when the war with Spain began, regardless of the boundary lines drawn in the Franco-Spanish Treaty of 1912, but he actually has civic authorities functioning and is said to have formed a cabinet.

The "Republic of the Rif" is the name the tribesmen give to their political homestead and they claim that they have never recognized the validity of Morocco's partition into zones and protectorates. According to the Rif view, there is only one means of demonstrating sovereignty, and that is actual occupation. In support of their contention they assert that the judicial authorities are functioning normally in all the territory occupied by their forces. Now the international aspect of the Morocco

question is full of dangerous possibilities according to *La Revue de France* (Paris), which fears a tribal rising in the French zone, and it declares that France is bound to occupy the Spanish zone, if it be shown that Spain cannot subdue the natives.

Russia and Narcotics

The following welcome news has come from Russia. In many ways New Russia is setting an example to the older imperialist nations of Europe. The message runs as follows :—

On November 6, 1924, the Council of People's Commissaries of R.S.F.S.R., issued a decree prohibiting the unlimited distribution and sale of all articles acting or liable to act as forms of intoxicants, and which are injurious to people's health, such as cocaine and its salts, opium and its compounds, morphium, heroin, etc. In accordance with this decree the Health Commissariat fixes the quantity of such substances required annually for medical purposes. The production of narcotics may only be carried on by the departments of the Supreme Economic Council after previous agreement with the Health Commissariat, and the import and export of such articles are conducted exclusively by the departments of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade only with the approval of the Commissariat and within the limits established by law.

—*Russian Information & Review*, Nov. 29, 1924, p. 351.

Lord Robert Cecil referred to Russia as one of the countries which was standing outside the League of Nations and might therefore upset any arrangement arrived at by the nations within the League. This declaration which practically embodies the American proposals of restriction of opium to the amount required annually for medical purposes should relieve the mind of any fear concerning Russia's attitude.

C. F. A.

Inter-Religious Unity

The following brief account has reached me from the Rev. J. C. Winslow concerning a retreat held by an International Fellowship group near Bombay. Amid much activity to promote Hindu-Muslim Unity such quiet work as this should not go unrecorded. He writes as follows :—

"The bungalow in Juhu, near Bombay, where Mahatmaji convalesced after his operation, was through the kindness of its owner the scene of an interesting gathering from the evening of Dec. 5 to that of Dec. 7. This was the first 'Retreat' of the Bombay International Fellowship, when between forty and fifty Hindus, Mohammedans, Christians and Parsees assembled in conference to discuss the implications of brotherhood, and still more to live

out brotherhood in two days of friendly intercourse and quiet worship together.

The discussions were held under the chairmanship of Mr. Mirza Ali Akbar Khan, whose able summing up at the close of each meeting added enormously to the value of the conference. The racial implications of brotherhood were dealt with by Dr. Zaverias; the political by Professor Wadia; the economic by Mr. R. M. Joshi and Mr. N. M. Joshi; the religious by Dr. MacNicol. The discussions which followed, while indicating plenty of healthy diversity, yet left the impression of a solid central agreement, which, if only it could be widely disseminated throughout the land, would form the foundation of a strong edifice of unity.

But far more valuable than the discussions were

the times of intimate fellowship in prayer and social intercourse. Here all barriers of race and caste and creed were surmounted. We fed together, played together, prayed together. There was no Hindu and Mussalman, Parsee and Christian, Indian and European, but one family of God's children. It would have delighted Mahatma's heart, as he lay earlier in the year on his couch on that upper verandah, if he could have seen in vision the gathering which would assemble there before the year was out. I am convinced that it is by such experience of actual fellowship, of unity in action, that the mists of misunderstanding and prejudice will be most quickly cleared away, and a unity which is no mere lip-unity, but a heart-unity, achieved".

C. F. A.

THE MAHARSHI DEVENDRANATH TAGORE*

By PROFESSOR DR. STEN KONOW

WE have come together here to-day to commemorate the anniversary of the death of one who occupies a unique position in the history of Santiniketan, as in the development of thought in India on the whole.

Twenty years have passed since Devendranath Tagore left this world, but he still lives amongst us, and on every festive occasion we come together here, at the very spot where he so often sat down in meditation and sought and found peace.

His whole life was devoted to the search of truth, which from time immemorial has been the leading feature in the longings of the noblest men in this country. He was himself, in his family traditions and in his whole spiritual attitude, a successor of the thinkers and seers of bygone ages, who had given up every search for wealth and worldly profit in order to realize man's ultimate aims.

And above all he was filled with the spirit of the Upanishad, with its lofty flight of thought into the realms where man's thought ceases to vibrate in response to the impressions of the senses from contact with the multifarious objects which constitute our daily life, and where it is crystallized in sacred rapture and holy silence before the unfathomable truth underlying life and the universe.

But at the same time his mind was open

and he was prepared to acknowledge truth wherever he found it, in the scriptures of other religions as in the Upanishad. There was everywhere the same test, which he applied: wherever God, in his exalted purity, revealed himself, there truth was to be found. The whole universe is only a single, grandiose revelation of Him, the only one, who listens to the prayers of our heart, and whom we can only come near in the spirit. Unnecessary are temples and sacrifices and austerities, whoever purifies his heart, can come to Him, when he turns away from sin and sincerely repents of his shortcomings. And before Him high and low, rich and poor are equal, because the heart alone counts.

He was universal in his conception of God, but all the same he was intensely Indian. His mind was searching for the infinite, the eternal, behind all the changing things in life and in the world, and he felt how this search had nowhere led man higher than in India, in the thinking and the visions of the Upanishad.

He wandered about in his country, and his unselfish idealism and his pure character won for him the devotion and affection of his people, who gave him the name under which we remember him, the Maharshi.

His spirit is here among us. Here there is

* Read in Santiniketan on the anniversary of the Maharshi's death, January 19, 1925.



Maharshi Devendranath Tagore

no difference of caste or class or race. There is one thing which unites us all, the feeling of the eternal truth as the underlying principle in everything. It gives strength to him who is weak and depressed, and it fills his mind with bliss, in the feeling of the harmony and beauty in truth's revelation in the universe.

And this true eternity is to be found within ourselves. We need not search outside, we need not think that it is hopeless

to find it, because we are weak and mortal beings. We need not throw away ourselves. He who reveals himself in the great and harmonious universe, he who makes the sun and the moon and the stars shine, he is the light within our own heart.

We come from different surroundings, from different places of the world. But the whole world is nothing else than the reflex of the same eternal light, truth itself. And it has been shining for ages, and it is this

light which we can see in the highest thoughts, the loftiest ideals, which every nation, every civilization has produced.

We should remember this, if we want to follow in the footsteps of the Maharshi. Everyone of us is, with thousand links, bound up with the flashes of eternal light which our forefathers have seen. And we are better able to see as they did than otherwise, because our eyes are like theirs. Let us not search outside of ourselves, not away from the path of our ancestors, let us not be dazzled at what at first sight appears more beautiful, more

exalted. We ourselves, with all our traditions and all our inherited ideas, are the reflex of the same light, and we must try to see it with our own eyes.

And when we bow down to-day in reverence to him whose spirit we feel in these surroundings, which were once familiar to him, we shall gather strength in the memory of him, who taught us to go our way forward towards the one truth, besides which there is nothing else, where there is peace and bliss.

Om santih, santih, santih.

HINDU POLITY*

(A Review)

IN an age during which politicians of every creed and colour (white, brown, black etc.) are vying with one another in order to "give constitution" to India, as a panacea for all evils, the "Hindu Polity" of Mr. Jayaswal may appear as a sublime Joke! With serene self-confidence he brushes aside the constitutional hustlers, and dubs their ultramodern constitutional fabrications as anachronisms! "You seem to believe, Sirs, that India is constitutionally incompetent to evolve a constitution?"—so we seem to listen to Mr. Jayaswal interrogating our constitutional *risvakarmas*, with a devastating irony! Well, facts are sometimes terribly disconcerting and Mr. Jayaswal's challenge is based on the solid foundation of facts. Every page of his monumental work discloses some solid, indisputable facts about the constitutional life of the Ancient Indians. People may differ from him in matters of detail, touching explanation and interpretation but none can dispute that he is the first constitutional historian of India who has not only rediscovered the most precious pages of our political life but has made that lost history live again in all its titanic struggles and deathless grandeur.

With profound insight Mr. Jayaswal divides his book into two parts tracing faithfully the two main lines of Hindu Constitutional

evolution—monistic and pluralistic—which seem to be the political counterpart of the metaphysical evolution of ancient India. He shows that "the early Vedas know only monarchy." But so much moonshine and nonsense has been written on "oriental" monarchies (synonymous with barbarous tyranny as a matter of course!) in general and Indian monarchy in particular by omniscient foreign historians that Mr. Jayaswal has been obliged to describe the republican traditions and institutions first; so that the mind of the reader may be prepared to realise correctly the strictly legal and responsible character of Hindu monarchy. "Going back to the oldest literature of the race, we find from the Vedas that national life and activities in the earliest times on record, were expressed through popular assemblies and institutions. The *Samiti* was the national assembly of the whole people or *Visah*. "It could elect the *Rajan*. It could re-elect a king who had been banished and were thus "the sovereign body from the constitutional point of view". He quotes from Rig Veda (X. 191.3) a prayer for a 'common samiti and common policy of state, a common aim and a common mind'.

Mr. Jayaswal has resisted the temptation, to which ordinary minds with the pretensions of scholarship would have succumbed, to lay down the causes of the origin of Hindu Republics! The Greek analogy would have been handy, but the author of Hindu Polity does not possess the easy circumlocution

* Hindu Polity : A Constitutional History of India in Hindu Times. By K. P. Jayaswal, M. A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-law. Published by Butterworth & Co., 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta (India), 1924.

of our too numerous scholars of antiquities, and he has therefore spared us from voluble quotations from Greenidge on this point. From the *Samiti* and *Sabha* Mr. Jayaswal passes on to the discussion of republican institutions. With a rare mastery of the entire body of our Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit literatures he leads us through the trackless path of antiquities to the precincts of constitutional liberty upon which the fabric of our ancient civilisation was based. He first states the earliest references to non-monarchical constitution in the early Brahmanas and then proceeds to the critical examination of such technical expressions as *Samgha* and *Gana*. He repudiates the equation of *Gana* with tribe; because such an equation would stagger Panini, contradict the sense of Jatakas, and make the expositions of such works as *Amara-Kosa* and *Kasika* hopelessly absurd in order to maintain the infallibility of Monier Williams. Mr. Jayaswal quotes a *Saṁgha* text to explain *Gana*. It states that there is also an abuse of the term. The examples given of its right use are, the *Gana* of the Mallas (a known republican community.....) and the *Gana* of the *Pura*, i.e. the *Pura* Assembly. As an example of its abuse, the *Gana* of Vasus (Vasu gods) is given by the commentator.... In other words; the application of the word to a non-constitutional body is distinguished. The constitutional *Gana* is the real *Gana* and in the eye of the *Saṁgha* authority it has a mind. It is an organised conscious body of men like the political assembly of the Mallas or the Assembly of the corporate *Pura*. It is a corporate assembly as opposed to a mere multitude of chance collection." (p. 32)

Mr. Jayaswal has shewn how mere grammatical works such as those of Panini, Patanjali, and Katyayana can yield to a juridical mind ample materials for the reconstruction of the constitutional life of the ancient Hindus. The most significant fact with regard to Panini is that he does not know the religious *Samgha* of the Jainas and Buddhists, to him *Samgha* is a technical term which "denoted the political *Samgha*". There are great scholars in our country as well as abroad who may say to us, "you might have republics, but they are the tribal stage". The implication of this statement is very obvious to any student of constitutional history. But Mr. Jayaswal has pointed out to us that this attitude was anticipated long ago by Panini who was not only a great grammarian, but was a seer who had anticipated the degradation of the

modern Hindus, and by a simple grammatical rule the great Panini dismisses the possibility of there being any mistake with regard to the real nature of the ancient republics. His rules (V.3. 114 to 117) point unmistakably "to the stage of a developed, the familiar Hindu society, as opposed to a tribal stage." But alas ! Panini, we forget, is more quoted than read !

The results of Mr. Jayaswal's discussion "are that *samgha* is contrasted with monarchy and that a *samgha* or a Hindu republic had Brahmin members, Kshatriya members and other castes, i. e. the personnel of the *samghas* was not composed of one state, caste or tribe".

The author's interpretations of *Sastropajivin* and *Rajasabdopajivin* *samghas* are extremely illuminating. According to him "their respective constitutions enjoined on the members to be skilled in military art in the former and on the rulers of every privileged member to bear the title in the latter." The *samghas* were political institutions and not originally religious. But the religious *samghas* furnish us with the elaborate rules of procedure that safeguarded the maintenance of political organisations against party factions. Mr. Jayaswal has shewn that the Hindus were not only thorough in their philosophy and religion but what is not admitted, were also extremely definite and careful with regard to their polity. Our gifted author shows "that the history of the birth of the Buddhist *Samgha* is a history of the birth of the Monastic Order in the world. This history, therefore of the birth of the religious brotherhood of the Buddha from the constitutional womb of the Indian Republic is of interest not only to this country, but to the world at large". He proceeds to say that though "it was a case of borrowing no doubt, yet at the same time, there was an original idea behind it which only a great mind could conceive. The originality consisted in transferring the constitution of a political corporation to religion and conjuring up an organisation to perpetuate the being of that religion".

The Greek raid led by Alexander did not produce any striking results on the civilisation of the ancient Hindus, but the crop of writers whom Alexander brought in the train of his army is cited by modern historiographers from quotations to prove certain facts congenial to the official mind. To many people the Greek evidence is regarded as a sort of divine favour for their case. Though not subscribing to this mentality, yet in the present case we are grateful that the Greeks

ever came to record their testimony to the glorious and flourishing condition of Hindu Republics in the Punjab. Modern cultre-historians who do not know the difference between oligarchy and aristocracy and regard Pliny as a Greek writer, accept *Republic* as a Greek invention but the Greeks were brought up in the nursery of political institutions, and their evidence on this point is extremely interesting. Alexander came and fought republics of various nature, some were aristocratic, some democratic, others combining the good features of both, and several others were ruled by joint kings. Mr. Jayaswal's identification of the sites and peoples mentioned by the Greek writers with those mentioned in Sanskrit literature, and his repudiation of already accepted identifications will not only necessitate an early revision of text-books but place the history of India in a continuous plain of evolution which really makes all histories worth reading. We are grateful to Mr. Jayaswal for having identified the immortal Kathas of the Kathopanishad with the Kathas who "were one of the most powerful nations of India reputed for courage and skill in the art of war". The familiar dictum is once more illustrated that the nursery of free thought is freedom. "Their men and women married by choice and their women observed the practice of 'Sati'. According to Strabo amongst them, 'the handsomest man is chosen a king.'"—Rather a strange constitution! What a chance for our great poet Tagore in such a republic! Not less masterly is Mr. Jayaswal's exposition of the technical Hindu constitutions. Mr. Jayaswal here does not speak in the term of European categories, but resuscitates the old technical terms such as the *Bhanjya* which means "temporary rulership", the *Svarajya* which signifies "that the *Siva-rat* ruler was taken from amongst equals and was made President and that selection was based upon merit which evidently refers to an election or selection of the President from amongst the members of the Gana or Council," the *Vairajya* which was a democratic constitution of an advanced type according to which "the whole country or nation took the consecration of rulership", the *Drairajya* or the dual rulership which obtained in Nepal in the sixth and seventh centuries, the *Ara-jaka* or non-ruler State, the ideal of which was that "Law was to be taken as the ruler and that there should be no man-ruler. The basis of the State was considered to be mutual agreement or social contract between the citizens. This was an extreme

democracy almost Tolstoian in ideal, and lastly the *Viruddha Rajjani*" or States ruled by parties. Mr. Jayaswal then enquires into the real basis of these States. His observations are very important. He says: "The basis of every State has been in all ages and in all climes to a great degree ethnic—tribal or national. The real question is whether a State organisation is yet tribal—primitive, habitual and customary or it is the outcome of intelligent thinking of theories, of conscious experience and experiments. The stage when state is felt to be based on contract and the ruler is regarded to be a servant of the ruled and when political loyalty is ever open to strangers is a high water-mark of constitutional development. Voting and ballot voting, motion, resolution and legislation, legalism and formalism in procedure of deliberation are other indices of that stage".

It is impossible within the narrow space of a magazine review to condense the many original things which Mr. Jayaswal has so brilliantly said in his monumental work. We shall try to draw the attention of the readers to several points of first-rate importance, in our future studies. The concluding lines on the disappearance of republics from India, have been probably written not with ink but with tears. "With the end of the fifth century, republics disappear from Hindu India. The old Lichchavis quit the political scene, a branch immigrating into Nepal. The young Pushyamitras vanish in the air. The following century saw the final exit of Hindu constitutionalism from the stage of History. All that was good came down from the age of Vedic Forefathers, all that progress which had been achieved since the composition of the first Rik, all that gave life to the mechanism of State bade good-bye to the Land. Republicanism was first to begin the Great Departure to lead the dirge of political Nirvana. We have understood only one verse of that epilogue—the praise of the sword of destruction which nature gives into the hand of the barbarian. But the other verses are yet a riddle. The real causes of that Departure which the epilogue should disclose remain undeciphered.

From 550 A. C. onwards Hindu history melts into brilliant biographies—isolated gems without a common string of national and communal life. We get men great in virtue or great in crime—we get Harsha and Sasanka, Yasodharman Kalki and Sankaracharya, but they are so high above the common level, that they are only helplessly

admired and sacredly respected. The community ceases to breathe freedom."

In a political world where republics existed side by side with monarchies, the latter cannot be purely autocratic. There is very little evidence to prove that the Hindu monarchy was absolute, but there is plenty of evidence to show that the kings of Hindu India were responsible and constitutional heads of the state. In the Vedic age, the *Samiti* was the sovereign Assembly and the high functionaries who represented the various interests of the community were called the "king-makers" and though at a later stage, "the kingship has become hereditary," "the theory that Hindu kingship was elective was never forgotten". "The theory was a living force as late as the time of the Pala kings of Bengal. Gopala claims the benefit of the principle of election in his inscription. He says that the people joined his hand with Sovereignty and put an end to anarchy." "By the inscription of Emperor Kharavela it is evident that Hindu Coronation could not take place before the completion of the twenty-fourth year of the king-elect.... This was the age when ordinarily a Hindu was supposed to have completed his academic career in the period of Upanishads." The profound juristic scholarship of Mr. K.P. Jayaswal comes into full play when he discusses the much-misquoted theory of divine origin of kingship. He shows that the Manava Dharma-Sastra which "was written under the Revolutionary regime of the Brahmin Pushyamitra preached that the king should not be despised because he was only a man; he was a deity in human form.... The Manava Code twisted the import of the Coronation ritual invoking the help of gods to the elected king in his new career..... The theory of the Manava Code was never approved or adopted by a single subsequent law-book. By constitutional writer the very theory was converted into a divine theory of *servitude*

of the king to the subject, that the king was a mere servant or slave of the people and that he was made so by the Creator." Thus brushing aside the fictitious theory of the divine origin of kingship Mr. Jayaswal proceeds to discuss the constitutional safeguards of Hindu monarchy without which of course the theories would not have been worth our notice. The chapters on the Law and Administration of Justice, Taxation, Economics in Government and Theory of Ownership in Land (discussions of which we reserve for a future study)—contain facts which had never been suspected before. From the institutions of the Vedic democratic monarchy to its transition into autocracy under kings like Vena and its suppression by the people and the introduction of limited monarchy placed in the sacred chains of Brahmanic rituals and coronation oaths and led by a popular ministry controlled by a Council of State representing all castes and the popular assemblies of the realm, to the Gupta Government through district officers and the representatives of local government and the impersonal rule of the Ashtapradhanas (Board of Eight Ministers) had been sketched by the author with consummate originality.

This noble work has an epic form, and shows a restraint, strength and brilliance of expression which occasionally reminds us of the best sutras of ancient India. Each statement of the author has been supported by text in foot-notes which show the encyclopaedic scholarship of Mr. Jayaswal. We congratulate him heartily on this production. Mr. Jayaswal has however done a great injury to many ambitious writers of Indian history by antiquating their works by several decades and has proved that a mere desire to write a book does not entitle any one to be an author (much less culture-historian) even in the much-abused field of Indian antiquities.

ERRATA

In *The Modern Review* for January 1925, p. 110, Column 2, line 15 from bottom, before the words "not been able to accomplish," insert the words "been Christians for centuries have :—" so that the whole sentence will read as follows :—

"It is not clear, however, how that which people who have been Christians for centuries have not been able to accomplish, could be brought about by people who have been pagans from time immemorial."

Also in	Page	Col.	line	for	read
	16	I	18 from the top	flax	flux
	108	II	last line	but with	but without
	108	II	20 from the bottom	marval	marvel





Under the Sal Tree

By Sabita Debi,

THE MODERN REVIEW

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WHOLE NO.
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GIVE US STRAIGHT HISTORY

By SUDHINDRA BOSE

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I

THE effort to create a vigorous nationalism is a holy crusade of patriotism. In order, however, to make it most effective, it should be guided by true history. Straight, impartial history—not the hand-made, ready-to-wear kind—can throw a flood of light upon the present tangled situation in world-politics. Apparently there is a species of propagandists masquerading as historians, who will not have it so.

Just now a group of American historians of "the new school", more Anglomaniac than truthful, is engaged in the delightful indoor sport of fabricating American history to order. They maintain that the Boston Tea Party was the work of a number of drunken rowdies; that "in the Stamp Act period the honest purpose of the English Government had been to protect the colonies, not to oppress them"; that "the [British] troops [at Botson Massacre], were subjected to constant and bitter insult. The mob, no doubt, deserved the blame". These "new" historians profess to believe that the colonists of the United States had no cause to revolt; that "the colonists were not very deeply oppressed. They enjoyed more freedom and self-government than did the people of England"; that the Revolution was started by a few sore-heads; and that "George Washington did not enter the Revolution because he was a patriot, but because he was disgruntled over the refusal of the British to give

him an army commission"; and that the States should have remained a colonial possession, an appendix of the British empire. Whatever else these false, outrageous, and crooked statements may be, they are not, most emphatically, history.

Curiously enough there has sprung up in India also a class of new historians, who are assiduously aping the American drool method of teaching history. They insist that in studying political history the 'points which should be stressed are the historical friendship and co-operation between India and England, no matter how much the process may involve the mutilation of facts. To them the Punjab horrors of 1919 were a little "disorder"; the Amritsar Slaughter was just an "incident"; the Mopla Train Massacre a mere "accident"; the membership of India to the League of Nations due to its "fully self-governing state"; and the unwanted visitation of the Prince of Wales, as I recall it, a trifle of a tactical blunder. Thus the facts are trimmed to suit a flagrant bias. All this illustrates that those who have brief for the powers that be, are talking bureaucratic rhetoric, bunk, and not history.

Mr. S. R. Das, who may be considered a typical representative of the new school of Indian historians, writes a dissertation on Indian politics and cites Mommsen in defense of British occupation of India. Despite his air of extreme innocence, Sen betrays a

penchant for imperialism of foreign and home-grown variety.

Now who is this man Mommsen? Herr Theodor Mommsen was not only a historian, but an imperialist, a worshipper of Red Caesars. "The best historians of later times", philosophized Macaulay, "have been seduced from truth, not by their imagination, but by their reasons". Mommsen affords a striking illustration of that. It is true that this Mommsen of Germany was a voluminous writer and was generally accurate in recording facts: but his interpretation of facts regarding Roman imperialism was colored and biased. His reason was in no small degree vitiated. He emphasized the imperialistic side of the question to perfection, and most frequently the Roman case in all its cynicism and its falsity. This German historian remains to-day the darling of the imperialists. Naturally the apologists for the Indian bureaucracy take to Mommsen as a duck to water. It seems the poor noisy ducks, the pseudo-historians, as Anatole France puts in his Preface to *Penguin Island*, "seek in a history only the stupidities with which they are familiar". *Penguin Island* is a devastating portrayal of what fools some mortals be. The purpose of their quest is of course quite obvious; but the point is that they will arrive no more at the truth than the District Magistrate or the Provincial Governor will make a cook who attempts to get an omelette of China door knobs.

Theodor Mommsen was keen for the Roman empire. The question, however, is how did the Romans get their empire? They got it by war, of course. And war was and is not only organized mass murder, but organized wholesale stealing. Robbery and murder were and are the chief weapons of imperialism.*

In the beginning Rome was not out and out imperialistic. It may be said to have harbored imperial designs only after the First Punic War. Rome was not imperialistic before the First Punic War in that the peninsula of Italy was not treated as a colonial possession; but at the end of its first struggle with Carthage when it acquired Sicily, the City of the Seven Hills began to dream dreams of imperialism. Rome was then practically in the same position as was the United States after the Spanish American War in 1899.

* See Hobson, *Imperialism*, Wolf, *Economic Imperialism*; Torrens, *Empire in Asia: How We Came By It*; Andrews, *Christ and Labour*; Villate, *Economic Imperialism*; Morel, *The Black Man's Burden*.

For a time both countries were uninfluenced by the call of Manifest Destiny. Then America got into Cuba, and Rome after taking the western Mediterranean territory, turned its attention to the east. America, however, did better by Cuba than did Rome by Greece. Mutual feuds among the Greek States no doubt offered a plausible excuse for Roman intervention; but the insane jealousy felt by Rome toward any marked prosperity on the part of even its most friendly allies was almost always the cause of Roman aggression, the real hidden reason of the Roman absorption of Greece.

It is not true, as intimated by Professor Mommsen, that the Greeks never "knew how to act." In the century following Alexander's death, Greece was developing a new level of security. It was then entering upon a new political stage with extraordinary equipment for national unity. The Greeks were uniting into strong federations to resist Macedonia. "These Greek federations", says Webster in *Ancient History*,—"made a remarkable experiment in ancient politics."

The first of the Greek unions was that of the Aetolians. Their league included not only the different Aetolian tribes, but many communities outside of Aetolia. "The Council of Aetolia was, according to Greenidge's *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, like a modern Parliament, the permanently representative body." The Aetolian confederation was a powerful organization.

Perhaps the most important of the Greek unions was the Achaean league. It was, records W. M. West in his *Story of World Progress*, "the most important attempt at a federal government that the world was to know until the founding of the United States". The Achaean league, which affords the best example in European antiquity of the federal system, had brought the whole of Peloponnesus into the confederation as a single State. This federal union gave a promise of permanent federation of all the Greek States. The hope, however, was disappointed because of the opposition of Sparta, and especially because of the intrigues of the unscrupulous, underhanded Rome, the most dangerous enemy of the Greek union.

Herr Mommsen glibly speaks of the "full freedom" which Rome granted to Greece after the Second Macedonian War in 196 B. C. That was not exactly the case. Greece was treated to all intents and purposes in the interim between 196 to 146 B. C. as a protectorate. It is only by a stretch of

fevered German imagination could one say that Rome "freed" the Greeks completely, and allowed them absolute, "unlimited right of self-government". The fact is that though Rome came in the guise of a friend, "a champion of Greece", that unhappy country was from the beginning on the casualty list of the imperialistic Rome.

When the Roman general Flamininus announced with a great flourish at the Isthmian Games in the year 196 B. C. the freedom and independence of Greece, he was hailed as "The Liberator". Rome, however, soon showed in an unmistakable manner the light in which it regarded the Hellenic freedom. The Roman senate set itself up as a supreme court of appeal for hearing and judging all disputes springing up in Greece. The senate did not look upon this as a troublesome burden, as Mommsen had supposed, but a most agreeable occupation offering many luscious opportunities for interference in Greece. "The Romans, however", remarks the historian Inne, "lacked not only insight into the complicated legal questions submitted to them, but also the wish to let justice prevail without regard to political considerations". Under the circumstances, the Achaean league was reduced to a shadow. Indeed there is nothing in history to show that the Romans honestly desired for the national unity of Greece. On the contrary, there is ample evidence to prove that they "fomented internal strife and widened existing divisions. They believed that powerful Greece was not compatible with their own state".

It is interesting to note that there were many Greeks who recognized Rome as their protecting power, and even sought for an honourable union with Rome, which would give Greece "at least a moderate degree of independence". This union, however, was prevented to a large extent "by the relentless spirit with which the Romans, abusing their supreme power, finally drove the ill-fated and maddened Greeks to a hopeless resistance".* And yet they "neither knew how to act nor how to keep quiet"—thought Professor Doctor Mommsen!

After the Third Macedonian War, the Romans converted Macedonia into a subject province. This foreshadowed the end of

Greek "freedom". "All Greeks suspected of sympathizing with Macedonia", testifies an authority on the subject, "were transported to Italy as hostages for the loyalty of their several cities. Among these were a thousand members of the Achaean League." Expecting no mercy from Rome, the Achaean union declared war. There could be only one outcome in this unequal contest: the defeat of Greece, the triumph of Rome. The story of how the Romans, drunk with victory and intoxicated with the lust of power, burnt Corinth, the capital of the Achaean league, how they put to death most of the men found there, and how they sold the women and children as slaves is one of the most tragic chapters in all human history. The destruction of Corinth compares well with another Roman butchery, the destruction of Carthage, which made a desert of North Africa and "left civilization standing on one leg instead of two". Says Hutton Webster in his *Ancient History*:

"The heavy hand of Roman vengeance descended on Corinth, the chief member of the league, and at this time one of the most beautiful cities of the world. In 146 B. C. the same year in which the destruction of Carthage occurred, and just half a century after Flamininus had proclaimed the liberation of Greece, Corinth was sacked by the Roman soldiery and burned to the ground. A Greek historian, who was an eye-witness of the destruction of Corinth, tells us that the rude Romans cared little for the treasures of art which filled the city. 'I saw with my own eyes pictures thrown on the ground and soldiers playing dice on them.' [Polybius, xxxix, 13]. When the priceless paintings and statues were taken to Rome to be exhibited at his [Roman general's] triumph, he gave orders that any lost on the way should be replaced 'by others of equal value'. Rome was great enough in war, but in everything else was still barbarian."

It was a tale of cruelty, savagery and devilry that with some exceptions in modern times has very few parallels. But Herr Professor Mommsen found Rome, the notorious plot-hatchery of imperialism, guilty only of "the feeble policy of sentiment" and "injudicious generosity"! Misrepresentation could hardly go further. And the noble Advocate-General of Bengal, Das, who quoted as a neighborly act these Mommsen words with great gusto, actually put them into italics!

The destruction of Corinth—perhaps it would suit the imperialists better to have it phrased as "Corinth incident"—marked the final extinction of Greek independence. That there is, in broad outline, an uncanny resemblance between the Roman imperialism and English imperialism is as plain as the nose on

* Consult W. Inne, *The History of Rome*, Vol. III. His four-volume work on Rome is full of dynamite. It completely demolishes most of the assumptions about the benevolent Roman empire upon which is grounded the latter-day imperialism.

your face. Now, will the new historian, whose motto is "Safety First", dare to tell us the truth about imperialism? But back to our muttons!

Rome went to Greece to teach it the art of self-government. Presumably the pupil never learnt the lesson well enough to suit the master. Consequently, Greece, which had been the teacher of Rome in its arts, literature, philosophy, science and higher civilization, remained under Roman subjection from 146 B. C. to the fall of the Western Roman empire, after which Greece formed a part of the Eastern or Byzantine empire until 1453 A. D. This meant for poor Greece a total of about sixteen hundred years of foreign rule. Then with the capture of Constantinople, Turkey, true to the Roman imperialistic formula, became the "trustee" of Greece—still "backward", still "lacking in national unity". The Turkish rule over Greece lasted on down from the middle of the fifteenth century to the third decade of the nineteenth century—well about four hundred years. And had not the powers of Europe clubbed the Sultan in 1829 to recognize the freedom of Greece, it would still be crawling on its hands and knees, and it would still be told—as India is being told—that until it "got rid of its internal dissensions and formed itself into a nation", it could never be trusted with self-government.

The Hellenic people had been a subject race for nearly twenty centuries—obviously learning the art of self-government in a few easy painless lessons on a safe comfortable instalment plan. And the imperialists, "guided by a deep-rooted feeling of righteousness"—never by imperialistic appetites—can no doubt point to Greece and say that this is the best way to build a nation; but is that a fact?

The study of history prompts one to ask: Is there a single instance in the whole wide world where a conquering country ever prepared a subject people for national unity and self-government to the extent of withdrawing its rule voluntarily? History knows of none. Conquerors always try to "divide and rule" the conquered, under one pretext or another.

III.

The point is frequently mentioned that a country has no right to an independent existence until and unless it has a strong nationality. If these were true, more than one Western people would have been under foreign domination to-day.

When the Thirteen Colonies in North America declared the War of Independence in 1775, there was no united nationality among the four million heterogeneous colonists. They were rather a "hodge-podge of foreign nationalities", "a polyglot boarding-house". "It required", remarks Charles Board in *American Government and Politics*, "the patriotism and pressure of the long war to fuse the colonies into a nation". This is an optimistic statement. Many another scholar doubts if the American people were a nation even when George Washington became President in 1789. "It took a half century of political experience" observes Gettell, the discriminating author of *History of Political Thought*, "to develop a spirit of unity" in the American Union. Most of the American historians are of the opinion that American nationality was not achieved till after the Civil War (1861-1865).

Even now the people of these Forty-Eight States are far from being homogeneous. There are in the Republic sixty-five different nationalities speaking as many as seventy-three languages and dialects. The American people are of "Many racial strains and creeds, of endlessly diverse activities, of great individual wealth and great poverty, of deep learning and deeper ignorance", yet the inhabitants of this country do constitute a nation. Though not united by blood, common origin, religion or age-old ancestral tradition they do make the American nation. Now the question comes to mind unbidden: Had the Thirteen Colonies waited in the eighteenth century for the development of a strong nationality before striking for their independence, where would they be to-day?

I say again, give us straight provable facts, and not historical adulteration.

Take a country or two from still more recent history. Italy had a rising spirit of nationality in the middle of the nineteenth century; but was there a national unity among the petty quarrelling principalities of Italy, when the peninsula was under the Austrian rule? Most assuredly not. The same thing that happened to America happened to Italy. The Italian nationality came into existence only after Italy had overthrown the hated Austrian yoke, only after the war of liberation.

What of Germany? It consisted of a number

* See E. B. Greene, *The Foundations of American Nationality*; C. R. Fish, *The Development of American Nationality*; R. G. Usher, *The Rise of the American People*; E. D. Adams, *The Power of Ideals in American History*.

of jealous, disconnected States with slight national consciousness in the early part of the nineteenth century. The German nationality, as we know it to-day, was born only after the creation of the German empire in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In Germany and Italy, as well as in America, it was the political freedom and political experience that gave impetus to national solidarity.

When an Indian says that there is no nationality in India, he foully slanders his own countrymen. He is indulging in malignant balderdash. India has a nationality, and this nationality is distinctively different from that of almost any other. The Indian nationality is a matter of spirit and purpose, not of creed or race. The people of our great country, our great India—like the mighty people of America—are united by the holy bonds of common cause, by "the spiritual tie of common devotion to the ideal of political freedom."

IV

Constitutional agitation to remove political and economic wrongs is indeed desirable; but how can there be any constitutional agitation in a country ruled by executive fiat? I see by the American press of this week that arbitrary ordinances, regulations and other lawless laws have started India "on the path trod in Ireland under the Black-and-Tan regime". It is unabashed, ruthless, even atrocious. Forces of reaction, as was to be expected, have taken new heart. A Reign of Terror, because official, is no less a crime. I believe in order. But order without liberty is tyranny; it is organized anarchy, legalized anarchy. It is most positively a determined drive against constitutional agitation.

England with its forty millions is trying to rule by force 315,000,000 Indians. Is there any moral sanction in it? Auckland Geddes, the former British ambassador at Washington, said not long ago that England was grateful to the feeble struggling American colonies for teaching it a lesson in colonial administration; but has England forgotten the lesson already?

This gives one a rare opportunity to consider the moral basis of government. What is a State? To begin with, the State is not a mere collective policeman, whose sole object is the maintenance of law and order. The State, on the contrary, is a social agency whose highest end is the furtherance of

social well-being.* The main function of the government is to aid the people to the fullest to better themselves politically, socially and industrially. A government that resorts to terrorism admits its failure, and stands condemned before the bar of history. The government in all civilized countries is to serve the people. In India, however, the matter seems to stand thus: the people exist primarily for the benefit of the government, rather than government for the benefit of the people. What will all this lead to?

The interest of the ruler and the ruled is so inherently divergent and so fundamentally wide apart, that it is impossible to see how the bureaucrats can keep on posturing as moral apostles of fair play, as professional knights-errant. As for constitutional agitation, even a child above the kindergarten age must know by this time that no amount of fatuous pink-tea agitation will serve any practical purpose.

V

What is, then, to be the next program? I have space enough only to strike the high points. The supreme task before India is education, especially education in social sciences which would include history, government, economics and sociology. Slavery and illiteracy go hand in hand. Reduce the number of the illiterate people. Begin therefore by establishing a minimum standard of education for every boy and girl.

The next item in the program is to advance national unity at all costs. Some day the Moderates and Loyalists, if they plan to live in India, will be redeemed. Even the goody-goodies are not wholly bad. Forget the racial and religious squabbles, close the ranks, and present an united front. The dearest hope of every Indian should be the political unity of all India.

The diverse elements in American population, let it be stated once more, do not prevent America from becoming a strongly unified national State. Indeed the strength of America is in the union of the Forty-Eight States. Just as the gigantic power of Niagara is made up of the united force of many millions of tiny drops, so in the union of 315,000,000 Indians there is irresistible strength. All power is in union, united action. "The force of union conquers all", said Homer a thousand years before Christ. "By union

* Read F. J. Goodnow, *Social Reform and the Constitution*; E. Freund, *Standards of American Legislation*; W. J. Brown, *The Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation*.

the smallest States thrive, by discord the greatest are destroyed." That was written by the Roman historian Sallust, who helped to build up the power of Caesar.

Read the history of Switzerland where men speak Italian, German, French and many dialects. It is inhabited by different races. Switzerland is a tiny bit of a country, a mere dot on the map. It is small in population, small in money, small in natural resources, but great in military courage and united patriotism. The Swiss are all united to defend their country. The belligerent powers, all through the last Great War, respected the frontiers of Switzerland.

Carlyle, born in Scotland, said: "Men's hearts ought not to be set against one another, but set with one another, and all against the

evil thing only". There is nothing that the people of India cannot accomplish through the power of courage and united will. It is only through fear that men become chattels, slaves, and rabbits.

In the deeper things of life, we are not divided. We are, and must ever be, welded together into one indissoluble mass by our common Indian brotherhood. We must talk, think, and be India. There must be no "Lot's-wife attitude". If history teaches anything at all, it teaches that a people united and educated must inevitably reach their destined goal. As sure as the sun rises in the east, nothing on earth can stay their progress. Away with the defeatists! Let the organizers of victory come forward.

A MEMOIR OF OLD DELHI

By C. F. ANDREWS

CHAPTER IV

THE MUTINY AT DELHI

IT was not easy for anyone in latter years to get Munshi Zaka Ullah to tell of the Mutiny itself, especially concerning the things that he had witnessed then with his own eyes. The subject had a horror for him and he always avoided it, except on very intimate occasions when he had something special to say about it. Therefore it was chiefly from indirect hints and comments, in the course of many conversations, that I gathered from him much of the information which I am now about to record.

On account of very straitened circumstances, due chiefly to the general decay of the Moghal Court, which had been so long the patron of Zaka's family, Zaka Ullah himself had felt compelled to refrain from marriage in early life and thus to depart from the usual custom in the North of India among Musalmans. It had meant a great sacrifice on his part, because he was essentially domestic in his nature and extremely fond of children. But it so happened that because of this, when the Mutiny broke out, he had just reached twenty-five years of age, and had neither wife nor child.

During the terrible day that followed, this one fact, that he was unmarried, served him in good stead. He was able to give his undivided attention to his father and mother, who were now growing old, and also to his young brothers and sisters, who needed his protection. His own immediate anxiety was concerning his intimate Christian friends, who were in the Delhi College. There were those whom he loved most dearly, and he determined to rescue them if possible.

The story has already been told of his eager impetuous attempt at the very first moment, when the Mutiny broke out, and the mutineers from Meerut had arrived and excited the city into revolt,—to save if possible the life of his deeply-loved Professor, the Christian convert, Ramchandra. The actual news concerning Zaka Ullah and his friendship with Ramchandra seem to have become known to the mutineers and the very fact that the city people imagined, however mistakenly, that Zaka Ullah desired to become a Christian, added to the volume of suspicion against him. He was at this time in very great danger of his own life being taken by the mutineers.

To the young students of the Delhi College, who had imbibed the new learning, the Mutiny

same as a great and terrible 'shock, shattering at one blow all their hopes and aims. Their own Principal, Mr. F. Taylor, was killed. For some weeks no news whatever was heard of Professor Ramchandra, and the report was spread about that he was killed also. Their minds were in a tumult. They did not know which way to turn or what to do. To go against their own countrymen who had revolted seemed to them impossible: to side with them in the revolt seemed even more impossible. Not a single student took that latter course. During the time that the city was in the hands of the mutineers, they were all of them under suspicion.

As far as I could gather from Munshi Zaka Ullah himself he kept in retirement and told others to do the same. He remained as far as possible within his own house. He hardly went out at all even for a single hour. Instead of doing so, he went on with his own studies in private and sought to keep himself altogether outside the range of public affairs. The family difficulties increased; and at times he hardly knew where to obtain food for all those who were members of the household and dependent on him for support. The prices of all provisions became dearer and for some weeks they were on the verge of destitution.

More than once he spoke to me about the great and abiding comfort that prayer had been to him at such a time. "Without faith in God," he said to me, "could never have got through that period of anxiety and sorrow and dismay. But worse was yet to follow; and it was in the last stage of all, when we were house and homeless that prayer helped me most of all".

When the final assault upon the Kashmir Gate under Nicholson was at last made, and the city was recaptured by the English, Nicholson himself fell in the breach and died in the hour of victory. His death was a grave calamity not only for the English, but also for the city; because he was a strong character, famed throughout the North both for his courage and his uprightness. He was a man of iron will, and therefore he perhaps might have been able to keep discipline among the troops after the victory, when no one else could keep it.

It will be best, in order to avoid all dangers of exaggeration, to tell what happened in the disastrous days that followed, not in my own words but in those of the despatches and correspondence which I have copied out from the two volumes published by the

Intelligence Department of the Government of India. I shall do this as briefly as possible.

First there is the report of C. B. Saunders the Commissioner, to W. Muir at Agra (afterwards Sir W. Muir). He writes as follows:—

Only those on the spot know the difficulties with which our commanders had to deal (i. e. after the assault). The whole Army was utterly and entirely disorganised, and within three or four hours of the assault discipline was almost at an end. For several days a majority of our European troops might almost be said to be suffering from *delirium tremens*. The native troops were almost as if not equally, disorganised from similar causes, and from the plunder which fell into their hands.

The same official, in another despatch to W. Muir, wrote briefly as follows:—

"General Wilson ordered that no protection tickets should be valid, unless they were countersigned by himself. The consequence was that but few obtained anything like protection. No guards could be furnished and before two or three days had elapsed, there was not a house that had not been ransacked and plundered, friends and foes of the Government suffering to an equal extent. The chief wealth of the citizens had been bricked up and plastered over. The Sikhs and others with the military force very soon learnt this artifice and a very considerable amount of plunder was carried off which will not enrich the Prize Fund.

"The Prize Agents and the Army generally were rather anxious to lay it down, that the whole city of Delhi had become the property of the Army, having been taken in assault, and were anxious to dispose of real as well as personal and moveable property.

"The consequence has been that all the wealth of the city, which has escaped the clutches of independent plunderers, has been transferred by night-time here and the guarantee has been abused. The city has been so thoroughly ransacked and plundered, that parties are not willing to pay much for their effects still remaining untouched... The authorities have not gone on any very fixed principles in disposing of property, but on the contrary the whole question has been marked by want of principle more than any thing else".

It is often stated that this hour of madness among the European soldiers was due to the stories of the outraged honour of English

women, who had been killed during the Mutiny itself. As this charge against the mutineers has been very often repeated and has formed the subject of sensational novels, written especially by English authors, who have dealt with the Mutiny in fiction, it is well to give at this point the direct evidence taken immediately on the spot. Mr. W. Muir who was at the head of the Intelligence Department in the affected districts, and perhaps the most well-informed of all the civilian authorities, writes on December 30th, 1857, as follows:—

"My connexion with the Intelligence Department at the Head-Quarters of the Government at Agra, has brought me, during the past six months, into contact with messengers and spies from all parts of the country. I gladly add my testimony, that nothing has come to my knowledge, which would in the smallest degree support any of the tales of dishonour current in our public prints. Direct evidence, wherever procurable has been steadily and consistently against them.

"The people,—those who must have known, had there been any case of outraged honour and would have told us,—uniformly deny that any such things were ever perpetrated, or even thought of. The understanding of the people on this point, if, as I believe, we have correctly apprehended it, cannot be wrong.

"Judging from the great accumulation of negative evidence supported as it is on many important points by direct and positive proofs, it may be safely asserted, that there are fair grounds for believing that violation before murder was never committed."

That many English women and some English children are killed by the mutineers has never been questioned; but it is a relief to remove this accusation entirely from the mind. Not only Mr. W. Muir's evidence was taken, but also a special Commission of Enquiry, which sat at Agra directly after the capture of the city of Delhi by assault and reported before the end of the year 1857, came to the same conclusion.

Yet it is a deplorable fact that positive rumours were circulated; and the delirium from which the European troops suffered was partly due to these. This cannot in any way excuse what happened at Delhi, which left a great stain on British military history and was terrible in its moral and psychological effects.

For days, after the capture of Delhi, no-

body's life was safe. Murders everywhere were rampant. Zaka Ullah, with his delicate, sensitive nature, saw these things. He was an eye-witness; and the sight could never be blotted out of his mind afterwards. The murder of the Professor he loved and revered most in the world, Maulvi Imam Baksh, a saintly man who had helped forward to the utmost of his power the new English learning and shared in the new enlightenment, was perhaps to him the crowning tragedy of all. The earlier revulsion against the mutineers, who had killed Mr. Taylor and others, including women and children, now turned back again upon these conquering Englishmen who in the hour of victory committed the same outrages. The news of the slaughter of the royal princes at Humayun's tomb added to the horror.

But these very horrors were to come immediately to his own home and family. The order went forth that every house, within the area between the Delhi Fort and the Great Mosque, was to be rased to the ground, as an act of punishment, and also for military reasons. No compensations were to be given. Innocent and guilty were to suffer, both alive.

The house and property of the family of Zaka Ullah, as we have seen, came within this area. Therefore, along with many hundreds of other innocent people, his aged father and mother and the whole family were ruthlessly driven out. They found themselves, homeless, houseless, penniless: at a time when multitudes of others were in the same condition. There was no place within the city itself, to turn to for refuge.

Then followed a terrible journey,—a flight into the country to seek some shelter or protection there. The whole family went out towards Nizam-ud-Din's tomb. They lay at night time on the open ground; and in the day time they took shelter in some ruin, every hour imagining that the end had come. Only once or twice Munshi Zaka Ullah spoke to me about those days of torture and hunger and thirst and fear. It was evident to him, especially in after years, that the faith of his father had been their one protecting shield.

Much I have related elsewhere: I can only tell here one more story that he told me. One night, he said, he could not sleep himself on account of his misery and anguish for those whom he loved far more dearly than his own life. He watched in silence his father. The whole night through, Sana

Ullah was keeping a vigil of prayer to God. His face was filled with light in the darkness,—a light which seemed to come from within. In the morning, he learnt that a band of plunderers, bent on looting and murdering, had passed by the very place. But they had turned aside, and the family had been preserved. Zaka Ullah believed with all his heart that they had been saved only by his father's perfect trust in the Divine aid.

It will not be difficult to understand how the agony within Zaka Ullah's mind,—the agony of shattered hopes and ideals,—was even greater than the physical agony which he and those he loved had to endure. I shall write about this more fully when repeating his own words and conversations. For a long time, the shock was beyond all bearing and the torturing thoughts of his mind drove him almost towards despair.

But this madness of reprisals did not last. 'Clemency' Canning became, in the day that followed, owing to his nobility of character, vital cause of a great moral change and the quick recovery of law and order among the troops. To him also was due the complete rejection of any deliberate policy of revenge. Lord Canning bore the brunt of his fellow-countrymen's indignation for his so-called weakness; but history has simply vindicated him.

Very slowly in Zaka Ullah's mind the ravages caused by the Mutiny itself and the reprisals that followed were healed. Nature can repair her own wounds far more rapidly than those inflicted on the mind of men. I have a copy of a remarkable letter, written

by an officer, named Lieutenant Browne, in which he speaks of the days in the Delhi district that followed the disaster of the Mutiny.

"To look", he writes, "at the smiling face of the country, round Delhi, covered with luxuriant crops, it is difficult to realize that such fearful events have occurred only the other day. The people are ploughing and sowing again everywhere, and the village people have been blessed with a plentiful harvest."

The spirit of Zaka Ullah also revived, not immediately, but as the years went by. He too began the ploughing and sowing in his own life again, plucking out much that had been merely weeds and preparing the good soil. He was able at last with a free conscience to take up once more the promotion of the new learning. He had gained a new devotion in his life,—a devotion to Queen Victoria, who had given India what he truly believed to be her Magna Charta. His old idealism revived. Soon afterwards, as his worldly prospects too recovered, he married the wife of his own choice, to whom he was devoted with a profound and tender love. As the years went quickly by, little children of his own were born to him,—a family of sons; and to him who ever had in his own nature the heart of a child, was at last given the unbounded joy of fatherhood. He found the devoted love of his wife completed in the love of his children. In the gift to him from God of these new spiritual blessings, the old wounds of the Mutiny were healed. His buoyant happiness returned and his life began anew.

MORAL TEACHING IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

By MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

THE religious neutrality, in this country of Government and all public authorities, is as wise as it is praiseworthy. A different policy can only be contemplated with alarm. But it is capable of being viewed as indifference to religion itself. If a State can dispense with religion what use can there be for it in a family or an indi-

vidual? Such a view may possibly have some bearing upon the negative attitude towards religion of educational bodies, under private Indian control. At the same time the inherent difficulty of the problem cannot be overlooked. A Cowper-Temple plan, satisfactory to all Hindus or all Mussalmans, does not seem to lie within the compass of man's

wit. And yet it is eminently unsatisfactory that our Universities should, year after year, send forth graduates who have a greater knowledge of the physical geography of the moon than of the religious faith of their countrymen.

No improvement in this respect except in its broadest features, can be suggested without the risk of a religious controversy. It seems feasible for the Universities to find a place for the study of the principal religious systems prevalent in the country:—Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, at least in outlines. By judicious attention to the necessary conditions, proper reverence to the Godward thought in all religions may be secured without injury to any. The religious spirit, as distinguished from religious systems, may very advantageously be cultivated by the formation of Masonic Lodges for undergraduates, somewhat on the model of those at Oxford and Cambridge. The details need not be discussed here. In the existing conditions of the country a book like *Locke's "Toleration"* may be made a permanent text-book, and the history of Europe immediately preceding and succeeding the Peace of Westphalia may be studied by way of illustration.

Ethical instruction stands on a different footing and a fuller treatment of it may be attempted.

Ethical instruction as a part of Public Education seems to be universally desired. But as to the method of imparting it a unanimity of opinion appears hopeless of attainment. In most Western countries moral teaching is based upon religious faith entertained, with variations negligible for this purpose, by the general body of the people. Such an agency for enforcement of the ethical constraint is unfortunately unavailable here, as will presently appear.

It is sometimes suggested that ethical instruction of our students can be advantageously founded on a non-denominational religious basis. To discover this basis one has to lay bare the points on which all religions agree, the greatest common measure of all religions, so to speak. But it is obvious that if this common religious ground was, in general opinion, of the same value as what lies outside its area, the existing religious hostilities would have long since disappeared. Had Hindus, Moslems and Christians regarded that portion of the faith of each which agreed with the faith of all as by itself sufficient to secure the religious *summum bonum*, the problem would have

been shorn of a great part of its difficulties. It seems useless to point out that what all religions agree in is regarded by each as its best part to which the rest is subordinate. In practice, the case is wholly reversed. Rules of conduct, founded on this common religious ground, are sure to be open to the suspicion, if nothing worse, of needing amendment or reversal, when viewed from the standpoint of a particular religion in its entirety. And such suspicion will denude the teaching, believed to be tainted with it, of all influence on the individual will. Besides, such ethical teaching cannot be self-contained. It will have to be supplemented by denominational religious instruction. For, unless there be a genuine faith in the religion, one professes or is born in, religion itself will be incapable of supplying the needed ethical constraint. And the teaching of denominational religion in our educational establishments is obviously impossible in the present circumstances.

In some quarters it is desired to adopt an ethical text-book compiled from the Scriptures of the different religions, supporting each ethical maxim by concurrent citations. Any such compilation can only show that universal ethics, as opposed to tribal and theological morality, is not directly taught in all the Scriptures of the world with the fullness necessary for practical instruction, nor is equal value assigned to it by all. There is a further difficulty. Most religions require peculiar theological qualifications in the authorised interpreter of the sacred writings, so that it seems impracticable to secure for the compilation an authority, recognisable by all those who are intended to be benefited.

The usefulness of the class of books which includes "The Book of Golden Deeds" and "Moral Class Book" is of a strictly limited character. They are unsuited to advanced students and they cannot displace the national heroes, not always types of universal ethics, from youthful minds.

A mere intellectual study of ethical maxims promises little good. The experiment has been tried in France with results, not acceptable to all. Ethical instruction, to be fruitful, must not merely attempt to store the mind with information relating to right conduct, but must also seek to generate a love of right conduct, to influence the will against wrong acts and desires. With this love a knowledge of ethical maxims is likely to be useful, but useless, if not hurtful, without it. In teaching morality, even through maxims, some claim must be put

forward to govern conduct. If constantly and directly pressed, as it must be on this basis of instruction, such a claim would be likely to excite an active ethical revolt, even in natures ethically neutral.

From these considerations one idea emerges clear. The need of ethical instruction is felt mainly on temporal grounds. The good is desired for the good of man in his present surroundings. This position is non-religious, not ir-religious. All religions value the ethical life, even when subordinating it to dogmatic faith and practice.

In the actual circumstances moral instruction, being deprived of a religious basis, must remain unattempted unless a method be found of imparting it, altogether different from those noticed.

It would appear that the doctrine of evolution in its progress since the days of Darwin has made such a method available. The early generation of evolutions, notably Professor Huxley, looked upon the process of organic evolution as essentially unethical. But later thought and research led Mr. Benjamin Kidd to say:—"So far from it being possible to regard the ethical process as in opposition to the cosmic process, it must, it would appear, be taken that the ethical process is the cosmic process, and that it is through the principles and mechanism of the ethical process that the struggle for existence and natural selection are producing, on the largest scale and in the most effective manner, their most characteristic results in the development of life". [Ency. Brit. (10th Edn.) XXIX. Prefatory Essay].

More recently Professor Lloyd Morgan observes:—"For the intellectual and moral life there are instructive foundations which a biological treatment alone can disclose" (Darwin and Modern Science, Cambridge, 1909, p. 445). It would hardly be fair to pass unnoticed a criticism on the biological foundations of ethics, occurring in the work just cited. Professor Höffding in his Essay, "Evolution and Modern Philosophy", included in the same volume (p. 460) says:—"To every consequent ethical consciousness there is a standard of values, a primordial value which determines the single ethical judgments as their last presupposition, and the 'rightness' of this value can as little be discussed as the 'rationality' of our logical principles. There is here revealed a possibility of ethical scepticism which evolutionistic ethics (as well as intuitive or rationalistic

ethics) has overlooked. No demonstration can show that the results of the ethical development are definitive and universal". If the removal of 'rationality' outside the sphere of the rational process does not lead to scepticism as to the validity of logical reasoning it is difficult to see how a similar treatment of ethics, placing abstract or absolute 'rightness,' outside the sphere of the single ethical judgments, is likely to afford a foothold to ethical scepticism. From the evolutionist standpoint "rationality" or the concept, abstract, reason, appeared much earlier than "rightness, or the concept, abstract good. Hence the denial of the latter's authority does not appear so evidently absurd as of the former. The older a mental process in the race the more innate and universal is it in appearance in the individual. Just as no kind of ethics other than prudential and hygienic laws would be possible if only one man existed on earth, so no ethics other than what is involved in the observance of tribal rites and customs is possible without extensive inter-relations between many units of associated life. But the days of large empires and many-sided peaceful relations between tribes, sects and nations are comparatively recent. This would explain the disparity, imagined to exist, between the application of reasoning of identical logical value, to "rightness" and "rationality".

Besides, demonstration can show that well-known natural causes, such as the pressure of increased population and charged climatic conditions, tend to destroy the aloofness of tribes and other similar social groups; that a conquering people unable or unwilling to "eat up" the conquered must develop rules of conduct for the observance of both. And such rules of conduct must be more general, that is, a higher product of evolution, than the tribal morality of either. In fact, it can be shown that peaceful and, therefore, lasting inter-relations between distinct units of associated life, with different or conflicting customs and other concrete rules of conduct remain impossible, unless some rule of conduct is found independent of the limitations of all such units. For without it, mutual confidence and, therefore, neighbourly relations would be impossible. History supplies numerous instances of political power attending on ethical development converging toward universal "rightness" and not one of a clearly opposite character. The application of these generalised truths to the existing conditions

of this country is likely to be productive of highly beneficial results, both ethical and political.

The usefulness of the absolute ethical constraint being recognised, biology in alliance with history, will be able to demonstrate that those social groups who accept it, as operative in all things, great and small, always and for ever, will be selected for survival or success and the rest rejected. History will here, as before, contribute striking illustrations.

A proper survey of the evolutionary process will show the utility of association in the different organic orders and the impossibility of association without the possession by individuals of qualities of ethical value. In short, it will clearly bring into view that the wages of sin is death and life is the reward of righteousness. It makes the demonstration possible that the good is good because beneficial to life. Although the utility of ethical conduct in securing worldly success to a given individual cannot be directly shown owing partly to the brevity of his existence and impossibility of collecting all the necessary facts concerning his life, it is certain that what benefits the associated life benefits the individual life which can hardly exist without it. The associated life being for the benefit of everybody it is to the interest of everybody that the ethical law should be observed by all.

The method shadowed forth above is as scientific as it is ethical. It is completely dissociated from religion and yet easily assimilable with it, the ethical law being written on the Cosmos by the finger of God.

A word seems necessary to mark off the biological method from that of the English Utilitarians. It substitutes an objective and universal for a mainly subjective and individual-standard of utility. The soundness of this method may be easily tested. If by massing evidence from biology and history

it is shown that ethical qualities constitute the only mechanism for the maintenance and development of associated life and that without association the individual life is unprofitable, if possible at all, is it conceivable that the mind reviewing the evidence is likely to resist an ethical bent?

If the method is adopted, the gradation of teaching will present no great difficulty. The subject may be divided into parts suitable to the mental growth of students.

In the lowest classes students may be familiarised with the fact of association among birds, beasts and insects and the usefulness of the social habit may be explained to them. Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid" is a store-house of such facts.

As the student commences to study British or Indian History, opportunities may be taken to draw his attention to the effect of associated ethical character on momentous crises of associated life. At the same time a more detailed knowledge may be acquired of the increased individual efficiency and fuller individual development in the associated life.

In the higher classes the whole course of study may be crowned by the knowledge of biology, ethics, history and the allied subjects, directed to the end that the cosmic process should be recognised as ethical. The relations between the individual, the family, the society and the State should be fully understood and appreciated so as to generate a reasoned conviction that the ethical law is a necessity of our own being for the fullest development of the individual, that good is good because it is good for man.

These observations, necessarily, brief and incomplete, will, it is hoped, indicate with sufficient definiteness the only method which seems capable of hopeful employment for imparting moral instruction to the literate youth of India.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

By TARAKNATH DAS, M.A., PH. D.

UNDER the leadership of the National Woman's party, which has its headquarters at Washington, D. C., the far-seeing feminists of America are entering politics on an international scale. For the domestic politics they are advocating an amendment to the constitution of the United States to the effect that "all men and women within the jurisdiction of the United States will have equal rights". They are fighting for this amendment so that all forms of discriminations that are still practised in the United States against women, (altho they have votes) would be eliminated. They are planning to contest the coming elections to be held in November and there is every possibility that there will be many women elected in the Congress. In local politics the women of America are taking a very prominent part.

"Columbus Junction, Iowa. April 1—An entire ticket composed of women was elected to office here yesterday, Eva Bretz elected as mayor; Mary Moore, city treasurer and Nellie Moore, assessor. Mrs. Allen, Mrs. Jamison, Mrs. Schock, Mrs. Robertson and Mrs. Ritchie were elected to the city council. The women will serve two years. Columbus Junction is a village of 400 population in Lousia country."

The women of America are taking leadership in all forms of activities from education to social service; but a group of women of America has taken the most decided stand against war and for world peace. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom of which Miss Jane Addams is the international president and have branches in 24 countries are going to hold an international conference in Washington in May. But the most consistent of the American Pacifist organizations is the Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere with its headquarters at 70 Fifth Ave, New York City. The members of this organization are working for a constitutional amendment which would make all wars illegal. The following is the text of the proposed amendment:—

OUTLAW WAR BY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article be and hereby is, proposed to the States as an amendment to the constitution, which shall be valid as a part of the constitution when ratified by conventions in three-fourths of the several states.

ARTICLE

1. War for any purpose shall be illegal, and neither the United States nor any State shall prepare for, declare, engage in, carry on, or in any way sanction war or other armed conflict, expedition, invasion or undertaking within or without the United States or any State; and

Neither the United States nor any State or subdivision thereof, nor any territory, corporation, association or person within the jurisdiction of the United States shall organize, train, maintain, hire, manufacture, purchase, employ, use, or authorize the use of an army, militia, or other armed forces, or of armed ships, machines or other armaments; nor shall the United States or any State or subdivision thereof, or any territory, corporation, association or person within the jurisdiction of the United States, levy taxes or appropriate or expend funds for any such purpose.

2. After one year from the ratification of this amendment, the manufacture, sale, transportation, possession, or use, of arms, munitions, or other articles, implements or chemicals designed for the destruction of human life, within, or the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from, the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, is hereby prohibited.

3. All provisions of the Constitution and of the Articles in addition thereto and amendment thereof, which are in conflict with or inconsistent with this Article are hereby rendered null and void and of no effect.

4. The congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enact appropriate legislation to give effect to this Article.

Every member of this organization has to sign a pledge to the following effect:—

"I wish to join the Women's Peace Union I affirm it is my intention never to aid in or sanction war, offensive or defensive, inter

national or civil, or any way, whether by making or handling ammunitions, subscribing to war loans, using my labor for the purpose of setting others for war service, helping by money or work any relief organization which supports or condones war."

This is a serious pledge and these women are working against the settled military and naval policy of the Government of the United States. The naval policy of the United States has been to build "*a navy second to none*" and this policy has been upheld in the Washington Conference on "the Limitation of Armaments," and the United States Secretary of Navy, Honburtis D. Wilbur, in his speech delivered on March 31, '24 before the Y.M.C.A. at Washington, D.C., has made the clear statement.

"We fail to realise that all human developments and changes are the results of slow evolutions, expedited and sometimes retarded by great wars. The fundamental principles established as a result of war and generally acceded to by the combatants may require centuries for their complete fulfilment and application to human affairs. We should recognize that even if every nation in the world subscribes to the principle that there should never be war any more, it would be still necessary to buttress that resolution by adequate armies and navies and continued and daily efforts to keep peace among nations."

The American Government is interested in creating *the greatest and most intelligent citizen-army in the world* and for that purpose it is encouraging military training among the students of High Schools and all State Universities. In forty-eight state Universities at least, a year of military training is compulsory for all male students and

none can get a degree with a year's training of physical education. This year the United States Government is going to give special military training for a month to 30,000 young-men between 19 and 24 so that they would be able to serve as reserve officers. Not only this, every State in the United States has its own State Militia which is also incorporated with the National army.

While a band of women are opposing all forms of war, another band of women are asking to increase the facilities for girl scouts and even open a Women's Training Camp. American women are not only becoming more active in national affairs but there is a decided tendency for the American women to take interest in international affairs and the National Women's Party is planning to have the International Congress of Women of the World, so that the women of the world would co-operate to remove disabilities against women in all parts of the world and they would have an international programme to have a better social and political order.

Indian women can learn much from America and let us hope that the women of India would organise to aid most deserving and far-seeing women to come to America to study in American universities and at the same time establish closer relation with the American women who would play for the good a dominant part in future in world-affairs. The women of India should take initiative to remove all disabilities against them and get into politics. With the tradition of Chand Bibi, Maharani Lakshmi Bai, Rani Bhabani and others Indian women need not hesitate to assert their rights and lead the nation in the field of regeneration and assertion of India on equal basis with all other free and independent nations.

THE THIRD SESSION OF THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE: SOME IMPRESSIONS OF A VISITOR.

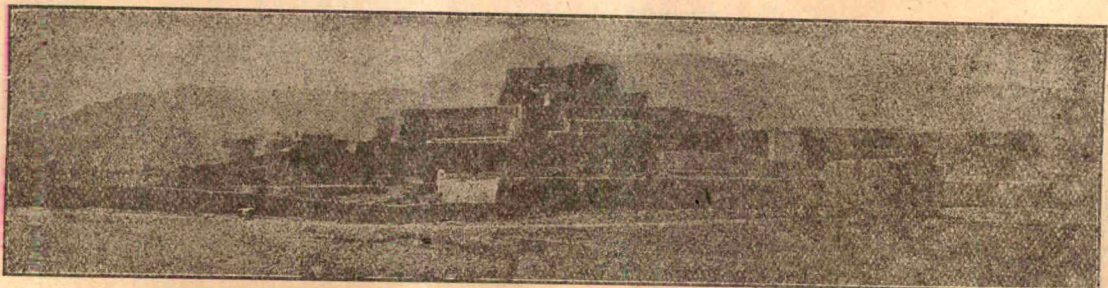
By VERITAS VINCIT

CHRISTMAS week, associated in Christian countries with festivities and rejoicings, has of late come to be recognised as the week of our national conferences and meetings. To the usual list of all-India gatherings during this historic week was added last year the meeting of the Oriental Conference which, as previously announced, held its third session in Madras on three successive days, the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th December. A melancholy interest attached to the proceedings of this conference by virtue of the fact that it was to have been presided over by Sir Asutosh Mukherjee. When death snatched him away with tragic suddenness it was decided to let his mantle fall on the shoulders of Dr. Ganganath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University. Long before the appointed date letters were sent in large numbers under the signature of the Honorary Secretary Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar of the Madras University inviting contributions from scholars and their personal attendance at the forthcoming session of the conference, but some reason was given for complaint by the direction in the prospectus to the effect that all papers should be sent beforehand for examination by a local committee, and only those which ran the gauntlet of its test could be read at the meeting. As the date of the conference approached, delegates began to pour in from far and near, including such distant places as Lahore and Chittagong, but in view of the fact that the Lucknow, Benares and Patna Universities, the Post Graduate Department of the Calcutta University, the Behar and Orissa Research Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the branches of the Archaeological Survey in Northern-India went altogether unrepresented or else were very poorly represented, the attendance could hardly be regarded as satisfactory either in quantity or in quality. It must, moreover, be admitted that the arrangements for accommodation of the delegates, who unlike previous occasions, were saddled with a substantial part of the boarding charges in addition to the usual delegates' fee, left something

to be desired. On the opening day the conference met in the spacious and beautifully decorated hall of the University building. There was a large and distinguished gathering consisting of His Excellency the Governor, prominent members of the Legislative Council, and eminent representatives of the bench and the bar, the University and the Colleges, and last but not least, the landed aristocracy. After prayers in three languages (Sanskrit, Tamil, and Arabic), and a welcome speech by the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University (Dr. Macphail), His Excellency rose to address the meeting. He feelingly referred to the irreparable loss sustained by the country through the death of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee—clarum et venerabile nomen—and he went on briefly to pass in review the various branches of oriental studies with reference to their existing condition and prospects. Then followed the presidential speech which, without rising to the level of a comprehensive survey of the field of Indological research, effectively exposed some of the existing difficulties and drawbacks in its way. Among the points pressed by the speaker were the necessity of organised research, the need, for the preservation and publication of manuscripts, the danger of 'modernising' the Moulvi and the Pundit, the desirability of unbiassed study of the old texts, and the cultivation of the critical study of vernacular literatures. After the President had resumed his seat, the proceedings of the first day's meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to His Excellency the Governor. Then the delegates and visitors attended by invitation a function at the Mylapore Sanskrit College where beneath a nicely decorated shamiana they were entertained with the exhibition of Vedic recitations and discussions in Sanskrit among orthodox pundits gathered from various parts of the Presidency. Then the guests were treated to afternoon tea and a magic lantern lecture in the evening on the subject of Indian architecture. The two following days were set apart for the reading of papers, the number of which reached on the present occasion a phenomenal figure. By

what could not but be regarded as an unfortunate decision on the part of the committee, the numerous sections numbering twelve in all were lumped together in three groups which sat under as many presidents. This not only led to the process which a sectional president felicitously called the guillotining of papers, but it also placed the Presidents themselves who, be it remarked *en passant* were selected only on the opening day, in a false position. For what single scholar could possibly do justice to such a varied assortment of subjects as Sanskrit, Avestan, Pali, Jain and other Prakrits, Hindi and Oriental Philosophy (Group A), or Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Music and Indian Art (sic), History, Geography and Chronology, Oriental Science, Sociology, Ethnology, and Folklore (Group B), or, most singular of combinations, Philology, Dravidian language and literature, Persian Arabic and Urdu? Many of the papers reached a respectable, if not a high, level of excellence, and some facilities were provided for discussion, though one of the sectional presidents thought it fit at a very early stage of the proceedings to forbid any debate on the score of want of time. A few of the papers caused some amusement, as when an enthusiastic gentleman undertook to prove the knowledge of electricity in Ancient

India, while another tried to show that Ravana's Lanka was situated in Central India. The conference met for business in the afternoon of the 24th December when it contented itself with passing a resolution for the appointment of a committee (the names of which were to be selected thereafter) for drawing up its future constitution. At the same meeting the President rose to invite the conference to hold its sitting in Allahabad for the next time. A meeting in the earlier part of the day at which the Honorary Secretary presented, and the President proposed the acceptance of, the report of the last conference, proved to be infructuous. For the entertainment of the guests the Committee of the conference arranged on the evening of the 23rd for a theatrical display of the Mricchakatika, and in the afternoon of the 24th an elaborate programme of music to be performed among others by some of the greatest South Indian masters. Both these functions, which were held in the University Hall, proved to be very enjoyable, though some criticism was offered against the former on the ground of incongruous blending of modern technique with an old classical drama and against the latter on the score of prolixity and inequality of its parts. With this last function the memorable session came to an end.



FUTURE OF THUMRI IN CLASSICAL MUSIC *

By DILIP KUMAR ROY

THUMRI has, generally speaking, got into the bad books of classical musicians as well as connoisseurs. That is to say, classical musicians as well as connoisseurs are found to be rather prone to wax eloquent, in nine cases out of ten, over the condemnation of thumri as a cheap kind of music which may charm only the Philistines. Thumri singers are hardly recognised by classicists as having any title to be looked upon as musicians. This is not an exaggeration. Kheyal singers have been known to leave a musical gathering in pious horror, if a Thumri singer should have had the hardihood to offer to pollute the atmosphere rendered sacrosanct by their previous Kheyal singing. Dhrupad singers who formerly took up identical attitude towards the same injured Kheyalias do not even think it worth while to take any notice of Thumri. Their utmost reaction to the appeal of Thumri is perhaps the condescension of a fleeting smile of unconcealed contempt. I do not mean to imply that no classicist can be found who is catholic enough to see any beauty in the much-traduced Thumri music. I only want to class such genuine souls under the category of exceptions.

It is not so difficult however to comprehend the view-point of such indignant condemners of subtle types of music as Tappa or Thumri. The human nature in the masses behaves like an inanimate object which is so proverbially fond of Newton's Law of Inertia. This Law states that no object has an innate tendency to change its state of rest or uniform motion in a straight line, except in so far as it be compelled by external impressed forces to change that state. In a word, this means in the case of the human mind that the latter ill brooks any movement which tends to change its old habits of viewing things and time-hallowed ruts of beliefs and prejudices. Is it not well known, for instance, how a time-old habit tends to become *apaurushya* (i.e., infallible in its wisdom) through the mere passage of time? This applies not only

to our social and religious *credos*, but to our artistic conceptions as well. Thus we are prone to look askance at any innovation or departure from our artistic traditions in the realm of art, just as much as in other spheres of human activity. The Dhrupad singer's denunciation of Kheyal is but one of the numerous illustrations of the truth of this statement. Kheyal has nevertheless come to stay as our revered Pandit V. N. Bhatkhande of Bombay assured an anti-kheyalist the other day in my presence (much to my satisfaction I must own). I should like however to say about the same thing with respect to Thumri which is as much of a permanent asset in our artistic evolution as Dhrupad or Kheyal is. This statement, though it may sound a little hazardous at first, is nevertheless true at bottom, as will be the endeavour of my present article to prove.

In order to assign its proper place in the scale of values to Thumri music, it will be found useful to trace its birth and discuss its *raison-d'être*. That is to say, it will be helpful to make a brief survey of its nascence and growth in the context of its musical traditions. For that will enable us to look at it in the proper perspective.

As is well known, Dhrupad is the oldest music still extant. At the time of the Pathan invasion of India, Dhrupad was practically the only highly-evolved music. The Pathan conquerors of Hindustan took it in hand since it gradually appealed to them. By and by, however, Dhrupad was found to pall on them, as is bound to happen in the case of any class of music if it be *unique music* of a people otherwise advanced in civilization. "Variety is the spice of life"—says the poet. It is also the life of art. I mean thereby that no art, however great, can satisfy the eternal craving of the human soul for beauty, if it does not evolve itself more and more with time. That is why new vistas in art have to be opened out from time to time by creative artists to humanity, ever athirst for novelty and variety. This need not be taken to cast an odium on the art which is old. Nothing is farther from my

* Read at the Lucknow All-India Musical Conference on January 10th, 1925.

intention. For I am fully alive to the fact that an art which is classic generally comes to stay. Only it palls if variety in the form of newer developments of the same be not superadded from time to time. There is no reason therefore why time-old classic types of music like Dhrupad should not co-exist with later types of music such as Kheyal, Tappa and Thumri. It was because the music-lovers had a sort of sense of this truth that Kheyal was created by Amir Khasru and Sadarang—to the eternal glory of the Mahomedan creative genius. The result was that the two types of music have since then existed side by side to set each other off. I think this is quite *comme il faut*. Kheyalias had recognised the necessity of variety and ornamentation in music and they are to be felicitated on their timely intervention. Now the same necessity (*viz.* that of finding greater fulfilment of the thirst for variety in music) which prompted the early Kheyalias to strike off into a new path, as it were, in the further evolution of our classical music, urged later composers like Golam Nabi (commonly known as Sori Mian) to invent Tappa, and his successors—Thumri.

Kheyal was ushered in because Dhrupad was felt to be (1) lacking in ornamentation; (2) too subservient to the demands of rhythm; and (3) offering comparatively little scope for improvisation. Thus Kheyal ministered to a deep hankering of the human soul in the realm of music, *viz.* that of bodying forth new beauties at every step in the shape of improvisations. It was comparatively untrammelled by the demands of the rhythmic structure of Dhrupad. It was consequently a great advance on Dhrupad as every right-thinking catholic judge must allow.

Now the same necessity which impelled composers like Amir Khasru and Sadarang to strike out a new path in music in the direction of Kheyal, prompted later musicians to evolve Thumri. I am of opinion therefore that it is as unjust for the present composers of Kheyal to vituperate Thumri as it was for the quondam champions of Dhrupad to condemn Kheyal. I have suggested why such evolution of anything new in art must meet with a great deal of unreasoning opposition at the outset. I will next set about pointing out why such opposition is all but sure to prove abortive in its attempt to stifle the increasing popularity of Thumri—just as even the withering glance

of Dhrupadiyas was unable to blast the evolution of Kheyal.

For this it will be helpful to pause here a little in trying to consider where it is that Kheyal differed essentially from Dhrupad as well as what fundamental aspirations of our musical craving it catered for. I have pointed out that Kheyal differed from Dhrupad principally in that it afforded a scope for the creative genius of the artist to soar high and lose himself as it were in search of novelties in the shape of improvisations. Not that Dhrupad did not offer any scope to the musician in this direction, *viz.* that of improvisations. Dhrupad *alap*, rhythmic variations known as *bants*, syncopation known as *ari kuari etc.*, did afford him a certain amount of scope to improvise. But it did not go far enough; for *tans*, *kampan*s and other subtle ornamentations had to be brought in and Dhrupad did not brook these. Kheyal supplied this need of the musician and everybody knows how much enriched the music becomes in consequence, being comparatively unhampered by the demands of Dhrupadist rigidity.

To take up the thread where I left off, I will be concerned to show now how the likelihood of Thumri prospering in the next phase our musical evolution is about as much of a certainty. For that purpose, it will be well to consider first how Thumri in its turn ministers to a real need of the artist, unsupplied by any other class of music.

Where is it that Thumri differs essentially from Kheyal? This question must be answered first for the clarification of our ideas. Where indeed? There are many points of contact between Thumri and Kheyal just as there are between superior classes of Kheyal and Dhrupad. I will however limit myself principally to bringing into relief the points of dissimilarity—as that will be more to the purpose.

Kheyal, I have pointed out, furnished a great deal of scope for improvisation to the artist and is as such at least as great an achievement in Indian musical culture as Dhrupad. Thumri affords—and here is my principal point in favour of Thumri—a still greater scope not only for improvisation but for the expression of the subtler lights and shades of our emotion than Kheyal admits of. In other words, Thumri gives expression to our ever-changing perceptions of beauty with a delicacy of touch which would be altogether beyond strict Kheyal. Whoever has heard a beautiful Thumri must have felt how the latter satisfies some innate

craving of his soul which has been so delicately portrayed by the immortal poet in his immortal lines:—

I pant for the music which is divine,
My heart in its thirst is a dying flower ;
Pour forth sound like enchanted wine,
Loosen the notes in a silver shower.

(*Shelley*)

A lovely Thumri with its divine delicacy, fleeting finesse and iridescent evanescence makes the listener feel as it were As one who drinks from a charmed cup Of foaming, and sparkling and murmuring wine, Whom a mighty enchantress filling up Invites to love with her kiss divine.

(*Ibid*)

The emotion that a really artistic Thumri can evoke is essentially of a nature uninspirable, by any other class of music (to my knowledge). The real glory of Thumri lies in its taking cognizance of the subtle shades of evanescent emotions that succeed one after the other in the musical experiences of the artist in his sacred moments of undoubted inspiration. That is why Thumri must needs be a little kaleidoscopic in the exuberance of its presentation. What it suffers however in lack of restraint (compared to first-class Dhrupad or Kheyal) is more than compensated for by the *delicateness* of its nuances ; and what it suffers in lack of grandeur is more than made up for by the ardour of its living appeal.

To come from the subtly rich aesthetic effects of Thumri to its *method and design* of producing the same. Thumri, as is well known, enjoys greater latitude than Kheyal in so far as the rigidity of the melodic structure is concerned. Or in other words, unlike Kheyal, Thumri's ideal does not lie in the direction of the presentation of a Raga in its purity. Its aspiration consists in the presentation of the minutest changes of the musical emotions of the artist. Thus the term 'correct-singing' is, unlike in Kheyal, almost meaningless in Thumri. The result is that the Thumri artist is practically unchecked by the considerations of purity of the Raga in his exploration of the beautiful. For does he not enjoy the latitude of freely passing from one Raga to the other? Does he not revel in the almost complete freedom of expressing truly what he feels undeterred by considerations of technique? He can therefore afford to concentrate on the faithful expression of his everchanging emotions in a way which would be impossible in its very nature in Kheyal-singing. Herein

consists the principal achievement of Thumri. (Here the writer sang a song to shew how different Ragas keep coming in in Thumri and with what artistic effect.)

The question here naturally presents itself, if such unbridled liberty in musical improvisations is good in the long run. For does not this often involve the degeneration of liberty into licence? Besides, does not this often tend to make one Thumri sound too much like the other, thus rendering this class of music rather monotonous? It must be admitted that there is force in such arguments and predictions. For Thumri, *as it is sung to-day*, very often suffers from the drawbacks mentioned. In Kheyal there is a healthy ideal of restraint, comparatively speaking, which renders them enjoyable for a long time. Besides, in the enjoyment of the latter there is this undoubted satisfaction that is to be derived from differentiating one Raga from another. Aristotle has rightly pointed out the unquestioned pleasure in the very fact of recognition. In Thumri shades of different Ragas keep coming in, so that sometimes the protracted enjoyment of one Raga is marred by too frequent transitions into snatches of other Ragas. Every music-lover must testify to the deep satisfaction that is to be derived from the *dhyana* of one Raga. When a musician improvises on one Raga the atmosphere that he creates* round him becomes truly saturated with the spirit of the Raga and the result is delicious.

The foregoing considerations cannot but bring into prominence some points where Thumri is bound to be inferior to Kheyal. But that does not imply that Thumri should be discarded in favour of Kheyal in consequence. For Thumri also possesses charms which are peculiar to itself—as I have already suggested. I can see no earthly reason why Thumri must not exist side by side with Kheyal, just as there is no reason why Kheyal should not prosper simultaneously

* That is, if he knows how to create it, of course. For it must not be forgotten that I have here in view the ideal in contradistinction to the common practice that obtains to-day. The average uncultured Kheyalia of to-day debases his Kheyal more often than not by paying scant courtesy to the spirit of the Raga. For he generally comes to fly off at the outset at a mad tangent into hysterical gymnastics or rhythmic acrobatics, thereby vitiating his whole art. Nevertheless, the ideal of a Kheyal is there, viz. that of invoking a particular atmosphere for each separate Raga. Thumri in its very nature has no such ideal. It is here therefore that Thumri suffers in comparison with Kheyal.

with Dhrupad. Each of these classes of music possesses a classic element which cannot fail of appeal to the catholic music-lover. Each therefore is going to stand on its own merits and the total effect cannot but be a happy one, if only we are discriminative in our appraisement of the relative merits of each class of music. What I am up in arms against is the ventilation of the opinion that Thumri must be inferior to Dhrupad or Kheyal, for the simple reason that the latter can boast of beauties not possessed by the former. For, is not Thumri also great in its own line, its inevitable shortcomings notwithstanding? Every class of music must have its own shortcomings for the matter of that, owing to the limitations peculiar to itself. To run it down because of such limitations is like blaming a creature for being itself. The butterfly says to the rose: "I pity you who cannot fly." The rose may well retaliate: "I also pity you who cannot give out fragrance". Is it not as idle to condemn the rose for its immobility as it is to reproach the butterfly for its lack of perfume?

If however the claim of Thumri to greatness has to be made good, the charge of monotony often laid at its door must be met. For no art can have any solid pretensions to greatness, if it palls on one comparatively soon. I do not think however that although Thumri is inferior to Kheyal in *some* respects, it must necessarily be inferior to the latter in point of variety. The truth of this statement cannot but have gone home to those who have had the opportunity of hearing such beautiful Thumri singers like Fyas Khan, Achhan Bai or Janki Bai. Unfortunately for Thumri, however, its repetitions often tend to monotony in the execution of most of our uncultured musicians of to-day who care more often for a display of their technical skill than artistic perception. But a Thumri singer who is a real artist can easily prove that this tendency is by no means an inherent one in the very possibilities of Thumri. Besides, it is well to bear in mind that Thumri, is still in its teens; that it is not yet evolved enough; that unlike Kheyal, the codes of its exposition have not yet been formulated, far less classified. We have not yet had, that is, sufficient data to go upon. Dhrupad has fairly exhausted itself. Kheyal, though far from antiquated yet, shows unmistakable signs of almost complete maturity. Thumri, however, is still like a stripling which stands in need of a tender looking-after. Its aspirations must be sympathised with, if it is to find its own

self and realise its potentialities in the near future. For we must not be blind to the circumstance that Thumri has already given a promise which does justify high hopes of its future.

Classicists often cry Thumri down as being the province of women and bayaderes only. This is not just. Neither does it reflect any credit on the sobriety of judgment of such denunciators. For, how on earth can the mere fact of women being able to sing Thumri with effect be used as an argument against its greatness? Besides, the very assumption is unwarranted that men are incapable of singing Thumri as well as women. One has only to hear the Thumri of men like Abdul Karim, Fyas or Majuddin Khan to be convinced of this. Of course, women singers cannot but lend their womanly grace and delicate flavour to the music they sing. But the Thumri of men singers will in its turn be instinct with masculine confidence and virility. Each has its own charm. Each possesses qualities which are peculiar to itself. What is needful to bear in mind is that no noble art can be intended to be the monopoly of one sex. The criterion of a true artistic exposition is that it should be a sincere expression of some aesthetic emotion actually felt by the artist. Thus, so long as a Thumri singer passes this test, there is no reason whatsoever why his or her expression should not be artistic. This is but common sense and as such I hardly need to expatiate on it any further. I want only to add that a good deal of the prejudice of the ostads who profess to look superior to Thumri contending that it is an effeminate art is attributable to their jealousy of the best lady singers who often succeed in outdistancing the former in a truly artistic exposition.

Then, again, there is another erroneous notion abroad that Thumri can be sung by any body and everybody. Nothing can be further from truth. For, in order to be able to sing Thumri really well, one must first of all be capable of expression in an eminent degree, as the soul of Thumri lies in expression and not in mere technical skill, however wonderful. For instance, a Thumri singer must take special care to produce what may be metaphorically described as light and shade effect of vocal modulation. In Kheyal singing he may fare better even without such eminent voice effects. For, in the latter case, he may produce a good deal of effect by his technical skill or by his power of differentiating between

kindred Ragas. But this will not stand him in good stead in Thumri inasmuch as correctness matters little in Thumri (nay, becomes almost meaningless),—the essence of beauty lying in subtlety of expression.

There is another idea at the back of most people's minds, *viz.*, that Thumri-singing requires neither any musical knowledge nor any systematic training. Such a view is substantially incorrect. For a good Thumri signer must learn Kheyāl well if he should want to sing Thumri effectively. For in Thumri, there is almost boundless scope for the introduction of various beauties of the Kheyāl style. The other day, the great Fyas Khan sang some Bhairavi Thumris at this very conference exemplifying the truth of the above statement—as must have been apparent to all connoisseurs of Kheyāl. A musical friend of mine had once aptly remarked to me that one could ill afford to dispense with a systematic training in Kheyāl if he should want to sing Thumri at all well. His remark was only too true, paradoxical as it might appear on the surface. For, in order to be able to give a definite direction to the manifold potentialities of Thumri, a thorough grounding in Kheyāl cannot but be eminently

helpful as well as suggestive. To pass from one Raga to others, for instance, presupposes a sound knowledge of all of them.

If I refrain to-day from suggesting specific lines along which the Thumri of the future should (and in my opinion bids fair to) develop itself, it is only because a mere adumbration of the same would be of little use without copious illustrations. As this can hardly be done on paper, I have nothing more to do but to add in conclusion that it is going to be not a little helpful in the evolution of our classical music to study as well as to experiment on the potentialities of Thumri. And the sooner our educated classes take kindly to it in a catholic spirit of appreciation, the better will be the harvest that is going to be theirs. For it is my earnest conviction that if only really cultured men will take to it in a sincere spirit of research, our beautiful Thumri will gain more and more in dignity. It will then rid itself of the flippancy and frivolity with which it has today come to be associated in the hands of our unimaginative professionals who can at best give us only fugitive flashes of an ethereal vista which it is up to the magic wand of music alone to open out.

THE CRY OF SOCIAL REFORMS AMONGST THE ABORIGINES

BY DHIRENDRA NATH MAJUMDAR

[THE subject-matter of the paper has been the result of my ethnographic tour in Kolhan in Singhbhum, a tract of country in the Chotanagpur plateau, inhabited by the Kols or Hos, an aboriginal tribe of pre-Dravidian origin. The term 'Kol' is derived from the Sanskrit 'Kola' meaning pig, apparently given to these people by their Hindu neighbours or Dikkus as they call them. The word 'Ho' is derived from Mundari 'Horo' meaning a man. The origin of the Hos may be traced to the great Kolarian family whose subdivisions are the Mundas, the Santals, the Birhors, the Tamaras and other cognate tribes of the Chotanagpur plateau].

The social progress which we meet with in different parts of India suggests to the most casual observer a warning which every anthropologist in the land should beware of. The influence of social culture has reached the most neglected nook of our land and it

is no wonder that the aboriginal people who supply us a clue to the evolution of primitive society and who even now present us with a culture more or less stagnant and traceable to the very early period of their existence should receive the light of culture to some extent. By this I mean that the so-called uncivilised non-Aryan people, call them Dravidian or pre-Dravidian as you please, are fast lighting the candle of civilisation and with the help of Christian missionaries, they are trying to dispel the darkness and misunderstanding that so long shaded them. To be more definite, I should like to cite one example which will explain the position. In March, 1923, a batch of post-graduate students

of the Calcutta University with their lecturer Rao Bahadur L. K. A. Ananta Krishna Iyer had been to Ranchi on an excursion to study first-hand the aboriginal people of the Chotanagpur plateau. I was also amongst them. The Chotanagpur plateau is inhabited by several tribes of Dravidian or pre-Dravidian denomination. These people form the nucleus of the aboriginal substratum upon which the invaders of Aryan speech came as conquerors. It is an interesting thing to learn that although they are surrounded by cultured people on all sides, these aboriginal people have preserved much of their habits and customs. At Ranchi we were the guests of a distinguished anthropologist Rai Bahadur Sarat Ch. Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C. Mr. Sarat Ch. Roy has devoted many a long year to the study of these tribes and his monographs on the Oraons and on the Mundas, speak for themselves as to what a vast treasure he has unfolded. It was through Mr. Roy's help that we could learn something of primitive life. With Mr. Roy's assistance, we could visit these people in their homes and the little we could gather from these visits confirmed us that the time had come when anthropologists and workers in the field should lose no time in collecting all materials available of the life, dress, customs, and habits of these primitive people, for in a decade to come, all that was primitive in them would perish adding only a blank page to the diary of the curious. From Ranchi to Lohardaga, there is a branch line of the Bengal Nagpur Railway and the inhabitants of the places on both sides of the line are the Mundas and the Oraons. Scarcely you will find a Beharee or a Bengalee and the fields on both sides are studded with the abodes of these primitive tribes. The rocky land with small hills and occasional forests here and there depicts the true nature of the plateau and the people living on the plateau who are hardy, strong and well built. As we proceeded towards Lohardaga from Ranchi, one special sight attracted our notice. At every station we could find a missionary church—a number of missionaries and a group of Christian boys and girls decked in fine clothes, apparently recruited from the aboriginal element. Far from the noise and bustle of city life, these apostles of religion have preferred to stay and built up their huts—the mission of their life being to elevate these people—to spread education amongst them and light the candle of culture in their heart.

I have said before that these primitive

people have come in contact with the missionaries whose culture they receive and the townspeople with whom they mix freely so that it is no wonder that they should rid themselves of peculiar customs which their newly-awakened consciousness seemed distasteful. To take one example, the Oraons of the Chotanagpur plateau have a custom of separating the bachelors and maids of the village and every Oraon village possesses two houses or dormitories better known as 'Dhumkurias' and the unmarried girls of the village are housed in one dormitory, while the unmarried boys share one dormitory amongst themselves.

Why the custom was introduced is an open question and anthropologists differ in their views. Some anthropologists take recourse to psychological explanation; some again will explain the dormitory system as arising from local custom of exogamy which means that village mates may not intermarry. They say that to avoid any such combination the elders of the village introduced this custom. The origin of the Dhumkuria is a complex problem and I do not like to go deep into it. So, for the present, I shall end this topic with a brief reference to some of the customs practised in the 'Dhumkuria.' The members of a 'Dhumkuria' house after they find admission into it serve the villagers who may have occasion to call for their help and they are paid for their service in kind. Every villager has a portion of his income allotted for the Dhumkuria and over and above this, he has to undergo some amount of expenses for the welfare of the boys of the village. It must be stated at the outset that the Oraons have a very low idea of 'chastity' and their dormitories afford many facilities for an observer to know the social, economic and magico-religious observances 'calculated to secure success in hunting and to augment the procreative power of the young men so as to increase the number of hunters in the tribe'. Says Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy: "Although several of the institutions, customs and beliefs of the Oraons of our time appear to be resultants of a mixture of their own ideas and practices—with those of their neighbours, the Mundas, and although Hindu ideas are, to some extent, and Christian example is, to a smaller extent, exercising disintegrating influences on some of their own ideas and practices, the institutions of the Dhumkuria appears to be a genuine and unadulterated product of primitive Oraon culture".

The curious customs and practices connected with the Dhumkuria house, excited our curiosity and in all confidence we asked several Oraons separately about the secrets of the dormitories. But we are surprised at the answers we received from them and I give here instances of some of them. One of them, an old fellow, absolutely denied any knowledge of the Dhumkuria as if it was an alien practice. Another, when asked, got annoyed with us and retorted that they had Dhumkurias and these resembled the play-house of the townspeople. And I am sure that if after ten years some one approaches these people and asks all about the Dhumkuria, I am sure one will not escape scotfree.

Of all the aboriginal tribes of the Chota-nagpur plateau, the Hos or Kols are the most interesting. The name was applied to the aborigines by the Aryan-speaking people as a term of contempt, most probably for their habit of rearing pigs. But the physical appearance of these people might have led the air-skinned, regular featured race to associate them with pigs. Swarthy complexion, flat nose, short stature, wavy to curly hair, prominent cheek-bones, absence of beards or moustaches—these are some of the physical features of the people. With a crude and nebulous conception of religion, these people believe that they were first created by the 'Lungod' or the 'Sing-bonga,' who afterwards destroyed them by creating an atmosphere of blazing flames. When all life was destroyed, 'Singbonga' saw the folly of his fury and repentance seized him. In his despair he began to seek for traces of life and approached all the 'bongas' to ask if they had hidden any soul. At last 'Nagebonga' or the water-leity came with a pair of living soul—a brother and a sister whom she kept under the sheet of water. With this pair, 'Sing-bonga' determined to bring forward a race of men. But, as they were brother and sister, sexual intercourse could not be possible between them. What else could the high god do but to offer to them 'handia' or rice beer, an intoxicating preparation. Now it was through the intoxication caused by the drinking of this fermented liquor that sexual intercourse between the brother and the sister was possible and the Hos were created again. Had not Singbonga prepared 'handia' and offered it to their first ancestors, the Hos could not have come to live. So 'handia' is their principal food, 'handia' is their drink, 'handia' is associated with their religion. There are people even now who do not take any other

food save quantities of handia and the intoxicating effect of the liquor tells upon their health. The result is, the men are weak, lazy and worthless, while the women do all sorts of domestic work, take care of the children, fetch water from the village tank or river, carry their produce to the bazaar or har for sale or barter and help the men in the fields during the agricultural operations. And as is natural with a tribe whose males are weak and depend upon the females for help and support, the sexual licence is carried to a great extent and on festive occasions great strain is put on the laws of decency. Besides, on account of the high price, the number of regular marriages is decreasing from day to day and a man seldom marries before he is 25 and cases are there where regular marriage does not take place in one's lifetime. The result is, irregular connections are taken recourse to and the Ho society has to wink at this. The songs and dances of the Hos fittingly express the inner state of affairs and a Ho village at dead of night rings with bacchanalian revelries. It is for this reason that the educated Hos are trying heart and soul to eradicate all these scandals. Meetings have been held at various places of Kolhan urging upon the inhabitants to guard up their loins to save their society from rack and ruin.

At a representative meeting of the Hos of Kolhan at Lumpunguto on the 25th of March, 1924, which was presided over by the aboriginal member of the Behar and Orissa Legislative Council, Mr. Dulu Manki, the following resolutions amongst others were unanimously passed:—

1. This meeting of the aborigines most emphatically protest against the practice of "Dama Duma and Sisun" in Kolhan villages, for the following reasons:—

(a) The health of the people is lost by keeping late hours at night.

(b) The students are allowed to join the dances which serves as an impediment to their progress in study.

(c) The young people go from village to village to take part in the dances which, in most cases, is detrimental to their morals.

(d) The dances demoralise the young people generally.

(e) They involve unnecessary waste of time and energy.

(f) The music and dances are looked down upon by the cultured neighbours as very low and degrading.

Another vital resolution also unanimously

carried, relates to the practice of liaison between the members of the same Kili or Sept. The Hos are divided into a number of exogamous Septs or Kilis, each of which takes the name of some plant, animal or material object. The members of the same Sept believe that they are descended from a common ancestor and marriage is forbidden between them. This prohibition or taboo they carried to a great extent and on former occasions, violation of this taboo was fatal and the man who violated this was doomed to death in a number of ways. He used to be tied by rope of straw called 'tor' and packed like a 'bandhi' which is a cylindrical basket for preserving grains and used to be taken to the peak of a hill whence he was thrown down to meet his deserts or he was thrown into the fire and dragged out half dead to suffer the remaining part of his life in a desperate condition. But the laws have become less severe, and considering the number of cases of liaison, the Ho society also has grown more liberal. The offender is generally driven out of the village, he is disinherited and his family is cut off from the society. The girl is sometimes allowed to accompany her lover but often she is kept back in the village and the Ho punch bribe some young man of a different Sept to marry her. The brideprice is paid by the father or the offender. The industrial centres like Tata-nagar and the coalfields of Bengal and Behar offer them bread and shelter and this punishment has ceased to have any influence on the morals of the people. But as this cannot be avoided, the following resolution had to be passed by the aborigines. The resolution ran thus:—

2. "This meeting of the aborigines of Kolhan urges upon the young people not to indulge in liaisons and suggests that in case of liaison between the members of the same Sept or Kili, the offending members will forfeit protection from the society and will be disinherited from their ancestral property".

The third resolution passed at Lupunguto and corroborated at a subsequent meeting at Chaunpore on the 13th of April refers to the high brideprice. Thirty heads of cattle, forty to fifty silver coins and ornaments covering another 40 rupees, besides 200 to 300 pots of rice beer, on a modest calculation cannot be had for less than 400 to 500 rupees and this the poor Ho cannot pay. Being improvident, the Hos possess next to nothing to meet the expenses of a regular marriage. The result is that the number of regular marriages is decreasing daily and irregular connections are

the order of the day. The Hos are foolish. They know that if they do not decrease the brideprice, their girls are likely to be carried away per force, but still they will insist on the high brideprice. The result is, they often do not get what they want. After a heated discussion, the aborigines arrived at the following agreement:—

3. This meeting of the aborigines of Kolhan, considering the state of affairs, hold that unless the brideprice is decreased to a considerable amount, the social position of the Hos will not be improved and with a view to meet practical solution of the position, it is of opinion that the brideprice should be a fixed one.

This meeting is of opinion that the maximum brideprice should not exceed Rs. 30, two bullocks, and one cow. This brideprice is for those who possess land of their own cultivation.

For those who do not possess any land, the maximum brideprice, in the opinion of the meeting, should not exceed Rs. 10.

The resolutions were carried amidst great 'hullah' of the people and about 70 substantial people of Kolhan signed a document agreeing to the above proposals.

The other resolutions are of minor importance but all the same they reflect the mentality of the people.

One of the resolutions relate to the employment of female labour in bazaars and hats.

It has been pointed out above, that the women are more hardy than the men and the former do much of the outdoor work. The resolution passed ran thus:—

This meeting of the aborigines of Kolhan hereby resolves that in future employment of female labour in hats and bazaars should be discontinued.

Formerly the Hos used to sell fuel to the Dikkus or their foreign neighbours by hawking from place to place. This did not smell of good taste to their newly awakened consciousness and they set to resolve that in future people should sit in some place to sell fuel and not hawk from house to house and in case a Dikku wants the fuel to be carried to his house, an additional fee, equal to the amount chargeable for the distance—will be levied on the fuel and only the males should carry the same.

It was the females who used to come to the markets to sell straw, hay and grass. As employment of female labour was incompatible with their high ideal of social reform, they resolved that in future no kulins or

Ho women should carry straw, hay or grass to the markets.

Besides drinking their country liquor 'handia', the Ho labourers were getting into the habit of taking 'diang' or liquor into the public godowns or liquor shops. This was indeed a bad practice and the resolution that was passed on the 6th April at Lupungut condemning the practice ran as follows:—

This meeting of the aborigines of Kolhan most emphatically condemn the practice of taking liquors in wine shops and urges upon the Ho labourers in the interests of the society to discontinue the practice.

On the 6th April, 1924, the aborigines again met at Lupungut under the shade of the mango grove to consider some items of social reform. Mr. Dulu Manki presided.

The most important discussion that took place on the occasion referred to the forcible carrying of girls by the young men who cannot meet the expenses of regular marriages. This practice is a scandal and the Hos met to consider what steps might be taken to avoid any such scandals in future. The imposition of a heavy fine was urged and insisted upon and the following resolution was unanimously carried:—

This meeting resolves that taking away a woman forcibly should be discontinued and he who would infringe this rule should be fined Rs. 50. In case of default, the man should be excommunicated.

The practice of keeping women of low social position as mistresses is in vogue amongst the aborigines. There are Hos who take beef and this is taken by an orthodox Ho as something akin to an indication of low status—a Ho will refuse to eat with one who takes beef and the girls of the latter are looked down upon and regular marriages with them are forbidden. But in spite of these prohibitions the Hos are used to keep these girls as mistresses. So a resolution was passed condemning the practice.

On a careful perusal of the above, it seems apparent that the aborigines have determined to purge themselves of whatever is old or antique with them. The time has changed, their outlook has also widened. Education, cultural contact have changed their angle of vision and they must be encouraged to cleanse the Augean stables. But one thing must not be neglected. The state of affairs in Kolhan surely demands a sympathetic consideration from all who have an interest in the social regeneration of India, but this regeneration should be worked out with great

caution. Everything, old or antique, is not bad, there must be something sound in the old tribal life, otherwise it could not have stood the test of centuries. To quote the words of J. P. Mills, Esq., M. A., I. C. S. "Times change and no one pretends that the primitive hill-man can be kept as a museum specimen. But blindly to destroy in a few years what it has taken generations to build up and to sweep away his old habits and customs good or bad alike, just because they are old is to court disaster".

One of the reasons advanced to protest against the practice of "Duma and Sisun" in Kolhan villages is this:—

The music and dances are looked down upon by the cultured neighbours as very low and degrading. The mover of the resolution must have been actuated by a sense of jealousy or else he could not have insisted on the cessation of the practice, simply because their cultured neighbours do not themselves indulge in these dances. This sense of jealousy is apparent when we consider the resolutions urging upon the people not to sell fuel to the Dikkus by hawking from place to place. Whether from jealousy or from pure social motive, the stoppage of dances in the village, within a couple of years, will be an accomplished fact. We have got to wait to find out the effects of this prohibition but in the meantime, it is not idle to speculate on the prospects of this taboo. The majority of the Hos take dance as a regular exercise after their evening meal. When they are free from outside engagements, the dances take up their time and afford opportunities for the young people to spend their energy in some way. Now, if they are not given sufficient useful work, as a compensation, this time they will remain unoccupied and idle, and want of taste and culture may lead them to do things which may not be conducive or compatible with their newly awakened consciousness. If they had sufficient education, they would themselves realise that the dances were opprobrious to their conduct. They would also realise the evils associated with these dances and could find out means to end these scandals. But where ninety per cent of the people possess no knowledge of alphabets, it is idle to expect any such thing.

A few remarks about their present economic condition are necessary to form an idea of the Ho society. They have been spoken of as improvident. Improvident they are, but at the same time their wants are very few. Those who are advanced in years, are

satisfied with a quantity of ricebear. They do not take any other food, save some wild fruits of the jungle. The youngmen, if they get a quantity of boiled rice besides what they collect in jungles, are highly satisfied with their humble food. The use of salt was a luxury a few years back. This is evident from the fact that they are ready to part with a larger quantity of their produce for a pice worth of salt than they would for a pice. As a matter of fact, the town boys of Chaibasa actually play this trick when they are to purchase plums or blackberry from the Hos. As regards clothing, till recent years they were self-sufficient. Every village has one or two families of Tantis or weavers who supply the clothes of the Hos. But lately they have grown great admirers of foreign clothes. The coarse dhotis and saris do not suit their taste and the Hos are seen to wear finer stuffs. Although their wants are few, they have money enough and to spare. Kolhan has grown to be an important centre of lac cultivation and about two to three lacs of rupees are annually distributed amongst the Hos for this purpose. So the Hos are getting richer day by day. It was only the other day that a High Government Official passed an order asking the heads of schools in Singhbhum not to grant free studentship to Ho boys. In a formal petition to the high official, the Ho boys appealed for

reconsideration of his order, saying that they were not more affluent than their forefathers and that the curtailment of this privilege would seriously affect the student community. But the remarks of the official, if I was told aright, are worthy of mention. "Headmaster, I return the application to you, the Hos are doubly richer. I do not want that the good cultivators should be turned into bad babus". The love of finery has grown so much amongst the aborigines that it requires a right handling by the educated Hos. Not to speak of soaps, scents, scented oils, handkerchiefs, the Hos have begun to imitate their town neighbours in everything right or wrong. There are about a dozen barbers who daily go to the interior of Kolhan on bicycles to shave the villages. And it is surprising to note that a Ho villager does not grudge paying 4 as. per shave. An aerated water manufacturer of Chaibasa told me some time back that his business was giving him sufficient return.

The townspeople did not take his water, for it was not good. But the Hos were great admirers of it. A little red or green tinge in an ordinary lemonade fetched four times the usual price. And this is the way they are being exploited. The traditional ornaments of the Hos have fallen into disfavour and they are very great admirers of imported bead necklaces from Japan and the glass bangles from Japan or Germany.

INDIAN MEN OF MUSIC : AIKNATH VISHNU PANDIT

By B. S. SITHOLEY

TO the student of Indian Music Gwalior possesses considerable historical importance as the foremost centre of musical culture in Upper India for several centuries. It has produced musicians of the eminence of Raja Man Singh, Nayak Baiju and Miyan Tan Sen and has consistently maintained through every successive generation those high traditions of the art which have given to the place the distinction associated with it.

Raja Man Singh, Emperor Akbar's *Qilladar* at Gwalior, was, besides being a patron of arts, himself a musician of exceptional talent. He is credited with being the inventor and

the greatest exponent of the Dhrupad style of singing—a style at once manly and dignified and demanding from the singer not only a thorough knowledge of the science of music but also a command over the voice such as is not called into requisition in rendering the less difficult and therefore more popular Kheyal and Thumri styles of songs. In his service was Baiju, whose creative genius was responsible for the addition of several modes to Indian Music. Baiju, affectionately dubbed "Baore" (mad), because of his unconventional mode of life, had attained nearer to perfection in rendering the Ragas

in their purity and with precision, and for this he was given the title of Nayak, the highest honour a musician can aspire to. The more popular Miyan Tan Sen was also with Raja Man Singh before he became the favourite musician at the court of Emperor Akbar. He stabilized Indian Music by placing it on a more scientific basis, that is, by fixing the characteristics of the various modes and assigning to them definite melodic structures. He also reduced the 92 Talas (Time-measures) to the 12 now in use. He was a skilful musician "like whom (as quoted in the Ain-i-Akbari) there has not been a singer for a thousand years".

Musical culture in Gwalior dates to a considerable period back, but it attained to its zenith in the time of Raja Man Singh (died 1518) and since then Gwalior has had the proud privilege of producing or sheltering and giving scope to generations of musicians of note down to the time of the late Jayaji Rao Sindhia. After his death music declined in Gwalior, and most of the musicians left the place to seek their fortunes elsewhere. A heroic band, however, refused to desert for reasons of sentiment, though Gwalior had ceased to accord to it the encouragement it needed and the appreciation it deserved. One of the survivors of this little band is Aiknath Vishnu Pandit.

Aiknath is a tall, spare man of 59. His age sits lightly on him, for he still carries himself erect and with elasticity of step. He is reserved, unlike the traditional musician who is a great talker and an unsufferable boaster. His speech is slow and refined, and the great charm of his personality lies in his quiet courtesy which he is always ready to extend to all and sundry. A subtle suggestion of determination discernible in his fine features points to strength of character; and the writer is informed from a trustworthy source that Aiknath did, in his younger days, stand for his principles against the powers that were. At that time he was serving in the Military Department of the Gwalior State. Aiknath has the dreamy look characteristic of all great artists, and his unpretentious, almost ascetic, mode of life lends him a dignity that distinguishes him quite sharply from the professional musician.

Aiknath was born at Gwalior in March 1865. His ancestors belonged to Maharashtra. His father, however, with his intense love of music migrated to Gwalior, then a prominent centre of Indian Music.

Aiknath commenced his initiation into

vocal music at the rather early age of seven, under the direction of Ustad Haddu Khan, the chief Court musician to the late Maharaja Jayaji Rao Sindhia. After Haddu Khan's death, Aiknath was tutored by Ustad Nathu Khan, Haddu Khan and Nathu Khan were brothers and the two most accomplished musicians of their time. Their names are still remembered with affection and reverence. Later on, while at Poona, Aiknath met and associated with much cordiality with Haddu Khan's son, Ustad Ashmat Khan, and Nathu Khan's son, Ustad Nissar Hussain, to his great benefit. Nissar Hussain laid bare to Aiknath the subtleties and the intricacies of Indian Music.



Aiknath Vishnu Pandit

When about 22, Aiknath began practice on the sitar under the guidance of Miyan Babu Khan, who, on the death of his patron, Maharaja Sri Ram Singh of Jaipur, migrated to Gwalior. At Datia, Mushraf Khan, the celebrated Binkar taught Aiknath to play on the vina.

Besides the musicians already referred to, Aiknath has had association with the following musicians of distinction. Ustads Nathu Khan and Ghulam Hussain of Agra; Ustad Faiyaz Khan, Binkar, Baroda; Ustads Vahid Khan, Murad Khan, Bande Ali Khan

and Imdad Khan of Indore; Professor Barkat Ullah of Bombay (now Mysore); Ustad Dilawar Khan of Rewah; Ustad Rajab Ali; and Pandits Kashinath Boa, Shripad Rao and Vishnu Digambar, Balkrishna Boa, Baba Dikshit and Joshi Boa of Gwalior, who represented the oldest classical school of Gwalior musicians, Bala Guru; Panna Sahib; Shankar Pandit (Aiknath's eldest brother, now dead); Waman Boa; Ustad Mehdi Hussain; Ustad Amir Khan, the finest sitar player after Rahim Sen and Amrit Sen; Ustad Nanne Khan, the unrivalled sarodkar; Ustad Saadat Khan of Jaltarang and Algoza fame; Ustads Umrao Khan, Fida Hussian, Hafiz Khan and Alaf Khan—all of Gwalior, and Venu Sheshanna of Mysore.

These details are interesting inasmuch as they show that Aiknath's education in music has been very comprehensive and that the experience he has acquired, as the direct outcome of the exchange of ideas with these great modern representatives of Indian music, is of a quality and measure which cannot but be characterized as rare and exceptional.

This experience Aiknath has not allowed to remain merely theoretical. He has applied it intelligently in the perfecting of his own individual art and its technique. That Aiknath's art is of a superior class can be gathered from the fact that he has given performances at request before such select and appreciative audience as Maharaja Lokendra Bahadur Dev Bhawani Singhji of Datia, the Maharajas of Kolhapur, Alwar, Mysore, Indore and Kashmir, Their Highnesses of the two Dewas, Sirdar Balwant Rao Bhaiyaji of Gwalior and Raja Sir Jatindra Mohan Tagore of Calcutta. Aiknath has visited almost every important place in India and given exhibition of his skill. His musical *tour de force* was perhaps achieved at Datia where Kudau Singh, the matchless Pakhawji, provided the necessary accompaniment. Kudu Singh was no ordinary person. Amir Sen, the greatest exponent of the sitar that has lived, praised him; and it is related that Kudau Singh once beat such time on the Pakhawaj as to control the fury of a mad elephant. It must have been a classical performance—Aiknath with his sitar and Kudau

Singh with his Pakhawaj—both showing their skill and striving for mastery one over the other!

Aiknath played the modes *Sindh-Bhairavi*, *Jaunpuri-Todi*, *Vasant* and *Pilu* at the request of the writer, and the atmosphere he created, his graceful manipulation, almost effortless and yet so purposeful, the delicacy of his touch, his solid and subtle technique were all in a class by themselves. The writer has had opportunities of hearing the sitar of many famous Ustads, and that experience provided a basis for comparison in which Aiknath rose easily superior.

Aiknath has gone deep into music with the result that he has abandoned the fanciful ideas of lesser musicians about the 6 principal ragas and their 36 bharyas (wives) and putras (sons). He is also very clear about the time allotted to a raga. His views are logical and not based on mere tradition.

He is giving instructions in music to his three sons; and it may be hoped that they will endeavour to rise to his standard. Among his many pupils may be mentioned the well-known Mr. V. N. Bhatkhande of Bombay, and Mr. A. H. Fox-Strangways, author of the "Music of Hindusthan". Fox-Strangways studied Indian Music under Aiknath when the latter was Principal of the Poona Gayan Samaj.

Aiknath has invented a sitar on which by skillful manipulation he can produce notes in seven octaves with all the intervening srutis or finer shades of notes. Besides being an expert singer, vina and sitar player, he is an interesting player on the Pakhawaj and Tabla.

Asked what he thought of the Carnatic system of music as compared with the North Indian system, he gave the opinion that the Carnatic system is perfect in *Tala* and *Laya* but lacks comparatively in melody.

Aiknath is the last link between the Gwalior School of classical music and the present times, and it is the hope of the writer that he may with his large and varied experience be spared for many more years to benefit those interested in the cultural value of music.

INSECTS AND ECONOMICS

BY CEDRIC DOVER, F.E.S.

TO the terrible utilitarian, a bushel of peas preserved from the weevil, is of more importance than a volume of observations bringing no immediate profit. Yet who has told you, O man of little faith, that what is useless to-day will not be useful to-morrow. If we learn the customs of insects or animals, we shall understand better how to protect our goods. It is by the accumulation of ideas, whether immediately practical or otherwise that humanity has done, and will continue to do better to-day than yesterday, and better to-morrow than to-day. If we live upon peas and beans, which we dispute with the weevil, we live also by knowledge, that mighty kneading trough in which the bread of progress is mixed and leavened."

FABRE.

The arrogant belief, fostered and stimulated by religious teaching, that Nature exists for the sole pleasure and benefit of man is to-day an exploded one. The progress of true knowledge, hampered though it has been, and is, by religious fanaticism has gradually forced upon man, the realisation that he is only a part of the scheme of Nature, yet in the ignorance that is rife even in this enlightened age, comparatively few realise the full importance of insects and other organisms, and of their serious study. Our attitude towards house-flies is perhaps somewhat different from the semi-affection displayed in these lines, quoted by Dr. Chandler in his book on human parasites, from a child's reader of over twenty years ago:—

"Baby Bye,
Here's a fly ;
We will catch him, you an
How he crawls
Up the walls,
Yet he never falls !
I believe with six such legs
You and I could walk on eggs.
There he goes
On his toes,
Tickling Baby's nose."

But house-flies are now destroyed mainly because they are troublesome, and partly because people, in a vague kind of way, associate them with disease. But the menace of this insect to man, in its capacity as the carrier of tuberculosis, anthrax, dysentery, cholera and intestinal worms is even now but indefinitely understood. The full signi-

ficance of the malaria mosquito in England, of plague in endemic form, as near England as Tripoli, of hookworm, of syphilis and a host of other parasitical diseases, is probably not appreciated by the vast majority of people at all. Yet, parasites have modified history, and in every country in the world, have a serious bearing upon economics which we cannot afford to ignore.

In past times, nations have been decimated by the plague, the parasites of which are transmitted from rats to man by fleas. About a quarter of the population of Europe was destroyed by an epidemic of plague in the 14th. century, and the partial success of the Dutch invasion of England in 1666 was perhaps in no small measure due to the destructive effects of the Great Plague which had swept England two years previously.

In olden days it was not uncommon that

"A plague upon the people fell

A famine after laid them low,

Then thorpe and byre arose in fire,

For on them brake the sudden foe."

and superstitious terror often led to terrible deeds of persecution and torture of innocent people who were supposed to cause the plague. Fortunately, the conditions with regard to plague to-day are far more satisfactory, but it must be remembered that in India whole villages are still destroyed by it, and the average annual loss of human life from this disease is about 1,000,000. It is said that an epidemic similar to that of the European plague would have swept over the United States, had it not been nipped in the bud at San Francisco and New Orleans, and it is a tribute to the enlightenment of the American people—an enlightenment so helpful to scientists striving to advance scientific knowledge—that made its suppression possible.

The role of mosquitos in the dissemination of disease is perhaps the most serious of all insect-relations with man. In spite of our extensive knowledge of malaria, it is at present the most important of parasitical diseases in the world. Three decades ago its full significance was scarcely understood, and to this ignorance is due the disaster of the French attempt, in the latter part of the 19th century

to build a canal at Panama. Thousands of people died from malaria and yellow fever, and it was only the extermination of mosquitos by the Americans, early in this century, that made the Panama zone navigable and incidentally transformed the district into one of the healthiest places in the world. The downfall of the great Greek Empire has been attributed by Sir Ronald Ross, not to its various human foes, but to its unseen enemy, the malaria parasite. Though we are no longer ignorant about the nature of malaria, in India alone over a million people die annually of this disease, an estimate which exceeds that of the number of deaths caused during the first two years of the Great War. Thousands succumb to this disease in the rest of Asia, Africa, Southern Europe, South and Central Africa and the southern part of the United States, an immense economic loss to which must be added the handicap to the wage-earning capacity of those suffering from the disease. Estimating the money-value of each life in India at the insignificant sum of Rs. 100, we find that the State loses from deaths due to this disease about 10 crores of rupees or almost £ 7,000,000 ; and Dr. L. O. Howard considers that the annual financial loss to the United States from malaria is not less than \$ 100,000,000, an astounding estimate for a country that is relatively free from malaria in comparison with tropical regions. Even as I write (1924), Russia is in the grip of this deadly disease, over 15,000,000 cases having been recorded during the last year. More than 50 per cent of the railway workers were infected, and we were told that the epidemic "swept the country from Murmansk to the Caucasus and from White Russia to Siberia, disturbing the railways, crippling industries and threatening the army of peasant workers waiting to reap the coming harvest".

The present advanced state of our knowledge of malaria is one of the greatest triumphs of scientific research, and it speaks little for the attitude of the people that malaria to-day should be so important a factor in the economics of nations. The elimination of the disease can only be effected by the co-operation of the general public, and a healthy sign of public appreciation of the efforts of scientists to aid humanity would be the generous support of Sir Ronald Ross' efforts to found an Institute for Malarial Research in London.

Lice are responsible for many diseases, chiefly those of epidemic character. Typhus

relapsing fever and the newly-discovered trench fever, are all definitely known to be transmitted by lice, and they are also suspected to be the carriers of other diseases, such as plague and syphilis. There has scarcely ever been a war in which typhus has not infected the armies concerned and the last war was no exception. In 1915, an epidemic of typhus in Serbia destroyed over 150,000 people, at one time causing over 9,000 deaths per day. Austria, Bulgaria and Russia all paid their sacrifice to the typhus parasite and it was only the more advanced scientific knowledge of Britain, France and Germany that kept these countries comparatively free from the disease. Trench fever, a disease about which practically nothing was known till 1918, but which is now believed to be allied to typhus, affected the troops in France more than any other infectious disease.

It would be impossible to enumerate in any detail here the other diseases known or believed to be carried by insects : sleeping sickness, spotted fever, filarial diseases, guinea-worm infection, lung-fluke infection, some tapeworm infections, and probably Kala-Azar and many other diseases, are transmitted by insects and their allies to man.

In addition to the economic importance of insects concerned in the dissemination of parasitical diseases, we have to take into account the damage done by insect pests of crops, forest trees, structural timber, stored products, clothing, etc., the world over. The cotton trade knows well the importance of the cotton bollworm: the loss thorough crop pests to the people of India, where seven-tenths of the population are dependent for livelihood on the produce of their fields, and the attacks of forest pests in a country such as Canada almost sets calculation at defiance. Curtis rightly said in his *Farm Insects* written more than fifty years ago, "..... if an approximation could be made to the quantity thus destroyed, the world would remain sceptical of the results obtained considering it to be too marvellous to be received as truth".

I do not know of any total approximation of the annual financial losses to the nations of the world through the ravages of insects, but in India, Mr. T. Bainbrigge-Fletcher, the Imperial Entomologist has calculated on a modest basis that the total annual loss to the country is over 200 crores of rupees, over £1,000,000,000. Accepting the German debt to the French as 34 milliards of gold

marks and the value of the mark at 20 to the £, this country alone, if she could save one half of this enormous national wastage of wealth, would be able to pay a sum equal to that of the German debt to the French in less than 25 years, and in 100 years, she would be the richer by a sum greater than that of the total reparations required under the Spa Agreement from the Germans, viz. £6, 600,000,000.

But insects must not only be looked upon as the arch-enemies of mankind, for, among them are many forms decidedly beneficial to man, though the profit gained scarcely balances the loss caused by their injurious allies. Two of the most important groups of insects concerned in industry are the lac-insects and the silkworms. Lac and silk are among the most important commercial products of the East and the output could be increased by sound research on the insects which supply these products. An insect of lesser importance, but which also deserves mention is the cochineal insect, which produces the cochineal so useful to the confectioner and the housewife.

I have excluded from this article any reference to other animals of economic importance, such as the minute, unicellular pathogenic organisms, the various intestinal worms, etc., yet these are as important an economic factor as insects. Hookworms infect over half a billion people in the world, nearly a third of its population, and together with malaria weakens the resisting power of men so greatly that they fall an easy prey to other diseases. Kala-Azar, the "black sickness" which terrorised India in 1870 (and is still endemic here) especially in the Assam district, owed its success in depopulating the country to the fact that the people were already almost universally infected with malaria and hookworm. Another disease of universal importance, which is caused by a minute organism related to the bacteria and the

protozoans, is syphilis, a disease which is one of the principal causes of insanity, paralysis and barrenness among civilised peoples. About 10 per cent (or 10, 000,000 people) of the population of the United States is said to be infected, and the estimates for other countries less enlightened would be still higher.

It will be seen that even the vast sums of money involved in the last war, the German debt to the Allies, and the British debt to America, which are in the minds of all men to-day, almost sink into insignificance when compared with the losses sustained throughout the world by parasitical diseases. Yet the entire globe is ringing with such matters to-day while of our organic foes and friends almost no account is taken. Anti-war societies which carry what may be sensible propaganda to extremes of ridiculousness; antivivisection societies, bodies of old women 'fanned into fury' at all experiments on living animals for the benefit of humanity; anti-all-kinds-of societies, broadcasting the germs of ignorance in their efforts to reduce sane people to the mentally infirm condition of themselves, flourish on every hand, but these biological questions of as great economic importance as war, of greater importance than the "question" of to-day—France and the Ruhr—apparently concern the people but slightly, if at all. It is useless, however, to rail at the people when the fault lies largely with scientists themselves. The man in the street cannot be expected to follow the details of scientific research, and it is the duty of scientists, with the co-operation of the press, to give publicity to all important biological matters which directly concern the people. It is only by an all-round co-operation that biological factors of humane and economic importance will receive full appreciation. For

"By mutual confidence and mutual aid
Great deeds are done and great discoveries
made."

A LETTER FROM AN AMERICAN FRIEND

"BELGRADE, December 29, 1924.—The Rockefeller Foundation has given 10,000,000 dinars (about \$200,000) to Jugo-Slavia for the construction of a school of hygiene at Zagreb, the administrative capital of Croatia; \$40,000 for the

improvement of sanitary institutions in Belgrade, and \$ 15,000 for the aid of needy students abroad who pledge their services after graduation to the public health service in Jugo-Slavia."

This shows a phase of an extra-American

activity of American philanthropists and organizations for social and educational works. Recently, I had a talk with a very serious-minded American closely connected with the Rockefeller Foundation about doing some medical educational work such as stamping out of malaria in India. I was promptly told that "the Rockefeller Foundation spends money in China, South American countries, in European countries and even in Canada, because the Governments of these countries take kindly to its activities; but we do not go into any field where the Government might feel embarrassed by our work. India is under British rule and the British Government tells the world that all that is necessary for the progress of the people of India is being done by the British; we feel that any activity of the Rockefeller Foundation may not be liked and even resented".

To make his point clear to me, he said that he had noticed that Sir Basil Blackett gave the Indian Legislative Assembly and thus the world to understand that as India had not sufficient facilities for meeting the needs of the people in the shape of hospitals, dispensaries and trained medical men and women, therefore the Indian people should be allowed the free use of opium for their various ills and ailments. No American would stand for any such policy of the British Government in India; and the British Government would resent any activity on the part of Americans opposed to the ideals of the British Government in India. Any activity of an American institution would be a reflection on the British policy in India and thus American institutions would have to be careful in dealing with the needs of India.

The same gentleman jokingly pointed out that the British people resent that they have to pay interest on the money they borrowed from America for the prosecution of the World War. They say, Britishers are now paying annually one pound or more per head as interest or tribute to America!! Well, Britain defeated Germany with American aid, yet she resents paying interest on her debt to America.

"It seems funny to us Americans to hear Britishers complain about paying legitimate interest on the amount borrowed from us, which saved their empire, when we know and the world knows that Britain during her

occupation of India has deprived the Indian people of literally of billions of pounds, and every Englishman and woman and child has been for the past century and a half indirectly extracting at least one pound annually from the poorest nation on earth."

This American friend also observed that during the World War India had given one hundred million pounds sterling £100,000,000 to Britain as a gift. Now that the war is over and Britain has secured more than a million square miles of new territory from other nations, he wonders why India does not demand that at least one half of her great gift which she so generously contributed for the successful conduct of the war, be not spent now by Britain for the spread of education and the creation of medical facilities for the people of India? *Why keep the people on an opium diet?*

It was through the aid of India that Britain ousted the Germans from Africa. Has the time not come for India to demand that mandate be given to India for German East Africa and Kenya for the purpose of Indian colonization, the same to be governed by the Indian people?

There is no reason why India should not demand her legitimate and just rights. The Indian people should do all that is possible to create international public opinion concerning the actual situation in India. They should formulate a definite policy for self-assertion if they hope to receive the respect or aid of other nations. British people are oversensitive about world public opinion. She depends upon her international propaganda to create situations favorable to herself. Why should not the Indian people follow the methods of the British in creating world public opinion in *their favor*?

Exposure of the British Opium Policy in India during the session of the International Opium Conference at Geneva, by presenting a petition signed by responsible and representative Indians, has done much to convince the world as to the real character of British rule in India. Indians must work hard to make the question of Indian freedom a factor in World Politics. Our earnest hope is that the All-India National Congress will in 1925 take some steps to organise its activities in a way that the question of securing Swaraj be on a world scale, at least it should establish its head-quarters in various capitals of the world and particularly at Geneva, the

eat of the League of Nations. Let us hope that some of the Indian Leaders will come out of India and spend some time in studying the world situation in foreign lands. Let

us hope that some steps will be taken to break up Indian isolation in world politics.

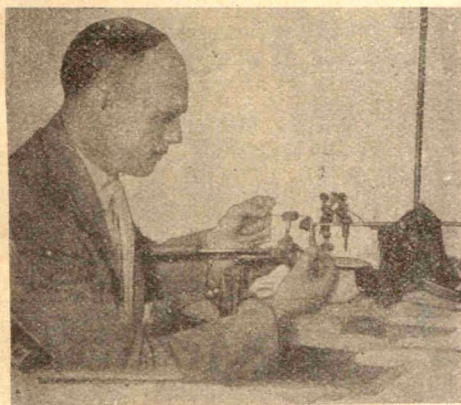
NEW YORK CITY,
January 1, 1925.

MARY K. MORSE

GLEANINGS

Fine Wire Invisible to Unaided Eye to Help Surgeons and Electricians

What is believed to be the smallest wire in existence has been made in a government laboratory by George Taylor, a physicist in the department of agriculture. Although so slender that it cannot be seen by the naked eye, it is strong enough to



Testing Strength of Invisible Wire by Placing Small Objects on Suspended Strands

support objects easily visible. It is expected that it will be of considerable service in the construction of delicate surgical instruments and for resistance thermometers, thermocouples and other electrical equipment.

The Battle of the Snows

Battling against the delayed transportation, disturbed business, and the loss of time and money that once were accepted as inevitable consequences of winter blizzards, has resulted in tremendous strides in the invention of mechanical devices to combat snow. While weather statistics show just as heavy annual snowfalls as imprisoned our forefathers within doors, railways, roads and streets are now being kept clear in a battle in which tractors and motor trucks are the principal weapons.

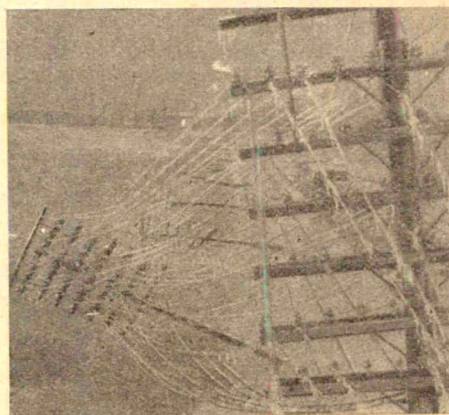
Motor trucks are being called upon more and

more to move the nation's freight, both in cities and across country. Snow, like every other obstacle that has beset the progress of motor transportation,



Locomotive Cautiously Making Its Way through a Narrow Snow Canyon Cut by Plows and a Crew of Shovel Men

is being effectively removed. Motor trucks equipped with snowplows now are clearing the way for themselves and other vehicles.



Telegraph Lines that Crushed under Strain of Tons of Ice and Sleet Frozen to Wires

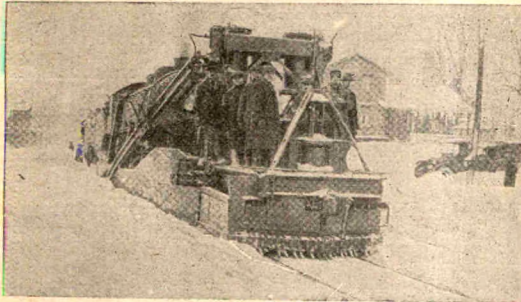
Removing snow from highways under the old-fashioned shovel method, both slow and expensive,

has been superseded by mechanical appliances. Although it costs money to clear a thoroughfare of snow, it costs a great deal more to leave it there. But the cost is prohibitive where man-and-shovel methods are resorted to.



Battling Winter's Icy Grasp on One of New York's Busy Streets

A good part of the half-billion-dollar bill for snow fighting is paid by the railroads. On the prairies of the west hundreds of miles of wooden fence are maintained to break the force of the drifting snow and pile up a barrier to protect the tracks.



Awaiting Call for Help : Railroad Storm Crew Ready for Dash to Rescue Snow-bound Trains

A foot or two of snow is enough to almost paralyze eastern cities (U.S.A.), but in the western mountains (U.S.A.) falls of forty to sixty feet a season are not uncommon, and can be removed only by giant rotary snow-plows driven by two or more huge locomotives. There is also constant danger in the mountains from snowslides, which have more than once swept down the hillsides and carried away the tracks, or, if a train was passing, engulfed it. The more dangerous slide areas are protected by miles of snowsheds, over which the cascading slides can pass.

The telephone and telegraph companies, too, have a heavy bill from snow and ice.

Old Auto Tire Used as Bowling Ball Furnishes Outdoor Sport

Using old automobile tires for balls, bowlers in a southern city have devised an outdoor varia-

tion of the usual game. A concrete alley and wooden pins, about the ordinary size and shape are employed, but only one roll is allowed to a game. By sending the tire at the proper angl

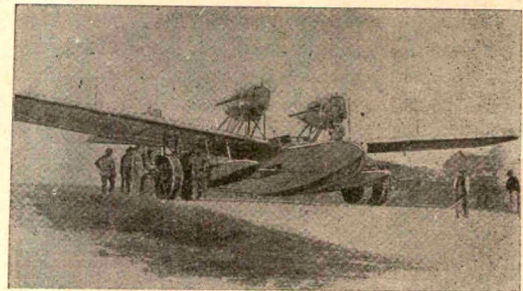


Here is a New Use for Old Tyres

and without too much speed, a strike can be achieved and the casing is said to lend itself well to many experiments in curving the shots to increase the score.

Giant Armored Monoplane to Guard the Coasts of Japan

Covered with bullet-proof armor and equipped with two powerful motors, a giant monoplane has been shipped from a German factory in Denmark to the Japanese government after a test fight. The



Japan's Huge Coast-Guard Monoplane

huge single-winged ship is expected to be used when sea-patrol work is necessary. It is said to be capable of great speed and, because of its protecting plate, can approach vessels that may be armed with anti-aircraft guns much closer than would be safe for ordinary flying machines.

Acrobat's Stunts on Stilts Show His Skill in Balancing

Stilt walking, a favorite pastime of boys, has been developed into a feat requiring considerable

kill and daring by a German acrobat. He uses side supports for his hands or shoulders, balancing himself with the aid of strong straps attached to his shoes, on top of the sticks which are more than seven feet long. Imitation boots at the bottom

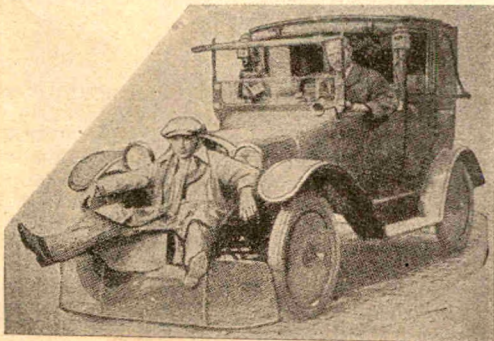


Skilled German Stilt Walker in Two of His Odd Make-Ups and How He Walks over Motor-cycle

the stilts and costumes aid the performer in grotesque characterizations. To mount the elongated pendages, he uses a special ladder and platform, sometimes steps directly upon them from a second-story window.

Cowcatcher for Autos to Protect Pedestrians

Motor cars in Paris are being equipped with strong wire cowcatchers as a means of decreasing the alarming number of accidents to pedestrians. A lower meshed shield in front of the wheels is

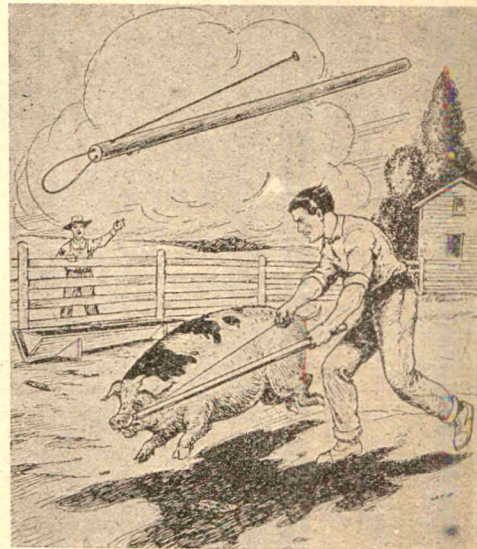


Pedestrian Thrown into Basket instead of under Wheels

suspended in somewhat the same manner as a bumper and serves about the same purpose. Above it is a basket fixed between the mudguards and directly in front of the radiator. The arrangement is designed to prevent running over a victim and to deaden the shock of a collision sufficiently to prevent fatal injuries.

Hog Catcher and Holder

It is usually a difficult task to catch and hold a hog, especially if it is a large one. However, a device can be made from a broomstick and a length of wire with which one man can hold any hog with ease. Two small holes are drilled diagonally, at one end of the stick, so that they come through



Catching a Hog with Simple Device That Enables One Man to Hold It

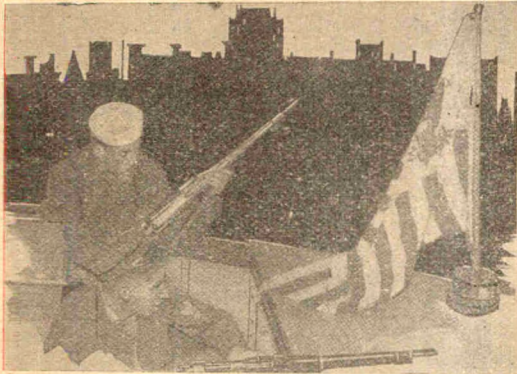
the surface about 2 in. from the end. A strong, flexible wire is run through the holes to form a loop, one end of the wire being knotted or fastened to the stick, while the other is left loose, and has a small handle fastened to its end. The hog can be easily caught at feeding time by slipping the loop over its upper jaw and drawing the wire tight.

Guarding Uncle Sam's Borders

A battle of wits that extends around the world is ceaselessly fought by the forces of Uncle Sam and the smugglers' army. Thousands of men, keen of brain and firm of purpose, are enlisted on both sides spending vast sums of money, and operating entire navies on the seas, and airplanes and motor fleets on land.

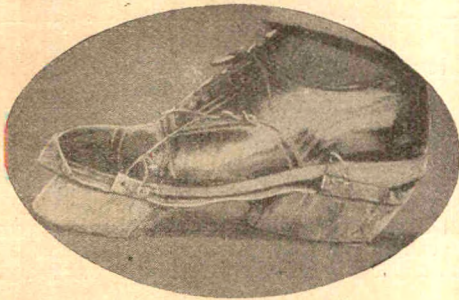
Three government services—the customs, coast guard and prohibition bureau—are directly involved in the battle to keep out contraband articles and collect the frontier tolls on others. Assisting them are the department of justice with its own world-

wide system of secret agents, and the post office department, whose inspectors exercise constant vigilance to keep the mails closed to the smuggler. Just how much revenue is lost annually by the government through the activities of smugglers, or the total value of forbidden merchandise brought into the country, is not known and cannot even be guessed, but the government itself admits, the total is quite large.



Crouched in the Bow of a Speed Boat, the Coast-Guard Patrol always Alert for Evasive Rum Runners

Until the passage of the Harrison antinarcotic law, jewels led the list of smuggled articles passing American borders, both because their smallness made concealment easy, and because the high duties on jewels offered an opportunity for big profits—if successful. Jewel smuggling, however, like any smuggling designed merely to evade duties, was confined to a comparatively small professional class with now and then an occasional traveler who



How Law Breaker Disguised His Feet as Cow's Hoofs so Tracks in the Ground Might Mislead Revenue Officers Hunting His "Still"

attempted to bring in something for his own use. When the Harrison law put an absolute ban on the importation of narcotics except for medicinal use, it opened a new field that put smuggling on its modern, highly organized and desperate basis. The drug smugglers were often addicts, ready to go to any lengths to bring in the "dope" they craved.

Until an arrangement was reached with Canada by which the sister country has taken steps to

block violations of our law, it was not unusual for the skipper of a small rowboat to load a few cases at a Canadian river port, take out clearance papers for Cuba or some other foreign land, and then row across to the American side with his cargo. All that has been stopped by the new international agreement. Under the age-old international law, the rum ships in the Atlantic and Pacific could anchor but three miles from shore and in plain sight of the coast sell their cargoes to motorboats and rowboats from land. With a fast motorboat, even in broad daylight, an enterprising smuggler from Long Island and the New Jersey villages



Careful Watch is Kept on Isolated Shores at Night by Beach Patrols

could go out and take on a cargo and then race the revenue cutters to shore and unload before the slower government boats could catch up. But the government proceeded to negotiate new treaties extending American jurisdiction against smugglers to an hour's sailing, or about fifteen miles to sea, enormously increasing the difficulties of the small boats of the smugglers, while the new rum-chasing navy of high-speed boats, armed with one-pound rapid-fire guns, can overhail them in the fifteen-mile chase, or, if the enemy seems disposed to show his heels, a shot or two is enough to make the most daring come to a halt.

The sea-going defense forces are backed on land by prohibition forces and the customs agents, who not only patrol the landing places along the coast

but guard the thousands of miles of Canadian and Mexican frontiers. Fantastic tales have been circulated of devices to circumvent the prohibition forces.

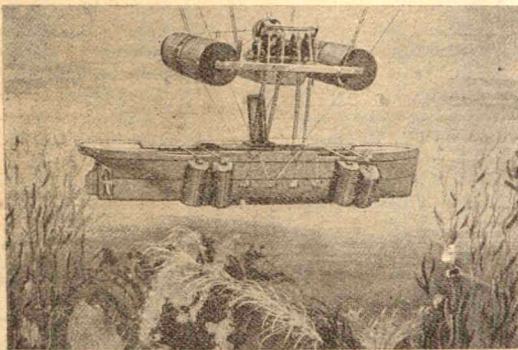
Much ingenuity and a wide knowledge of the workings of the customs laws and service are displayed by the professional smugglers. Ten per cent of each shipment of freight is sent to the appraisers' stores for examination, and, as the boxes or packages are chosen at random, there apparently is not much chance for the smuggler to escape detection.

The customs service now has agents scattered all over the world. They keep watch in Paris, London and other foreign cities for professional smugglers, or for large purchases of rare gems by rich travelers, and cable the information to New York. If a traveler who has purchased a pearl necklace or some diamonds in Paris fails to declare the jewels on landing in the United States, trouble is ahead.

During 1923 the customs service made 643 arrests and obtained 351 convictions with 182 cases still pending.

Science vs. Davy Jones' Locker

With the upper air conquered and the globe girdled by flyers; with both poles of the earth visited and the deserts spanned by auto busses, man, looking for new worlds to conquer, has turned again to the bottom of the sea.



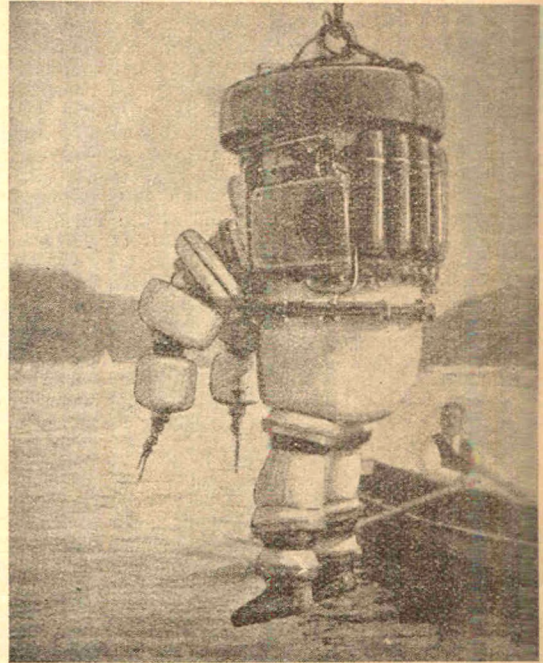
Early Experiment in Raising Sunken Vessels---
Designed for Still Waters

Spurred on by the sinking of nearly 12,000,000 tons of shipping, valued at \$4,000,000,000 during the war, inventive genius has set out to push man's realm to greater depths than have ever been explored before, and to wrest back from Davy Jones some of the millions he has claimed as the toll of the resistless sea.

In Germany, a new diving suit has been developed which already has carried a man 219 feet lower than anyone ever went before, and brought him back safely to the surface. And in America an inventor is preparing to test out on the Great Lakes a new salvaging device which embraces a novel method of attaching lifting chains to a sunken hulk.

But now comes an inventor in Kiel, Germany,

who has constructed a diving suit in which he has descended 525 feet beneath the Walchensee, in Bavaria, and walked around on the bottom, unhampered by air line, for he carried his own oxygen supply with him. His only connection with the surface was a light telephone line, by which he talked to his mates on the surface. But more important than the great depth attained, was the speed of his return. Protected from the crushing pressure of the water, he ascended in four and one-half minutes and stepped out of his diving suit uninjured.



Deep-See Diver in Heavy Armored Exploring Suit
Being Lowered by a Ship's Crane for a
Tour on the Ocean Bottom

The suit itself looks like nothing so much as a small U-boat turret walking about on curious jointed legs and with a pair of arms fitted with metallic fingers. In action, too, it resembles a submarine, for it is equipped with diving tanks by which it sinks or rises as water is admitted or blown out, while the spacious nether garment is even fitted with a seat, so that the tired diver may sit down in his own trousers. The trunk portion is made in two sections, of which the upper contains signaling devices, telephone, controlling attachments and measuring instruments, and the lower affords space for balance and descending weights and tanks that enable the diver to descend or rise at will by admitting water or blowing it out with compressed air furnished by six cylinders. While the German inventor expects his suit will revolutionize salvage work at great depths, an American inventor has devised an unusual apparatus for lifting ships, and will try it out first on one of the many cargo vessels which have sunk in the Great Lakes.

THE TAXATION OF AGRICULTURAL INCOME IN INDIA *

By DR. RADHAKAMAL MUKHERJEE M.A., PH. D.

1. THE DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL SURPLUS

THE vast population of India is essentially agricultural and rural, the cities and towns of all classes comprising only 10·2 per cent. of the population. Agriculture proper supports 71 per cent. of the population. Besides the cultivators, the villages contain many artisans, menials and functionaries who are ordinarily supported from the produce of the village fields. A considerable proportion of the large number of persons in the category of vague and unclassifiable occupations are labourers clearly connected with the occupation of the land. It has been estimated that nine-tenths of the rural population of India live, directly or indirectly, on the produce of the soil. In a country where agriculture is the predominant occupation, the field produce naturally furnishes the mainstay of taxation yielding approximately 30 per cent. of the revenue. The repeated occurrence of famines and the rise of prices in recent years have, however, brought into prominence the question of the presence or absence of taxable surplus among the peasantry. In Bombay and Madras, the land revenue is assessed upon each acre according to fertility, facilities of irrigation, price-level and general economic condition in villages, irrespective of the fact whether the cultivator has a surplus income or not. In the permanently settled tracts the economic distress has also shown the inequity of increasing the burden of rent for the cultivators and exempting the zamindars from new or additional burdens, while the increasing chain of rent-receivers in other parts who eat up the profits of agriculture have so far resisted the encroachment of the tax-collector upon their preserve of agricultural income. Thus whether the Government or the landlord encroaches upon the standard wages of cultivation by exacting an undue share of the produce, the result of the transgression is the same.

On account of the widespread adoption of the principles of subdivision and sub-infeudation of rights in land, there has developed a long chain of rent receivers and rent-payers who are lowering both the legal status and economic position of the actual tillers of the land. There cannot be any doubt that the practice of sub-infeudation of the right to receive rent which has received impetus since the settlements continued through several grades from the superior landlord at the top, imports into the countryside a swarm of speculators and middlemen who live on the margin of profits of farming the revenue. Between the big rent-receivers and the actual cultivators there is thus a host of middlemen who are squeezing the cultivators out of the position of land-holders. Sometimes they take shelter under the security of the legally recognised peasant. Sometimes, again, they themselves obtain legal recognition. On one side, in

many parts of India the substantial cultivator is bought out by the group of capitalistic middlemen. On the other, the cultivator gives up his due share of labour in the fields and depends more and more on hired labour or on the share system. Even in the Punjab, there had developed a class of occupancy tenants and inferior owners who exercise practically all the rights of ownership except that they pay certain dues to superior landlords. Thus out of the total cultivated area of 29 million acres in 1918-19, nearly 15 million acres were cultivated by tenants in the Punjab. In Bengal, the creation of a class of *patnidars*, *dar-patnidars* and other inferior owners has been a serious evil now sought to be remedied by an amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act. All this has brought about a marked alteration in the distribution of agricultural income.

This necessitates that we should seek the taxable surplus from the long array of intermediaries dependant on the land rather than from the small holders whose economic position has deteriorated very much in recent years. It is also necessary to adjust the rates of assessment on rent receivers in a graduated scale as in the income tax. Heavy duties upon estates, probates, legacies and succession commonly known as death duties might be introduced in the permanently settled tracts of India as well as in those where an inferior landlordism has developed. Indeed, where there is a large transfer of agricultural holdings and the non-agricultrist classes play a large part in land speculation and farming of land revenue, these gains form a surplus peculiarly fitted for taxation.

2. THE EXEMPTION OF THE UNECONOMIC HOLDING

A way towards a more equitable adjustment will thus lie in (a) assessing the income derived from land from all classes of rent-payers and rent-receivers who do not directly work on the soil; (b) fixing the revenue on the agricultural profits of a representative economic holding; (c) exempting the uneconomic holding from any land tax.

The size of the average economic holding would vary in different provinces and it is necessary to institute regional enquiries with a view to arrive at the average economic cultivation unit. This marginal unit representing the exemption level would be the barrier against the unwise use of taxation. In the *ryotwari* lands the Government rent is calculated after deducting cost of production from the gross produce such as cost of carriage to market and grain dealers and other middlemen's profits, loss on bad soil which in dry, i.e. unirrigated lands amounts to as much as 85 per cent. and the expenses of cultivation. After these deductions are made, the remainder is the net cash produce. Of this the lesser half goes as Government revenue. The danger in this system of rent assessment has been to under-estimate the total cost of production, and to ignore the cultivator's profits, while over-estimating the gross

* A memorandum submitted to the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee, December, 1924.

produce and the benefits derived from land improvements and irrigation projects. Such a danger can only be effectively met by finding out the size of the economic holding which would fix the limit of taxation, the nature of the crop, climate and soil, as well as marketing facilities have all to be taken into account in the definition of an economic small holding. The absence of such credit facilities as have been available for small holders in Europe and the very limited development of co-operative methods of purchasing supplies and marketing produce must also be taken into account in India in determining the size of the economic holding. Again, the intensity of cultivation must be taken into account. In India, the amount of family labour expended on the land is very great and the smaller the holding, the greater the amount of family labour per acre. But if the holding decreases beyond an average size as a result of subdivision a large part of family labour remains idle or is wasted. We have no evidence to show the direct effect of further sub-division of the land on agricultural efficiency, nor is it possible to estimate for different crops the distribution of holdings by size. In some of the Western countries the development of agricultural costings shows the great progress that has been made in establishing an organisation to help farmers to keep proper accounts. The statistical value of the results obtained are clearly indicated in that they enable administrators to arrive at general conclusions as regards the size of an economic small holding and to what extent small, medium and large holdings are affected by varying economic conditions. In India no farm accounts are kept, but the cultivator although illiterate to a degree knows the size of an economic holding when particular crops are raised. The Indian peasant estimates the size of his economic holding in proportion to the number of ploughs he possesses. If he has one plough, he cannot keep up more than 10 beeghas ($3\frac{1}{2}$ acres) of land. Ploughs are not reckoned according to the number of those implements of husbandry that a man might possess, but according to the number of plough-cattle that he has, four oxen being the full complement necessary for the management of one plough, but that number has now come down to three and even to two in great many instances, the consequence being that the cattle is over-worked. 10 beeghas ($3\frac{1}{2}$ acres) of land are the utmost that the Bengal peasant can manage with one plough, and this is also the size of an economical holding in Bengal Presidency, though the average size is smaller. In the beels and marshy tracts boro is grown and in the reclaimed forest lands aman-dhan is planted without the assistance of the plough. Thus the proportion of food-producing land to each plough shows here an excess over 10 beeghas, and hence the average holding increases in size. On the other hand, the economic holding of a peasant might be smaller than 10 beeghas if other crops are grown besides rice. An economical distribution of crops and plots in a Bengal village has been as follows; the total size of the holdings is 7 beeghas which is distributed in this manner; aman rice, $2\frac{1}{2}$ beeghas, aus rice, 1 beegha, gourd, kalai and mustard, 2 beeghas, mugh, $\frac{1}{2}$ beegha and sugarcane, 1 beegha. The size of each cultivator's plot at one spot must vary according to the character of the crop raised. In the case of aus rice, the plots are usually of 10 or 15 cattahs to 1 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ beeghas in dimension; a

plot of 2 beeghas in area is rather scarce. The low aman fields are $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 beeghas in area.

Let us now estimate the agricultural expenses and the average price of an economic holding whose size we are reckoning as 10 beeghas. We have strictly followed the verbal statements of the peasants in putting down the following items:—

The Expenses of Cultivation

	Rs.	As.
Rent of 10 beeghas of land at Rs. 1/6 per beegha	...	13 15
Ploughing and sowing by extra hands	...	2 6
Seed grain	...	2 8
Weeding expenses	...	2 6
Harvesting expenses	...	2 8
Total		22-12

We do not include the cost of maintaining the oxen, which usually feed on straw, *kuro* and *miz* supplied by the household. A peasant who has no oxen, but hires them has to pay 4 annas per diem.

The peasants estimate the average produce of a beegha in normal years as 10 maunds. So the total yield will be 100 maunds. Out of these 33 maunds will be required for domestic consumption and 24 maunds will be kept as reserve stock. The saleable surplus is 40 maunds which would fetch at the rate of Rs. 1-4-0 per maund as harvest price, Rs. 50. Thus the expenses of cultivation are nearly or just covered.

Let us now estimate the agricultural capital invested.—

	Rs.	as.	ps.
1. A pair of oxen	...	40	0 0
2. The wooden plough	...	1	4 0
3. The <i>ish</i> or beam	...	0	8 0
4. Iron <i>fal</i> or ploughshare	...	1	0 0
5. The handle (<i>ninjra</i>)	...	0	2 0
6. The <i>joyal</i> or yoke	...	1	0 0
7. Ropes	...	0	3 0
8. Bidha or harrow	...	6	0 0
9. Ladder	...	0	8 0
10. Scythe	...	0	12 0
11. Weeding knife	...	0	1 3
12. Baskets	...	0	4 0
13. Earthen pans for feeding cattle	...	0	6 3
Total		52	0 0

That is to say, the sum laid out by a peasant in fitting out a plough for cultivation is nearly the same as the expenses of cultivation in a year. Very often this capital is borrowed at high rates of interest. The size of the holding is often less than 10 beeghas ($3\frac{1}{2}$ acres). In the United Provinces the average cultivation unit has been found to be less than 2 acres. Thus the smaller yield, the high rate of interest, the difficulty in marketing the produce, improvidence and bad seasons leave the peasant almost nothing to fall back upon. In many parts of India, 6 to 10 beeghas (nearly 2 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres) would represent the average economic holding, which, *however established*, has virtually no ability to bear taxation. A tax on an uneconomic holding would entail a loss of physical efficiency of the cultivator and his family or lead to the transfer of the holding into the hands of money-lending or middle classes who have other

sources of income. In 1917 France introduced an income tax on agricultural profits as distinguished from land proprietorship at the rate of $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.* In England the assessment of farmer's profits were at one-third of the annual value before the war and the great majority of the farmers were virtually exempt from all payment. After the war the basis of assessment of farmer's profits was raised to the full annual value. In India, the cultivator and his workers and dependents are maintained directly on the produce of the fields and the real income is difficult to ascertain and value. Book-keeping methods are also unknown amongst the farmers. But these difficulties are not insuperable but must be faced in order that we can establish the distinction between sorts and sizes of agricultural income which rightly rank as costs and those which are to be accounted surplus, which latter and not the former should bear the tax. For obviously five men cannot pay a direct tax in money amounting to 40 per cent. of the gross produce and the interest of old debts at 25 per cent. upon three acres of overcropped soil without danger in a bad year of catastrophe.

3. NECESSITY OF MORE SCIENTIFIC METHODS OF ESTIMATING AGRICULTURAL PROFITS

Agricultural indebtedness lies heavily on the mass of the Indian peasantry and evictions and forced sales take place to a greater extent than is consistent with sound finance. Regarding the security of the peasants against the undue encroachment of tax or rent as the object to be achieved, the solution can be found only through improvement of methods of calculating agricultural surplus.

The method of computing agricultural profits and prices should be adapted to the different conditions of tenure and settlement, soil and crops, so that there is no encroachment on the standard wages of agriculture in an economic cultivation unit. The curb of an estimate of normal or standard wages of cultivation ought to be fastened on the uncontrolled economic forces now manifest in the lowering of the status of the small holder, his indebtedness and his compulsory expropriation.

Investigations into the yield of agricultural produce show that in normal years there is food shortage in the country and thus the present land tax encroaches upon the physical subsistence which is necessary to maintain the cultivator and his family. The income from the land which is below the size of the economic cultivation unit is a necessary element of income with no power to bear a tax. The question of the surplus of food production over consumption has thus an intimate bearing upon the taxable surplus of the agricultural classes as a whole. According to the latest Government estimate, we require a minimum of one-fifth ton of food grain per head per annum including wasage and seed. For normal current consumption the Indian population of 318 millions would require 63·6 million tons of food grains and other food. The cattlefood would require a normal addition of 14 million tons and seed 11 million tons while wastage would be 6·3 million tons. Thus making these additions India requires for keeping her population and live-stock in normal health and strength an outturn of approximately 95 million tons. India's normal total outturn of food grains is approximately 85 million tons. We may conclude

that during the last decade Indian food production on an average fell below her normal requirement by 10 million tons. Although she has no food surplus she exports 4 to 5 million tons every year leading to a deficiency of 0·45 ton in the necessary minimum of food per head per annum. This implies that there is an inequitable distribution of the national agricultural dividend. Out of the total cropped area of approximately 250 million acres, food crops comprise 200 million acres. Sixteen per cent. of the total cropped area is devoted to commercial crops, but the agricultural income derived from these does not relieve food shortage. This can be explained as due to the increase of the class of intermediaries both in agriculture as well as in industry and the professions, who, therefore ought to relieve the burden of taxation of those first to suffer from inclement agricultural conditions.

4. INELASTICITY

The modes of land assessment also aggravate instead of mitigating the effects of restless encroachment. The Mughal and the Marhatta rulers obtained from the land a net one-half of the produce but when there was scarcity, the assessment was reduced. A very interesting instance of such reduction is afforded by a *firman* of the Emperor Aurangzeb which is as follows:—

"If Kharaj-i-muazzaf has been fixed on a land and a calamity befalls some crop of the land by which it is not totally destroyed, then you ought to enquire into the case, and deduct from the revenue to the extent of the enquiry done; and from the portion that remains safe, take so much of the produce (mahsul) that the ryot may have net one-half; e.g., ten maunds are usually produce in a field; on account of the calamity six maund only are left (safe); the net half of this is five maunds; therefore, you should take one maund only (as revenue), so that the net half, viz., five maunds may be left to the ryot."

During the palmy days of Moghul administration the revenue collectors were subjected to a variety of checks so that the chances of rack-renting and oppression were very small. "If (God forbid) any calamity (2,700) from earth or sky overtakes a mahal, strongly urge the *amins* and *amils* to watch the standing crops with great care and fidelity, and after inquiring into the sown fields, they should carefully ascertain (the loss) according to the comparative state of the present and past produce (past-o-bud). You should never admit as valid any sarbasta calamity, the discrimination (tafriq) which depends solely on the reports of the chaudhris, qanungoes, muqaddams, and patwaris. So that all the ryots may attain to their rights and may be saved from misfortune and loss and usurper may not usurp (other's rights). Strongly urge the "amins," "amils," chaudhris, qanungoes and mutsaddis, to abolish balia (or halia) exactions (akhrajat) in excess of revenue and forbidden abwabs (cesses) which impair the welfare of the ryots. Take securities from them that they should never exact balia or collect the abwabs prohibited and abolished by His Majesty. And you yourself should constantly get information and if you find any one doing so and not heeding your prohibition and threat, report the fact to the Emperor, that he may be dismissed from service and another appointed in his place."

* This was raised to 6 per cent in 1920.

5. ENHANCEMENT OF LAND-REVENUE

In the light foregoing, the present system might be made more responsive to the local fluctuations in agricultural prosperity. In Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces in particular, the enhancement of assessments has gone up by leaps and bounds. Thus the whole system of land tenure and taxation is called in question by the repeated famines, even though they have been partially stripped of their old horrors. The following figures would show the large and continuous increase of the land-revenue:—

	Land Revenue in crores of rupees.	Cropped area. Million acres.
1890-91	24.04
1893-94	25.58
1898-99	27.46
1901-02	27.41
1907-08	26.67
1908-09	28.29
1914-15	30.70
1918-19	31.00

Only those years have been selected which have followed a famine.

If we now consider the assessment of the three provinces mentioned above the increase would be found to be even greater.

Madras.

Year.	Land Revenue. (Lakhs.)	Index No. of agricultural income per head.	Cropped area. Million acres.
1886-87 ...	460.5	100*	13.01
1902-03 ...	582.5	132	24.50
1913-14 ...	574.8	160†	34.18

United Provinces.

Year.	Land Revenue. Lakhs.	Index No. of agricultural income per head.	Cropped Area. Million acres.
1886-87 ...	580.7	100	35.97
1902-03 ...	636	106*	34.61
1913-14 ...	521	130†	33.27

Bombay.

Year.	Land Revenue. Lakhs.	Index No. of agricultural income per head.	Cropped acres. Million area.
1886-87 ...	270	100*	24.2
1894-95 ...	289	89	24.5
1900-01 ...	298	105	21
1913-14 ...	511	125†	30.8

Such an enormous increase in the revenue cannot but diminish the capacity of the peasant to bear the strain of bad years.

* K. L. Dutta's figures for 1890-94.

† K. L. Dutta's figures for 1905-09.

The increase of incidence of land-revenue per head of population is as follows:—

	1900-01. Rs. A. P.	1916-17. Rs. A. P.
Bengal ...	0 8 11	0 10 13*
Bihar and Orissa ...	0 7 3	0 7 7
Madras ...	1 9 5	1 10 4†
Bombay ...	1 0 4	2 2 9§
Agra ...	1 5 6	1 6 10
Oudh ...	1 5 10	1 6 8

6. THE TAXABLE CAPACITY IN RELATION TO FAMINE

Much of the benefits of the Permanent Settlement as regards fixity of assessment have been minimised as we have noticed by the growth in recent years of the class of rent receivers and rent-payers on account of which the rates of rent of the land paid to the landlords have increased a great deal. This increment does not reach the public exchequer but fills the pockets of absentee landlords and intermediaries. The effect is none the less different as regards weakening the economic position and staying power of the peasantry. Thus economic pressure upon the cultivators in the permanently settled tracts is growing as acute as in other parts of India and in spite of the hopes of the late Mr. R. C. Dutta, distress and hardship during the year of scarcity are visible here though perhaps to a less extent than in the rest of India. As to the exact estimate of the intensity of famines and scarcity, it is difficult to speak with certainty but the investigations of Mann and Kamitkar have yielded results which serve to explain the distress and hardship suffered during a famine in many quarters.

The increase of land-revenue in the village:—

Year.	Land-Revenue. Rs.	Assessed area. Acres.
Pre-British—		
1698 ...	301	1,963
1724 ...	526	2,000
1727 ...	620	2,000
1730 ...	1,173	2,000
1770 ...	1,632	2,008
1785 ...	552	1,954
1790 ...	66	1,954
British—		
1803 ...	1,009	1,981
1808 ...	818	1,954
1817 ...	792	1,954
1823 ...	2,121	2,089
1844-74 ...	1,161	2,089
1874-1904 ...	1,467	2,271
1905 ...	1,405	2,271
1915 ...	1,581	...

Out of 147 families investigated only 22, or just under 15 per cent, can pay their way in the standard they have themselves fixed. The others are living below that standard, or else are deriving income from outside, or they are increasing their debts. It is not the debt which maintains, in an average year, the bulk of the people in this group in an insolvent condition. If debt disappeared, still 80 per cent. of the village would be insolvent, in an average year. The whole maintenance of the position depends on the hope of good seasons, which have come about twice in the last ten years. Then interest can be paid, perhaps debts redeemed,

* For 1917-18.

† For 1918-19.

§ For 1915-16.

and the position improved. It is difficult indeed to see where the future of such a village lies. If it had a series of good years, it would flourish, and though it could hardly pay its way and pay off debt it would gradually, we think, recover a sound economic position though the people would for a good many years have to live below their own standard, or be subsidised by their representatives living in the industrial centres. But what are the chances of a good year? Only two years out of the last ten years can be considered as such. If we take the fallow area as the least indication of character of a season, and if we consider 1915-16 and 1916-17 as being good years, though the annual valuation was only 10 annas, then from 1895-96 to 1919-20 we may classify the seasons as follows:—

1. Materially above 1915-16 and 1916-17 or exceptionally good seasons	...	...	2
2. Good seasons	...	...	7
3. Average or slightly above average seasons	...	...	12
4. Seasons considerably below average, including famine seasons	...	...	3

What one of these last disastrous years means for the village may be indicated by what has happened in certain directions in 1918-19, as a genuine famine year. It has meant—

- (1) The borrowing of Rs. 6,000 by tagai loan of which Rs. 3,000 was for well-sinking and repairing and Rs. 3,000 for purchase of cattle.
- (2) The mortgage of 335 acres of land by people for Rs. 7,021 which must be added to the village debts in 1917 recorded above.
- (3) The sale of 65½ acres of land by people for Rs. 2,137.
- (4) The loss of 59·7 per cent. of the bullock 80·5 per cent. of the cows and 74 per cent. of the buffaloes.
- (5) 300 people leaving the village for work during the famine, 200 going to a local famine camp, the rest going to industrial centres.

Counting only the increase in debt, the famine has meant an increase of indebtedness of at least Rs. 13,021, or by over 44 per cent. in the one year. Some of this may be paid off at an early date, but much will probably be permanent either in present or in some modified form.

Such evidence of rural deterioration points to the need of a new and forward policy of taxation. The class which maintains the race must not be selected to bear a burden they are least able to do, while the classes which enjoy a taxal unearned income receive a lighter treatment.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND SUPER-STATE

By DR. NARES C. SEN-GUPTA

WHEN the League of Nations was first established, statesmen were anxious to repudiate the suggestion that it was going to be a sort of super-state and they ridiculed the idea of the League of Nations enforcing its decrees by the force of arms. Yet the latest discussions on the question of international arbitration and reduction of armaments seem to bring the League perilously near the ideas which its early sponsors were so anxious to repudiate. I am speaking on an imperfect knowledge of the proceedings and from a distance of thousands of miles. I may, therefore, be wrong. But I feel that if the Assembly of the League has in any degree allowed itself to be influenced by the idea of having in the League an organisation which could enforce international law by force of arms, they are on an entirely wrong track.

I have no quarrel with the idea of a super-state if it is understood in a proper sense. In a sense the world is undoubtedly moving towards a super-state, that is, of

an organisation which will embrace states, harmonise their various corporate lives and by a higher synthesis make life fuller and more fruitful. The history of human society is one of a progress from narrower to wider societies. From the Family to the Gens, from the Gens to the Tribe, from the Tribe to the City State and from these to the National State, the social idea has grown wider, fuller and richer. All indications show that humanity is on the eve of the realisation of a still higher concept of human association.

The category which is already in view is an organisation which will embrace many States and, probably, in course of time, embrace the whole human society. Such a larger society might with justice be called a super-state. But it would represent a higher category of human organisation, not merely embracing a wider area and a larger population but also in its nature and essence; and it would be as fallacious to talk of it exactly in the language and in terms of concepts

proper to a national State of to-day, as it would be to apply to a modern State the concepts appropriate to a tribal or a city State.

Each stage in the evolution of social forms has had its own forms of organisation and its own principles of cohesion. The principle of cohesion in the clan was blood-relationship, and even when the clan-states had outgrown the old concept, it was kept alive by a fiction of common origin, until a wider concept was found in the principles of race and local contiguity. The form of clan organisation was modelled on the family and owed its strength to the parental authority transferred to the head of the family. When society outgrew this condition, an ampler form of social organisation was found in oligarchy.

The modern State also has forms and principles of its own. There are several ways in which the modern State is outgrowing its national concept and national forms. But, after making allowance for these, it may be roughly said that the principle of cohesion in a modern State is the complex concept of nationality, partly founded on race and partly on political organisation. An outstanding feature of the modern State-organisation is a centralised government, largely supported by force, in which the will of the people is more or less indirectly represented. But perhaps the most notable feature of the modern State is the important place held in it by Law and the Rule of Law. Law in a modern State approximates very nearly to the Austinian idea of a command of the sovereign supported by the organised force of the State.

This is the concept of a national State. But, as I have said before, the ideal has already been considerably outgrown. The Federal States of America have developed a more complex concept of State than can be strictly brought under the definition of a national State. The United States of America is not a single state in this sense, it is really an aggregate of States held together in a wider organisation. The functions of the State are shared between the federal Government and the component States—and the whole constitutes an organic unity. A still more instructive example of the outstripping of the national idea is to be found in the British Empire, in which a large number of States, spread over distant parts of the world, embracing a large variety of races and nationalities which often represent different cultures,

are held together by a common organisation. This is not one nation. The British Empire does not answer to the description of a national State. It is an aggregation, an association, on a free basis mostly, of a large number of States and nationalities. It is quite true that in legal and political theory the whole constitutes but one State the sovereignty of which is vested in the British Parliament. But this theory is, in practice, little better than a legal fiction. If the British Parliament were ever thoughtless enough to try to reduce this theory into practice and assert its sovereignty over New Zealand, for instance, the whole Empire would fall to pieces. In point of fact, here we have an association of several nations working with some common purposes and held together by a common understanding. Although the shadows of the old forms of State organisation are desperately clinging to this new structure, as defunct social institutions have a habit of surviving in decrepit forms, yet in this great organisation of human society we can really note the rising of human society to a higher category of human association. The super-state of the future, of which the League of Nations may be only a harbinger, will represent a further advance in the concept of human organisations, possibly to some extent on principles underlying the organisation of the British Empire but assuredly not on the lines of the purely national states.

Let us now analyse a little closely the binding principles and the constitutional organisation of the British Empire. We must dive below its purely external forms and break through its outer shell of legal forms to get at the heart and the spirit of this association. Formally, the British Empire is ruled by the British Parliament; but in point of fact each of the self-governing colonies is sovereign within its own territories. The principle of cohesion between these various states is a working understanding by which it has been made possible for them to co-operate for some common ends. Beneath all these there is no doubt a strong psychological element consisting partly of conscious sympathies and calculation of mutual advantages, but more largely of an unconscious bias in favour of union, created, to a very large extent, by long convention.

Part of this understanding is embodied in laws passed by the British Parliament. Formally, therefore, these are laws in the strictest sense of the term, being acts of the sovereign body. But if we scrutinise strictly

the basis of these laws as they exist now, we shall find that the real foundation for these laws to-day is the mutual goodwill of the states and not any real sanction. It is unthinkable that the British Parliament could so far exercise its theoretical sovereignty as to abolish the constitution of the colonies; it is equally unthinkable that any breach of these laws could be enforced by the application of any force by the sovereign authority. If there were any case of a deliberate violation of the constitution say by South Africa, the Courts would possibly find that the act of the Colonial Government was of no effect as being *ultra vires*. But let us imagine that the South African Government chose to defy the decision of the Privy Council; the only way in which the Colony could be made to obey the law would be an act of war or quasi-diplomatic negotiation.

Such a state of affairs is beyond reasonable probability, because all the forces of convention are against such a determined conflict between the Governments of the mother country and the Colony. The feeling of the people of both countries would very probably rise up against such internecine conflicts and effectively curb the activities of the respective Governments. No such occasion has ever arisen, nor in such occasion likely to arise in the near future. But this extreme possibility brings out the real inner nature of the bond which unites the British Empire. It is a legal bond, but the law which binds those states to one another partakes more of the nature of International than of Municipal Law, in so far as in the ultimate resort, the only effective sanction for it would be War. The real thing which makes the union possible however is a principle which has never been adequately recognised—namely, discipline or that feeling of internal constraint which makes a person or body refrain from violating the law only because it is the law.

The importance of this element even in the internal laws of a State has only been recently recognised by jurists. The force upon which jurists from Hobbes to Austin and Thayer have based the authority of law may be the only visible authority of law, but a much stronger power is exercised in modern society at any rate, by this sense of inner constraint, or discipline. The quantity of power that is available to the most powerful sovereign executive body in the last resort would be absolutely inadequate to cope with violations of the law,

if it could not count upon this discipline of the bulk of the people, by reason of which they are naturally inclined in favour of obedience to law. The history of law, it has been pointed out, is a history of the gradual retirement of the element of force in law to the background. Modern law relies less and less on force and its sanctions have become less and less violent. This has become possible only on account of the increasing discipline of mankind.

It is a debateable point which has been hotly argued between philosophical students of law, as to whether the end of this process would be a complete elimination of the element of force in law. As human society is now constituted, one can hardly imagine the total elimination of individuals with anti-social tendencies who must break the law, at any rate, within a measurable distance of time. In spite of this fact, that in society as now constituted, there must be an element of force in law to be used against its antisocial elements, there is no denying that in modern law the concept of law is not essentially one involving force; and to the extent that law is founded more on discipline than on force, we may say that it represents a different and higher category of social institution than the law of mediæval society in which the most effective sanction was force.

Besides, modern conditions of human society makes it possible to conceive that, as between States or larger human groups, mutual relations could be established on the basis of laws in which the element of force would be absent. Within a State it is, as yet difficult to imagine total absence of individuals with anti-social impulses, but there is not the same difficulty in imagining the existence of States without anti-social tendencies.

In ancient and mediæval times the normal attitude of one State to another was one of latent hostility. Politicians and lawgivers of ancient India considered it a glorious thing for a king and indeed his duty to conquer neighbouring princes. The same mentality governed the relations of sovereigns of the ancient and mediæval times in Europe. But since the days which made Grotius possible, relations of States have proceeded a long way towards the establishment of friendly relations between States. Alliances of more or less permanent character between various States have been established and allied States have found it possible to wor

harmoniously and without conflict. The Monroe doctrine of America has gone a fair way towards the establishment of relations between the United States and other States of the New World which is very like a hegemony without any definite alliance. In respect of a great many topics which would have furnished an effective *casus belli* in the past, states have been able to establish an understanding by mutual goodwill.

In respect of commercial laws and various topics of private international law it has been possible to establish principles of mutual understanding between different races. And, even in respect of public international law, until society was turned upside down by the Great War, it could be said that a great body of rules had been established which habitually governed the relations of States *inter se*.

In the British Empire and in the American Commonwealth, we can discern a large number of essentially distinct States working together on the basis of a mutual understanding without any occasion for recourse to an armed settlement. There is no reason to suppose therefore that the time is not near at hand when all states will find it possible to co-operate on the basis of laws which are not supported by force, but which rely entirely upon the discipline of nations.

It is reasonable therefore to infer that the next higher effort at human organisation, the super-state, if you like, will represent a higher category of synthesis. It will not merely reproduce the essential features of the forms of social aggregation hitherto achieved, but, both in respect of the principles of cohesion and in forms of synthesis, it will be based on concepts of a higher category. One of the outstanding features of the State of yesterday was that there was nothing between the State and the individual and nothing above the State. To-day there is a growing tendency towards the formation of sub-groups and what has been called metapolitical societies. The sub-States which go to make up the British Empire or the American Commonwealth are likewise a negation of that principle. These complex States of to-day are associations, not of individuals but of States. In the middle ages or early modern times such a co-ordination of States could not be conceived except by a complete coalescence of the States or on the basis of a more or less ephemeral alliance. The existence of the British Empire has been made possible by the evolution of a higher concept of social

organisation in which a permanent organisation of the common life of the States has been reconciled with the integrity and independence of the component States. The form of organisation is substantially different and the law that binds together the component States is a higher form of law different from the *Zwangsnormen* holding together individuals in an Austinian State.

It is not possible to lay down with precision what would be the essential features of that higher social concept of the future. But whatever it is, it will imply a co-ordination of common efforts of States by a co-operative organisation which will synthesise the lives of various States without, in any manner, denying the integrity and freedom of States. The basis of such co-operation will be laws which will be in the nature of understandings habitually honoured by nations by reason of the discipline in them rather than by reason of force. It is not possible to conceive of a super-state which will dominate the component States by the force of arms. Any attempt to build up such a super-state would fail in its object. It can only end in armed conflicts between parties in the super-state and in the repetition of alliances and counter-alliances which have been fruitful of wars in the past. The only other possible end of such an effort would be the swamping and obliteration of weaker States in such a manner that ultimately the States would be wiped off and replaced by what would only be a greater State. That would be entirely contrary to the indications of history about the goal of human organisation.

If this is a correct reading of the course of history and an accurate forecast of the future, any effort to secure compliance with the decrees of the League by force of arms cannot but be regarded as a move in the wrong direction. The only possible foundation for order in a super-state is discipline and if the League is to succeed, it must have this fact in mind and lay the greatest stress on the development of this discipline among States. That it is possible to hold together States in a permanent organisation by virtue of the discipline of nations without any appeal to force is demonstrated by the British Empire. The same discipline may well be looked forward to to sustain order and peace in international relations under the aegis of the League of Nations or some other more adequate organisation.

It is quite true that in the British Empire the cohesion is secured by a large element

of sympathy in the component parts. The same measure of sympathy does not, unfortunately, exist among the various races who are members of the League. The mutual hostility which was the normal condition of States in the middle ages has left remnants in modern States, and mutual jealousy and conflict of nationalities are unfortunately more powerful factors in international relations of to-day than a feeling of common purpose and a spirit of co-operation. But it is no good being impatient with this fact. It would be more profitable to recall the encouraging circumstance that, during a century and more, forces have been at work which have already secured a large measure of sympathy and co-operation between nations and are most assuredly making for much greater cohesion in the future. On all sides there are signs that modern society is fast outstripping national boundaries in various ways. The various societies of men in different parts of the world have always been more or less interdependent. Two great spheres of human activity have built up this interdependence and mutual aid most remarkably, *viz.* commerce and culture. To-day human societies everywhere are consciously co-operating with one another in the spheres of commerce and culture on a scale never dreamt of a century ago. The great commercial and industrial houses of to-day are each of them dependent on their correspondents in different countries and the prosperity and comfort of each country depends upon the uninterrupted maintenance of these relations. A slump in the trade in India affects all countries in the world and the depreciation of the mark in Germany is now a fact of world-wide significance. The world now realises this fact and, the more this is realised, the more will be various races of the world be drawn to one another.

No doubt this very field of commerce is also a fruitful source of jealousy, antipathy and war. Nations are now fighting one another for the world markets as individuals fought one another in the past. But individual competition is being daily eliminated by the development of giant companies, Trusts and Kartels. The underlying principle of all these organisations is the realisation of the fact that it is more profitable in the long run to combine with your rival trader than go on cutting each other's throats. It is far from inconceivable that further development along this line of thought will end in the formation of international combines in trade or some understanding by which the interests of

trades and industries of various countries will be harmonised by a more synthetic organisation. The world is slowly but surely moving towards that end, and each step in the progress will add a brick to the edifice of international sympathy upon which the super-state of the future will be based.

Even more important as a force making for international sympathy and understanding is the great cultural exchange that is the most outstanding feature of the civilisation of to-day. Culture to-day has entirely ceased to be national, it has become international. Cultural progress in every country would now be sensibly reduced if it ceased to have that continuous touch with world culture. Germany can be boycotted but Einstein cannot. The mind and thought of the cultured man and, indirectly, of every man to-day, is the product of international culture which has permeated the thoughts, feelings and impulses of people in a thousand ways far too subtle sometimes to determine with precision. The result already shows itself in the sympathies of men of high culture which outstrip all national boundaries. Their outlook is a wide one in which the narrow limitations of nationality hardly exist. This broad and generous outlook is slowly but unmistakably permeating society, and, despite the strong counter-current produced by ancient conventions, the thoughts and feelings of men are becoming more and more international, people are less and less capable of looking upon a foreigner as a born enemy. The common culture of humanity is thus building up a bond of sympathy which, in course of time, will furnish the strongest principle of cohesion between States—a cohesion which will make a super-state of the sort I have described the only natural coping stone of the edifice of social organisation built by continuous human effort ever since Man came into existence.

A similar promise is also borne in the international character of the great social efforts and movements of to-day. The Reform Bill of Kussel was a purely domestic question. Even the French Revolution, in spite of its great and striking influence on the politics of the world was essentially an isolated effort of the French people against their rulers. But the Labour movement of to-day with all its various forms and theories is an international affair. The Communists of Russia are not content with pursuing their programme in their own

country but are burning with a desire to make it an international movement. Fascism too is international. In a similar manner every social theory or experiment, great and small has a more or less international character. Modern criminological experiments, schemes for reform of penal laws, educational programmes and policies are seldom confined within the bounds of a particular country. When a new principle is established, it is established for the benefit of the whole world and not merely for the country of its origin. This fact is borne out by the establishment of a large number of associations of a more or less international character for consideration of social and political problems which are not of a purely local character. These have a very important direct value in connection with the problems discussed, but each of these societies have also a very important result in adding more cement of international sympathy and co-operation on the basis of which the super-state will grow.

A searching analysis of the life and culture of civilised society of to-day would leave no manner of doubt that civilised life has outgrown the strait lace of nationhood. The sympathies of man have been widened in a way in which it can only find satisfaction in an international society. It is only the backward pull of a dying convention which ties political society down to its old grooves and refuses to man the satisfaction of his natural craving of to-day. The day cannot be very far off when human mind will break through the bonds of inherited narrowness and convention and furnish the psychic basis for the formation of a world-wide super-state which, while it will preserve all that is valuable in nationality, will give free play to the international sympathies of men.

There is this message of stupendous importance embodied in the history of the human race as a whole and in the deeper currents of the life of humanity to-day. That hope should hearten all those who, in various walks of life, are seeking to promote that international understanding which will eliminate conflicts between nations and harmonise the individual life of each nation with the greater life of human society as a whole. That end is coming. It is no longer the dream of a visionary, it is the certain and infallible promise of history.

The League of Nations will best fulfil its purpose by constantly bearing in mind the fundamental principles of this teaching of

history and helping in the growth of this great international society. In seeking to find forms of organisation and co-operation for this greater society in forms which have had partial validity within national societies, but have hitherto been the source of no end of strife and mutual estrangement in international relations, the League of Nations would be digging its own grave. It can fulfil its mission and help to build up this greater society of the future by thoroughly imbibing the fundamentals of this higher category of human organisation and placing its complete reliance on them.

I am not unmindful of the fact that there are strong forces at work in the society of to-day which make it unreasonable to expect the realisation of that higher organisation in the immediate future. My proposal furnishes no device for the immediate reduction of armaments or the immediate cessation of war. In spite of all the elements of hope in the survey of human society I have made before, there are still a great many forces tending towards the violent disruption of international amity. To meet these forces, the provision of some measure of armed enforcement of the decrees of the League has attractive features as promising a speedier realisation of that international ideal. But this promise of speed is entirely illusory. So long as you permit the introduction of the element of force in the adjustment of international relations, you are only ensuring future wars, jealousies, competitive armaments defensive and offensive alliances and counter-alliances and what not. On the contrary, by placing reliance on reasonableness and justice as convincing arguments in favour of the decisions of the League and eliminating altogether the element of force, you are surely laying the foundation for that discipline which will ultimately make it impossible for a State to think of disobeying the decisions of the League. It will not be a rapid process by which you will realise the end, but it will be a sure and certain process. And I feel sure that in matters like these there is a limit to reasonable expectations of speed. To hurry too much is to rush to ruin.

The great fact to bear in mind is this that there are forces in the life of nations and individuals of the world which are silently working to build up international sympathies, and these forces are far more important and more abiding in their consequences than protocols and conventions. The wisdom of

the League would lie in so adjusting its actions and deliberations as to help and promote the silent work of these forces, to emphasise and multiply this manifold work towards the consolidation of international society and proceed step by step to build up a solid body of convention on the basis of this growing international sympathy which will furnish the strongest bulwark against wars in the future. The process may be slow, but if the end is steadily kept in view it would be found to be a very reliable procedure for the building up of a real super-state.

If force is eliminated, what coercive principle remains to give strength to the laws and conventions of the international super-state? With nothing else to fall back upon, the League must needs rely on universal principles of justice and fair play and seek to carry conviction by reasonableness. Each member of the League will cultivate a tendency to look more and more from the view-point of the others and seek to meet his opponents as far as possible. He could not be content merely to count the votes on his side and rely on mere majorities. His inclination would rather be to secure a consensus as far as possible. Resolutions of the League arrived at on a basis like this cannot but have very much more influence than decisions by a majority secured by canvassing or as a result of common jealousies.

We should then be going back to the days of Grotius and find the only support of International Law in natural justice and fair play. This sounds naive and doctrinaire by

the side of that very complicated and artificial institution—diplomacy. Diplomacy is one of those arts—or shall we say sciences—which has grown like a parasite on human society and built up an organisation so complex that it laughs at such simple devices for regulating human relations as mere morality and justice. The Professor of Holmes has very accurately characterised these specialised sciences which dig an elaborate moat round themselves and isolate themselves too far from the actualities of life on which they look down with disdain. They meet their Nemesis in the hands of apparently insignificant things which build on the basis of some simple facts forgotten or overlooked by the great architects of the science, so that before it their whole edifice gets crushed to atoms. It is to be feared that the science of diplomacy has forgotten this simple, elementary and, we may say, growing fact that morality and justice are, after all, the most abiding and perhaps the strongest, if least obtrusive, facts in human society. The non-moral diplomacy of generations have done their worst so far. It is time that the simple recipe of morality and justice were given a chance. In politics the principles of morality and justice are coming more and more to their own every day. It would be blindness for diplomacy to overlook this fact and go on building up international relations as though there was no such thing as morality and justice in these affairs, even after the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations Covenant with their professions of lofty international morality.

ELECTRICITY IN THE BYPRODUCT COKE INDUSTRY OF THE TATA IRON WORKS AT JAMSHEDPUR

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IT is not the purpose of this article to present a Technical study of Byproduct Coke Ovens, but rather to discuss the subject in a general way and point out the part that Electricity plays in each step in the process of manufac-

ture of Coke and its Byproducts in the Tata Steel Plant.

Byproducts from coal constitute today one of the pillars of chemical industry. It is generally considered that to burn coal raw,

without preliminary carbonization and recovery of byproducts, should, and probably will, be some day prohibited by law.

Coke and gas, made by carbonization of coal, are excellent fuels, clean and highly efficient. Their use as fuel in place of coal has already reached large proportions and is rapidly increasing. Their byproducts, ammonia, tar, benzols and cyanide, have immense value in the chemical industries, and make coal carbonization commercially an important and profitable procedure.

Carbonization is applied principally to the production of metallurgical coke and illuminating or fuel gas. Coke for domestic and industrial heating has, however, become an exceedingly important factor in the industry. The recovery of byproducts brings to a Coking Plant fully one-third of its revenue.

The modern Byproduct Coke Oven has been evolved from the development of both coke and gas manufacture; in this development the growth of modern chemical industries has played an important role. When coke alone was required the inexpensive bee-hive oven, located where coal was cheap, served the purpose. When public lighting gas alone was required, the very simple and inefficient gas retort sufficed. But now, in this day of efficiency and conservation, a coking or gas-making process, in order to survive, must recover in the largest measure and the highest quality, all of its products which are useful in modern industry, and must do this with low costs.

The illuminating gas industry had its beginning in 1792 when William Murdoch, a Scotch Engineer, discovered that by distilling coal he could produce gas for illuminating purposes. His discovery was soon placed on a commercial basis and led quickly to an extensive growth of coal gas manufacture.

Prior to 1906 the Byproduct Ovens in America were for various reasons not generally successful in making good metallurgical coke, consequently Byproduct Coke was not then popular with American Blast Furnace Managers.

During 1906, the United States Steel Corporation appointed a Committee of well-known Engineers and Works Managers to investigate the Manufacture of Coke for Blast Furnace use. This Committee recommended the building of 280 Koppers Ovens. These were built at Joliet, Illinois, and put into operation in 1908, recovering Tar, Ammonia and Gas. The effect of this Com-

mittee's thorough work has been far-reaching. It has revolutionised the Byproduct Coke Industry in the United States and accomplished the saving of many millions of dollars worth of most valuable natural resources. The Furnace results secured with the Coke from these first Ovens were excellent. They caused American Blast Furnace Managers quite generally to reverse their former opinion of Byproduct Coke, and it is now universally conceded that better Furnace practice and lower Coke consumption can be secured by the use of Byproduct Coke than by Coke made in any other type of Ovens.

The type of the Coke Plant to be used is of vital importance to the manufacture of Pig Iron. The quality and quantity of iron product is greatly influenced by the quality of Coke used.

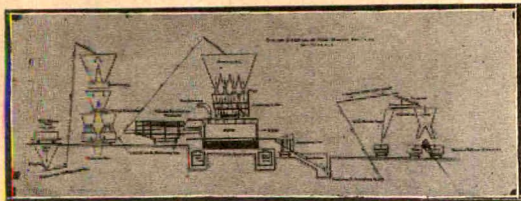
A Byproduct Coke Plant is a highly technical and costly manufacturing establishment. Its proper design and construction require the best efforts of practically all classes of Engineering talent.

The advantages of Byproduct Coke Ovens over the old Bee-Hive type are many, the most important of which are: better coke, because of better heat control; ease with which coke can be taken out of ovens; the saving of the gas, from which are derived the many Byproducts; and the increase in the coke yield from 60 per cent in Bee-Hive to 70 per cent in Byproduct Ovens. Further, one charge is coked in 18 hours in the Byproduct, as against 48 to 72 hours in the Bee-Hive Ovens.

Though many may be familiar with the general operation of a Coke Plant, yet we will review it here, in a general way in order to appreciate the factors to be considered in deciding upon the equipment to be used. The general arrangement and cycle of operation of the various types of ovens are very similar and require practically the same class of machinery for their operation.

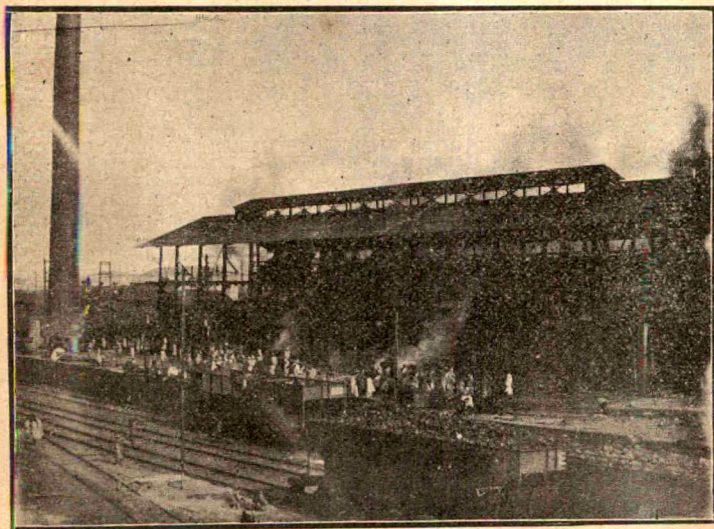
The general scheme of Byproduct coke ovens, shown in an outlined diagram in Fig. 1, consists in conveying the different kinds of coal to a Breaker in the top of the building, which breaks the coal into pieces, the size of eggs. From there it passes down through chutes to a Hammer Mill, which hammers it into pieces; 85 per cent of which pass through a 1/8" mesh screen. The coal is then conveyed to a storage bin over the Ovens, from which it is distributed to the Ovens by lorry cars which drop the crushed coal through four holes on top of each oven.

After the coke has stayed in the Ovens the requisite length of time, varying from 16 to 30 hours, by which time the Ovens have attained a temperature of about 900° to 1000° C.,



Outline Diagram of Coke-making Process

the doors of the ovens are lifted by door-extracting machines, and the coke is pushed out by a Pushing Machine, into a Quenching Car. This car is then pushed by a Steam Locomotive to a quenching station which sprays water on the coke. The Coke is then hauled to the Coke Wharf and dumped upon it. From the wharf it is conveyed to the Coke Screens by Belt Conveyors and passes through the screens to Railway wagons below for shipment to the Blast Furnaces. The smaller particles, or coke breeze as it is called, pass into another wagon.



Kopper Ovens

The gas is led from each oven to a main gas line, which conducts the hot gas to primary coolers, where the Tar and water vapours are condensed, and run into a

Settling Tank from which they are pumped to the Byproduct Building for further reinforcement. The gas is then pumped through Saturators where it bubbles through a weak solution of Sulphuric Acid, and the Ammonia in the gas is recovered as a white salt, called Ammonium Sulphate, which is an excellent fertilizer. The surplus gas from the Saturators is partly sent back to the Ovens to carry on the coking process, and the rest is consumed in heating the Boilers, Soaking Pits etc., throughout the Plant.

The Tata Iron Works' Coke Ovens Plant consists of 180 Copee non-recovery Ovens, a Battery of 50 Koppers Byproduct Ovens, shown in Fig. 2 and three Batteries of 50 Ovens each of the Wilputte type, shown in Fig. 3, making a total of 380 Ovens, with a consuming capacity of approximately 3200 tons of coal daily, and a production capacity of 2335 tons of Coke, 55 tons of Coal Tar and 25 tons of Ammonium Sulphate. This is on a 24-hours day.

From the foregoing paragraph it will be seen that about 3200 tons of coal are converted every 24 hours. For handling this great amount of coal from the wagon to the finished coke, there is a large equipment of Electrical Machinery which is both labour-saving as well as efficient in its control.

In the Crushing Plant, the coal wagons coming from the Collieries are placed over a large bin or track hopper and the coal is allowed to drop out into the hoppers from which motor-driven Shaker Feeds pass it to conveyor "A", driven by a 15 H. P., 440 volts, 750 R. P. M., Squirrel Cage Induction Motor, which delivers it to another Conveyor "B" driven by a 100 H. P., 440 volts, 750 R.P.M., Squirrel Cage Induction Motor, which carries the coal to the Breaker Mills at the top of the building, approximately 100 feet high, where it is broken into small pieces. Here a Magnetic Separator removes any particles of iron which may be present with the coal. The Breaker Mill is driven by two 75 H. P., 440 volts, 300 R. P. M., Slip Ring type Induction Motors. From the Breaker Mill it

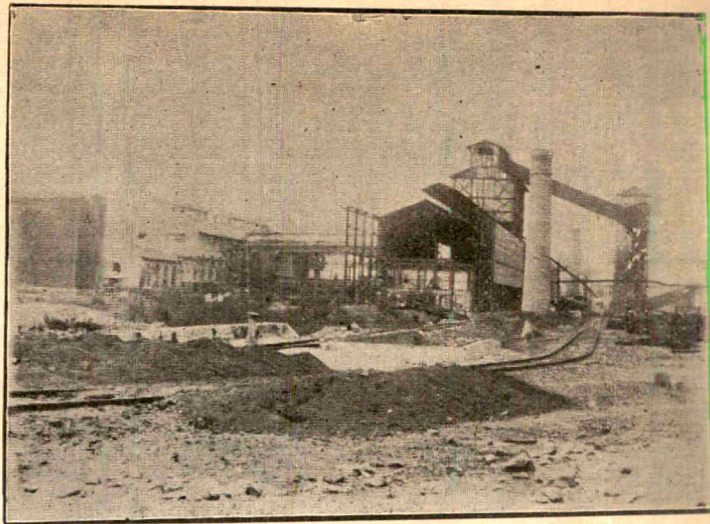
passes over a mixing Conveyor, driven by a 10 H. P., 440 Volts, 750 R.P.M., Squirrel Cage A. C. Motor, to Hammer Mill Bins, from which it passes to Hammer Mills, driven by three 300

H. P., 3000 Volts, 750 R.P.M., Slip Ring Induction Motors. The coal passes from the Hammer Mill on to the conveyor "C", driven by a 75 H. P., 440 volts, 750 R. P. M., Squirrel Cage A. C. Motor, which lifts it up to a Conveyor "D", driven by a 50 H. P., 440 volts, 750 R. P. M., Squirrel Cage A. C. Motor which distributes it over two Conveyors driven by one 15 H. P., 440 volts, 750 R.P.M., Squirrel Cage A. C. Motor, which again delivers it to the top of Storage Bins of about 2500 tons capacity over the Ovens. All the Coal and Coke Conveyor feeders, Hammer and Breaker controllers are so interlocked that if Conveyor feeders etc., stop for any cause, all the Conveyors can be stopped from any of the push button control stations situated at various points, thus preventing the coal from piling upon dead Conveyors.

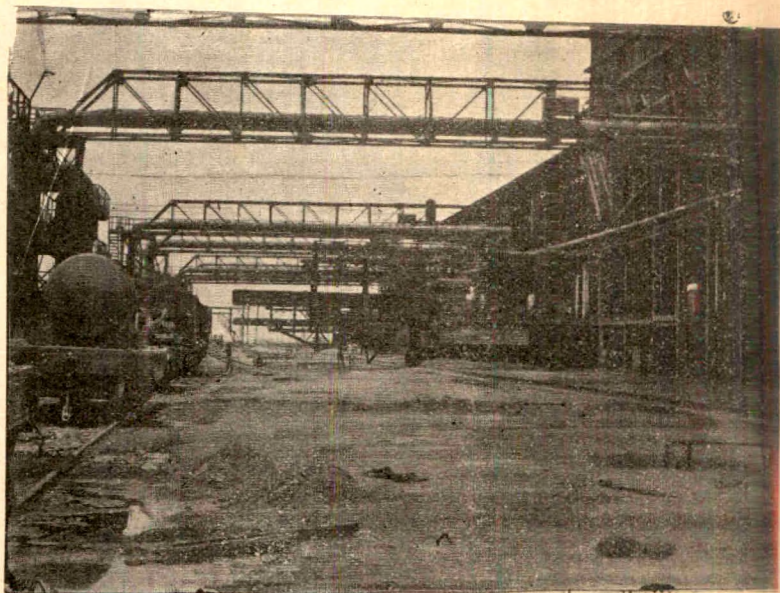
The coal is taken from the Storage Bin in a Lorry or Coal Charging Car driven by a 30 H. P., 220 volts, 625 R. P. M., Mill type series Motor, the current being supplied by collector rails mounted on asbestos-moulded blocks to stand the heat of the Ovens. The car travels on a wide-gauge track over the top of the Ovens. This machine carries four coal hoppers, the outlets of which correspond with the four charging holes on the top of each Oven. The Operator by hand lever works the sluices which allow the finely crushed coal to fall from the hoppers into the Ovens.

When the oven is nearly full, the charge is uniformly levelled up by means of a combined Pusher and Leveller machine.

The levelling arrangement consists of a long bar which is carried back and forth horizontally, through a small side-door near the top of the ovens. During the coking process the ends of the Ovens are sealed with



Willputte Ovens



Coke Pusher

doors held in position with suitable clamps. When the coal is coked and ready to be pushed, the door on the back of oven is removed by the door extractor machine. This machine has three Motors:—

- (1) Door Extracting Mill type series motor, 4 H. P., 220 volts, 950 R. P. M.
- (2) Door Lifting Mill type series motor, 4 H. P., 220 volts, 950 R. P. M.

- (3) Machine Travel Mill type series.
8 H. P., 220 volts, 900 R.P.M.

The door on the front is removed by the Coke Pushing Machine, and the ram of the machine is started through the oven, shown in Fig. 9, pushing the coke ahead of it into a Quenching Car on the other side of Oven.

It will be of interest to know just how much work this combined Pusher and Leveller Machine is expected to do. Each Oven has approximately the following dimensions:—

Length—39' 5", height—11' 0", and its walls are tapered from a width of 19" on the coke side to 16 1/2" at the Pusher side. This Chamber or Oven has a capacity of about 534 c.ft. which in terms of coal would mean about 12-3/4 tons. Now the Pusher Ram has approximately 9-1/4 tons of coke to push through a distance of about 39'-0". The load is greatest just at the beginning of the operation, that is the greatest amount of force must be applied at this time to start the mass of coke on its journey to the Quenching Car. The load becomes less as the Ram Head moves forward due entirely to the fact that a lesser amount of coke remains to be handled. This machine has six motors of the following types:—

- (1) Ram Driving Mill type series motor.
75 H. P. 220 volts. 490 R.P.M.
- (2) Leveller Mill type series motor, 45 H.P., 220 volts 500 R.P.M.
- (3) Machine Travel Mill type series motor, 45 H.P., 220 Volts, 500 R.P.M.
- (4) Door Ram Mill type series motor, 8 H.P., 220 Volts, 900 R. P.M.
- (5) Door-lifting Mill type series motor. 4 H. P. 220 Volts, 900 R. P. M.
- (6) Leveller Carriage Mill type series motor, 8 H.P., 220 volts, 900 R.P.M.

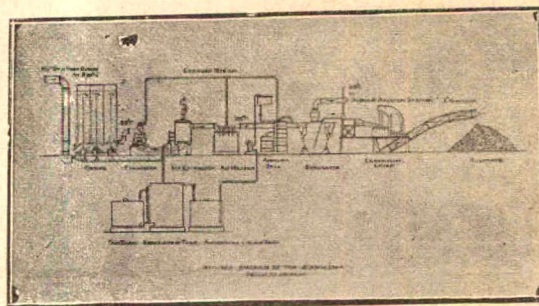
Of these, the Ram Motor is the largest and has the heaviest duty to perform.

Now, coming back to the cycle of operation, the coke after being pushed and dumped into Quenching Car is taken by Steam Locomotive to the Quenching Station. The Quenching Station is equipped with a motor driven Centrifugal Pump, pumping water into a spray tank. The motor is automatically operated by a float in the tank. After the coke is quenched, the car is then run back, and the coke is discharged on an inclined Wharf. The coke Wharf Feeders that feed the coke from the Wharf on to the Conveyor, are driven by two 5 H.P., 440 volts Squirrel Cage A.C. Motors. The coke is thence conveyed to the Screening Station by means of Conveyors, where it is screened through Station-

ary Screens and then delivered by chutes into the wagons for shipment to the Blast Furnaces. The Coke Conveyors to the Screening Station are driven by two 440 volts, 750 R.P.M., Squirrel Cage A. C. Motors, 10 & 15 H. P. respectively. The Coke breeze is carried by another Conveyor, driven by a 5 H.P., 440 volts, 750 R.P.M., Squirrel Cage Motor, to another wagon.

In order that gas and air may be reversed at regular intervals and in proper cycle, an automatic controller, operated by a clock, has been installed. The three 220 volts, Shunt Motors, one 8 H.P., and two 4 H. P., operating the valves, can be operated either by the clock electrically, or by hand electrically, or mechanically. This operation takes about 30 seconds, and occurs every half an hour.

Fig. 15 shows an outline diagram of the Tar and Ammonia recovery process. The hot gas from the Ovens has a temperature of about 300°C. In order to recover the Tar and Sulphate of Ammonia, as before



Outline Diagram of Tar and Ammonia Recovery Process

mentioned, the gas enters a series of Water Coolers of the tubular type, being thereby cooled to about 35° C and depositing the bulk of Tar and Liquor by condensation. The gas is then drawn by a Steam driven Exhauster, shown in Fig. 16, and driven forward to a motor driven Tar Extractor in which the last traces of tar are eliminated.

After leaving the Extractor, the gas passes through a re-heater where it becomes heated to about 80°C so as to permit of the gas being delivered direct into the Saturator, where it bubbles through a weak solution of Sulphuric Acid, and the Ammonia in the gas is recovered as Ammonium Sulphate. Any liquor produced in the preliminary coolers is treated in a Still with addition of lime to drive off any ammonia it contains, the heat for this and for the re-heater being supplied

by the Exhaust steam from the engines driving the Exhauster.

Ammonium Sulphate from Centrifugal Dryers, is delivered by Belt Conveyors to a Storage room where a Drag Conveyor distributes it to the storage space. This Conveyor is driven by a small Horizontal Steam Engine.

The surplus gas from the Saturator at about 60°C is partly sent back to the Ovens to carry on the coking process, and the rest is sent to a motor driven Booster Station to supply necessary gas for the Re-heating Furnaces at the Plate Mill and Blooming Mill Soaking Pits. The Booster Station is driven by one 300 H. P., 3000 Volts, 750 R. P. M. Slip ring type A.C. Motor, shown in Fig. 18.

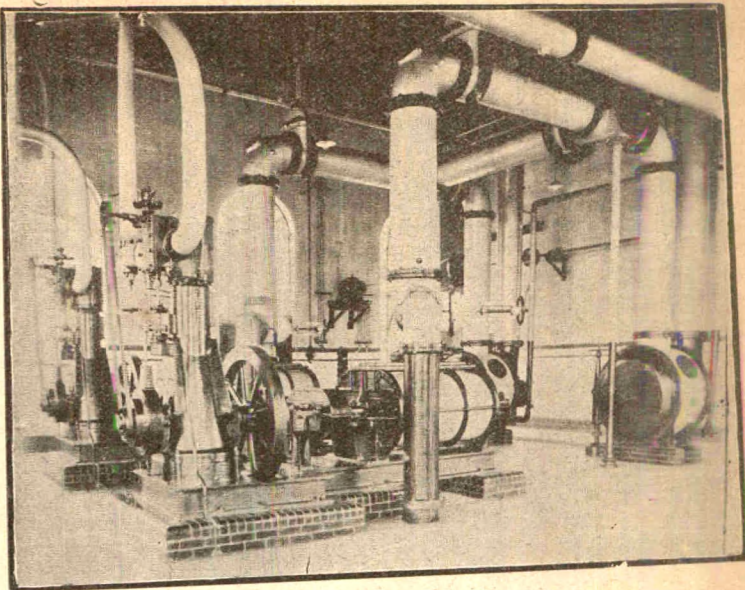
H. T. Power for the coke works is supplied from Power House No. 2 at 3000 Volts, 50 cycle, 3 phase, over one circuit of 300,000 C. M., Weather-proof Copper.

D. C. Supply at 220 volts is taken from Sub-station No. 2 at the Plate Mill.

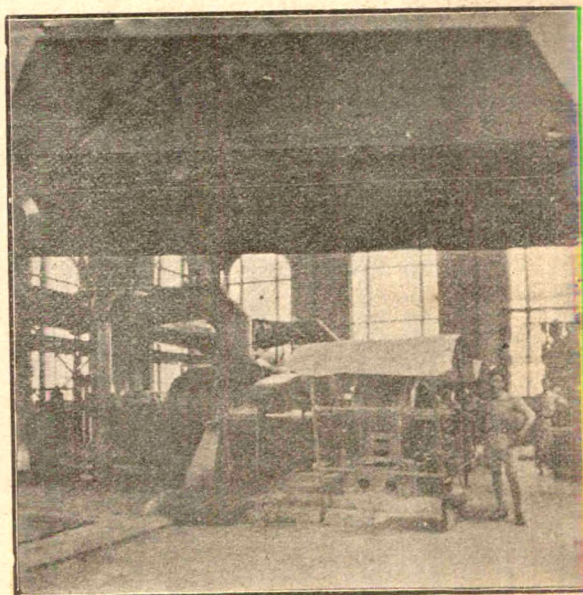
A. C. Supply at 440 volts is obtained from a 500 K. V. A. Stepdown Transformer situated at the Switch House.

The motor equipment consists of 107 motors, with a total rating of 3,630 H. P. of various types as described. All the transmission lines to the Substation and line feeders from the Substation are carried on towers or structural work and then through conduits to the control switches near which the power is utilized.

In considering the Electrification of the Byproduct Coke Plant, it is most essential to select the system of Electrical Current which will best conform with most of the characteristics required for the various operations of the Plant. There are two classes of motors which may be considered first. The D.C. series motor and the 3-phase Induction motor. In the D.C. series motor the maximum torque occurs at starting. The torque developed by this motor decreases with increase in speed, and increases with decreasing speed. Under heavy load it slows down, thus relieving the Power Station of wide load fluctuation.



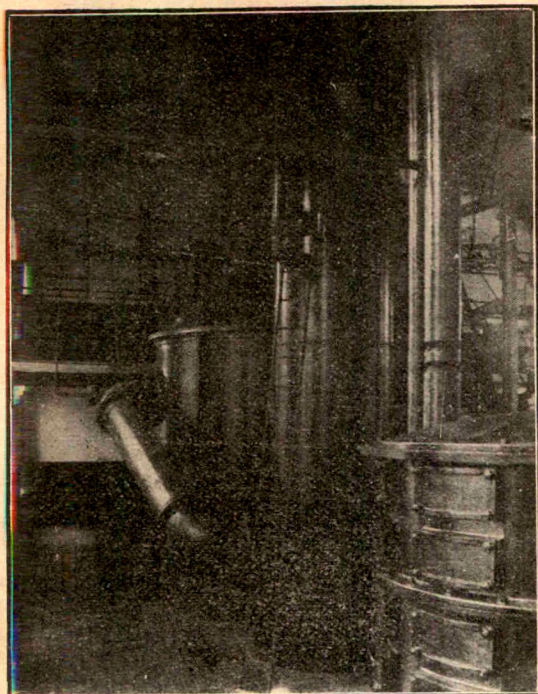
Exhauster and Tar Extractor



Booster Station

The polyphase induction motor is a constant speed motor. It operates over a certain limited range of speed. It cannot exceed its synchronous speed and when operated below its normal speed it is less efficient. In other words, the speed of the induction motor, in order to produce a given torque, uses the same amount of power at low speed as it does at high speed although the power delivered to the

machine, which it is driving, is reduced in proportion to the speed, and a corresponding loss in motor efficiency is effected. More-



Saturator, Reheater and Still

over, the A. C. motor is not so active a machine as the D. C. motor, *e. g.* the A.C. motor cannot speed up quickly, stop and accelerate quickly in the reverse direction as

the D. C. series motor can. The D.C. series motor is capable of doing the above cycle of operation, as it has a higher starting and accelerating torque.

In my opinion, all such machines as are not stationary, having several motors to be supplied with current from a collecting system, and are usually started, stopped and plugged under load, *e.g.* charging, pushing etc., should be direct current, while motors that are running at constant speed, such as Line Shafts, Conveyors, Hammer Mill Motors etc., should be A.C. A double system, using both A.C. and D.C. as in our Tata's Plant, seems to be the best solution.

In conclusion, I may say that with the facilities offered by the Electric drive, it may be quite possible, before long, that an Iron & Steel Works with its Byproduct Coke Plant may be so designed as to coke all the coal required in Plant and to use the resulting products for heating purposes, so that no other fuel would need to be brought in: there would be sufficient coke for the Blast Furnaces: the small coke and breeze would be used under the Boilers, Coke Oven gas and tar in the Open Hearth Furnaces, the Blast Furnace gases in Stoves and Gas Engines; and the finished product of steel would be turned out with complete economy of the heat contained in the coal.*

* Read before the Technical Institute, Jamshedpur, on Monday, the 15th August, 1914, and before the Rotary Club, Calcutta on the 2nd Sept. 1924. Photographs supplied by kind permission of Mr. C. A. Alexander. General Superintendent.

WOMEN'S WELFARE ORGANISATIONS IN BENGAL*

BY SAROJNALINI DUTT, M.B.E.

SINCE coming to Calcutta I have associated myself with a few women's movements and I find that there are many European

* This article was written a few months before the writer's lamented death. Her husband Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., has, at her Sradh ceremony held on the 8th March, 1925, made a donation of rupees one thousand to be placed at the disposal of a Bengal Mahila Samiti Federation if it is organised on the lines suggested in this article.

and a few Indian Ladies who are doing most admirable work. But most of the work that I have seen and heard of is being done chiefly for the benefit of the inhabitants of Calcutta. I have no doubt that this is very important work which has to be done. I myself will be very pleased to do anything that is in my power to help such work. But at the same time I think some of us should

take up work which will help the mufassil as well.

This task is no doubt very difficult and may not appeal to many ladies residing in Calcutta. But it is very important work and unless it is taken up by some of us, there can be no real improvement in the country.

I have lived the greater part of my life in the mufassil and have seen a great deal of district and village life in Bengal. It is probably for that reason that I have always felt for our sisters in the villages and districts who are very much more backward in every way than the dwellers in Calcutta and I think it is our duty to help them. I have tried to do a little in my humble way for the uplift of our sisters in the villages and towns of the mufassil where I was living till only recently. Much good can be done to the ladies in the mufassil by bringing them in contact with wider ideas and by giving them a wider vision and I think it would be very useful if we could have a big organisation in Calcutta to help the small organisations already existing in the districts.

I do not think that our sisters who have lived most of their lives in the cities can realise the colossal work that is waiting to be done in the villages and towns of Bengal. I am sure it is a very difficult task but I think it should be tackled. There can be no real improvement in the country unless we can educate, and widen the ideas of, women in the mufassil towns and villages.

I have had occasion to organise four "Mahila Samitis" in three different districts in my capacity of the District Officer's wife. One of them is unfortunately extinct, as we had to leave the district soon after starting it. The other three are still in existence. One has been fortunate in getting a few ladies to take interest in the work but the other two exist only in name with a Secretary who is willing to work but requires guidance and help.

Most of the "Mahila Samitis" have, I must explain, been some time or other started by wives of officials. It is for that reason that as soon as any particular lady who starts a "Samiti" leaves the district the work has to suffer unless some other sympathetic lady takes it up which is unfortunately very rare.

There are many districts in Bengal where there are "Mahila Samitis" in existence already. Some are doing good work but the others—probably the majority—exist only in

name as there is no one sympathetic enough, or has the ability, to guide the work. It is therefore that I have a scheme in my mind which, if worked properly, will solve this difficulty and help to keep these scattered organisations in touch with each other and with a central organisation and supply the advice and guidance which they need.

For the benefit of the ladies who have no idea as to what a Mahila Samiti in the districts and villages if organised properly can do, I will give a brief account of the work that the Bankura Mahila Samiti has done and is still doing and can do if further organised. We started the Samiti with about 80 members who paid Re. 1 annually for membership. There were a few generous ladies however who voluntarily paid more than Re. 1. The Samiti consists of an Executive Committee with a President and Vice-President and Secretaries and about a dozen members. The Executive Committee meets once a month and discusses business and accounts.

The General Committee meets once in two months. All carriage expenses are paid by the Samiti as otherwise no ladies would come. As funds are short the general meeting cannot take place more than once in two months. These meetings are mostly of a social nature. At the same time it is the intention of the Samiti to impart education and with this view interesting lantern lectures form a feature of these social gatherings and have been much appreciated. An exhibition of Mrs. Bentley's cinema film was arranged by the Bankura Samiti at their last general meeting and this I learn was very much appreciated by the ladies. The Samiti has presented gifts of articles such as cooking utensils and brass cookery, etc., for the hospitals in the town which did not possess any such things and the poor patients had to be fed in *shal* leaves and earthen pots before the Samiti presented them these things. Articles of furniture, clothes and eatables, etc., for the comfort of the patients have been presented by the Samiti. The Samiti encourages educational institutions in the town by giving medals and prizes. The Samiti has taken up the difficult but important task of training *dais* and has also recently started a Child Welfare Clinic. I am sure that if every district and later on every village had a Mahila Samiti, much good work could be done in the country.

An organisation to be called the Bengal Mahila Samiti Federation (বঙ্গীয় মহিলা কেন্দ্র)

समिति) should be formed in Calcutta and should consist entirely of Women Workers.

This organisation shall have an Executive Committee consisting of half a dozen members, a President and one or two Secretaries as may be necessary. The Bengal Mahila Samiti Federation should be prepared to give the fullest information as to how Mahila Samitis are to be formed, to furnish speakers, to supply model rules and helpful literature and to assist in securing expert demonstrators and lecturers with lantern slides if possible when required and generally to give the movement every encouragement. But the Mahila Samitis should be left to manage their own affairs, control their own funds and undertake whatever work seems to the members best suited to their locality. Any one desirous of starting a Mahila Samiti in a particular district or village will be expected to write to the General Secretary of the Bengal

Mahila Samiti Federation who will put the correspondent in touch with the local Committee responsible for the propaganda work in connection with Mahila Samitis in the province.

It may not be possible at the beginning to send out women lecturers but I know of Mahila Samitis which will not object to men lecturers. I may mention here that if the Director of Public Health be approached he may be able to help with lecturers and lantern slides, etc., whenever any Mahila Samiti requires them. The Bankura Mahila Samiti had only to write to the Director of Public Health and he sent out a very capable lecturer with interesting and educative lantern slides absolutely free. The Federation should take up the work of informing the Mahila Samitis about this or arranging to send lecturers with lantern slides from the Director of Public Health.



"BURIED TEMPLES"

To that inner shrine within each one of us that sometimes we know so little about
or forget we have,
To the small lamp that shines steadily in each, giving inward peace and calm—
and the hope that grows stronger as life approaches its sunset,
To the individual Peace that reigns supreme—fearless of the storms that rage outside,
To the fragrant incense-offering of unconscious prayer
that escapes from every beating heart in the silence of its dim-lit walls,
To the fresh flower-offerings of duty made honey-sweet with thoughts of Love and Beauty,
To the soft murmurings of each hope-laden soul—those silent little heart-beats
of love striving to gain perfection amidst doubt and despair,
To the soft sad music of each grief-stricken soul that sends its sobs
in harmony with the sea and its still canopy of midnight stars,
To the shadows which lurk in the far-off corners,
making the cares of life press heavily; the heart-breaks so crushing,
To the filmy black cobwebs of doubt which pure inward trust clears,
To the sunshine of inner happiness that throws its clear life-giving rays of light
through its one narrow window of daily cares, making the dust
of despair and monotony, bright with a thousand colours,
To the Image of Truth that is carved in the black stone of pure Ideals—
and decorated in the red and gold of true Love,
To the great studded door of each where is disclosed all the wondrous silent
workings of a mystery beyond consciousness,
To the child mind which can enter at any time, and worship in silence at the
feet of the great Soul-Image of Truth,
To the Beauty, the Knowledge,
The Power and the Good—
The Supreme Light that sparkles within like gems set in darkness—
We bow down and call upon Love to enlighten us !

E. C.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF CHEMISTRY: By F. A. Mason, M. A. (Oxon) Ph. D. (Munich), F. I. C., etc. Oxford Univ. Press. Price 2s net. Pp. 41 and a chart.

An useful little guide for beginners in chemical research work who require help in their search for information regarding their subject in extant journals and books of reference in chemistry.

INDIA'S FOREST WEALTH: By E. A. Smythies, B.A. Oxford Univ. Press. Price Rs. 2-8. pp. 131 with 12 illustrations.

A fitting companion volume to that excellent little book, India's Mineral Wealth by Mr. J. Colin Brown. A great deal of information has been condensed into the limited space available and yet the result is quite palatable to the lay reader who has a thirst for information regarding India

K. N. C.

PRAVATI & INDIA AND OTHER SONNETS : By *Nalini Mohan Chatterjee*. (Published by the author, 11-A Haro Kumar Tagore Square, Calcutta. Re. 1 each).

We extend a cordial welcome to these two promising volumes of poetry, though the former is not in metre and the latter has to make some more advance in the assimilation of the sonnet-form before it can reach a high level of poetic excellence. Mr. Chatterjee has a good command of poetic diction and has many a pleasant sentiment worthy of expression in verse. Here is part of his address to India which is responsible for the title of one of the volumes :

Thou hast for ever spoken to our souls—
How with a voice that thunders from the hills,
How o'er the tumbling ocean waves it rolls,
And now it pours bewitching notes and thrills
From song-birds breasting through the stainless
blue,
And thou hast stirred to depths my wondering
heart.

Bengal has always stirred her children to fine emotional fervour and one of the most successful sonnets of the author is addressed to her.

While all the world on wings of wind doth fly,
How fills the heaven's vault with tumult wild,
Why dost thou linger with a tearful eye
And hold still closer thy sweet prattling child?
While men are seeking gold in distant lands,
What dreams enchain thy soul, what timidity
hope

Faiths out of all thy days a heaven on earth
Where all happiness gathers round the hearth?

It is clear in many a place that Mr. Chatterjee is still not a very practised hand in the craftsmanship of verse. A fine line like "this adamantine throne imperilled by suns" can be followed with such poor poetry as "blessing runs" in the next line which is also unfortunately the culmination of a sonnet. Regarding the prose-lyrics of *Pravati* it is only necessary to say that greater economy of words and concentration of poetic feeling would have achieved better results.

P. SESHADRI.

ROADS TO FREEDOM AND SLAVERY : By *Ratish Mehan Agarwala, M. A., LL.B.* Garga Book Depot, Meerut. Price Rs. 1-8-0, 1924.

The author is an attentive student of economics. He does not pretend to originality, and admits that to do full justice to the task undertaken by him he would have to wait six or seven years to be spent in study and research. That task is to show that liberal socialism furnishes the correct remedy for the evils of capitalism, while it retains as much of individualism as is wholesome for society. This liberal socialism, being a compromise between individualism and communism, is explained by him at some length with reference to its manifold relations, viz., its relation to religion, marriage, general morality, private property, etc. The author deprecates *laissez faire* in legislation as well as excessive legislative interference with the private liberty of individuals. He devotes considerable space to Bolshevism in theory and practice, as well as syndicalism. Though young, the author is clear-headed, but it must be said that the task is too hard for a novice. The value of the book lies in the fact that it will be of great help to students of econo-

mics who want clear definitions of terms used in their text-books on the subject. It is to be regretted however that the proofs have not been attentively and patiently examined by the author, who has followed the professional note-book method, avoiding all attempts at elegance of expression and literary charm. On the whole, the book holds out great promise regarding the author's career as a writer on economical subjects. The book is well bound, though not well printed.

BIBLIOPHILE.

CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE IN INDIA : By *B. B. Bhatnagar, M. A., F. S. S.* Published by *Ramnagarayan Lal, Publisher and Book-seller, Allahabad.* Pp. 139. Price Rs. 2 (1924).

The problem of the Indian currency is complicated by the peculiar trade relations existing between India and England, to which bulk of its foreign trade goes, and more especially by the political ties binding them. In this handy book of about 140 pages Mr. Bhatnagar of the Allahabad University has made a vivid exposition of the problems affecting currency and exchange in India. About 100 pages of the book are devoted to a succinct but graphic history of the vicissitudes of the currency legislation and the exchange rate between the currencies of India and England during the closing decade of the last century and the first quarter of the present century, and the remaining pages have been devoted to his suggestions for a better currency system for the country.

Mr. Bhatnagar has rightly shown that up to the beginning of this century the Government had in view the policy of introducing a gold standard in India, but suddenly when the circumstances had been so shaped as to make it an accomplished fact, the policy was changed with "a complete disregard of the welfare of Indian trade and commerce", and in order (1) to make India purchase silver to benefit the big silver dealers of England, and (2) to build a gold reserve out of the profits of additional coinage of rupees to be kept and lent in England at favourable low rates of interest. He stoutly controverts the view that "rupees were coined (in the beginning of the century and onwards) because people did not want gold" and affirms that "the real reason of it (this view) lies in the British anxiety to prevent gold from coming to India and not in India's refusal to accept it".

As regards his suggestions, although Mr. Bhatnagar has a fling at the advocates of the gold standard in India, who mostly hail from Bombay, his own scheme differs from them only in that he advocates *festina lente* and a restricted use of the gold currency. He entirely agrees with the recommendations of the Fowler Committee, the essence of which is that "Gold is kept in the reserves of Banks or Government Treasuries and is made obtainable as far as possible only for making payments abroad. It is not denied to the people legally but the whole thing is so managed that people take as little of it as possible. Both gold and paper are made unlimited legal tender, while the subsidiary coinage is made tenderable only up to a limited amount". With this idea of his (p. 111) there will be few to quarrel not even from the point of view of the Indian States to a considerable extent.

The book is remarkably free from printing mistakes. We have discovered one only, viz., in the foot-note to page 120 in line 5 from the bottom the word "Excess" should be "access". The book

is embellished with the necessary statistics, which are most useful both for understanding the text and generally the subject. The get-up of the book is commendable. It is written in simple running style and we strongly recommend it both to the expert, as it is a hand-book of reference and to the student for a genuine understanding of the real issues involved.

M. V. K.

ENDOCRIN GLANDS: *By Chandra Chakrabarty. Published by Omin & Co., New York, 1923.*

The study of endocrin glands and the influence of their secretions on the metabolism, growth and development of the body and mind form a subject of absorbing and fascinating interest to the Medical Profession at the present moment. It is no exaggeration to say that a correct diagnosis of many diseases cannot be arrived at without a clear understanding of the true physiological functions and pathological changes of such glands as the *thyroid*, the *suprarenal*, the *pancreas*, the *pituitary body* and a few others of a similar nature. There was a time, not very long ago, when nobody understood the importance of such structures which were considered as superfluities and some people went so far as to question the wisdom of Nature in placing them within the human organism. A few of them such as the suprarenal, were vaguely associated with the incidence of certain peculiar diseases but their true import was not understood. Times are changed and the mass of information now available as the result of carefully conducted experiments on both human and animal subjects in regard to the *hyper* and *hypo*-activities of the endocrin glands has thrown considerable light on the ill-understood etiology of many a serious disease to which the human body is subject and for the successful treatment of which the medical man has hitherto been practically helpless. Let us take a concrete case. The relation of the pancreas with incidence of glycosuria was long known, as its extirpation was always followed by the appearance of sugar in urine. But it was not known until recently that, besides the external secretion, there was such a thing as the *internal secretion* of the pancreas which exercises an effective control on the amount of sugar present in the blood and whose deficiency or absence in the animal organism leads to defective carbohydrate metabolism and induces Diabetes. The result of a careful study of the functions of the pancreas of recent times has culminated in the discovery of that wonderful medicine, *Insulin*, which is present in the internal secretion of the organ, and this has placed in the hands of the Medical Profession, a most potent remedy to successfully combat the serious complications of Diabetes.

In this handy volume of 150 pages, the author has incorporated much useful and interesting information regarding the structure and functions of these endocrin glands and the pathological changes to which they are subject. It will be found helpful to the busy practitioner for ready reference.

CHUNI LAL BOSE

YOGA AS PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION: *By Dr. Surendranath Das Gupta (Truebner's Oriental Series) Published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner and Co., London and E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. Pp. xi + 200. Price 10s. 6d.*

In this book there are 15 chapters: viz. (i) Prakriti, (ii) Purusha, (iii) The Reality of the Ex-

ternal World, (iv) The Process of Evolution, (v) The Evolution of the Categories, (vi) Evolution and Change of Qualities, (vii) Evolution and God, (viii) Mind and Moral States, (ix) The Theory of Karma, (x) The Ethical Problem, (xi) Yoga Practice, (xii) The Yogangas, (xiii) Stages of Samadhi, (xiv) God in Yoga, (xv) Matter and Mind, and also an Appendix on Sphota-vada and an Index.

The first seven chapters form the first book of the treatise, dealing with Yoga Metaphysics and the last eight chapters form the second book dealing with Yoga Ethics and Practice. This book does not deal with any of the 'mystical practices' nor does it lay any stress on the performance of any of those miracles described by Patanjali. The scope of this work is limited to a brief exposition of the intellectual foundation—or the theoretical side—of the Yoga practices, consisting of the philosophical, psychological, cosmological, ethical, religious and other doctrines which underlie these practices' (ix).

Metaphysically, the Samkhya and the Yoga are usually classed as one system of philosophy, though there are certain points of difference. Our author has discussed the subject in this book and we quote below his summary "of all the points of difference between Yoga and Samkhya". Says our author: "the admission of Isvara by the former and the emphasis given by it to the Yoga practices are the most important in distinguishing it from the latter. It seems probable that Isvara was traditionally believed in the Yoga School to be a protector of the Yogins proceeding in their arduous course of complete self-control and absorptive concentration. The chances of a person adopting the course of Yoga practices for the attainment of success in this field does not depend only on the exertions of the Yogin, but upon the concurrence of many convenient circumstances such as physical fitness, freedom from illness and other obstacles. Faith in the patronage of God in favour of honest workers and believers served to pacify their minds and fill them with cheerful hope and confidence which were so necessary for the success of Yoga practices. The metaphysical functions which are ascribed to Isvara seem to be later additions for the sake of rendering his position more in harmony with the system. Mere faith in Isvara for the practical benefit of the Yogins is thus interpreted by a reference to his superintendence of the development of cosmic evolution. Samkhya relied largely on philosophical thinking leading to proper discrimination as to the difference between prakriti and purusha which is the stage immediately antecedent to emancipation. There being thus no practical need for the admission of Isvara, the theoretical need was also ignored and it was held that the inherent teleological purpose (purusharthata) of prakriti was sufficient to explain all the stages of cosmic evolution as well as its final separations from the purushas. Samkhya does not admit the existence of God and considers that salvation can be obtained only by a steady perseverance in philosophical thinking and does not put emphasis on the practical exercises which are regarded as essential by the Yoga. One other point of difference ought to be noted with regard to the conception of avidya. According to Yoga, avidya.....means positive untrue beliefs such as believing the impure, un-eternal sorrow and non-self to be the pure, eternal pleasure and the self respectively. With Samkhya, however, avidya is only the non-distinction

tion of the difference between prakriti and purusha. Both Samkhya and Yoga admit that our bondage to prakriti is due to an illusion or ignorance (avidya), but Samkhya holds the *alkhyati* theory which regards non-distinction of the difference as the cause of the illusion, whereas the Yoga holds the *arya ha lkyati* theory which regards positive misapprehension of the one as the other to be the cause of illusion" (pp. 163-1641).

The author has also described "the difference in the course of the evolution of the categories as held by Samkhya and Yoga. This also accounts for the difference between the technical terms of *Prakriti*, *Vikriti* and *Prakriti-Vikriti* of Samkhya and the *Vishesha* and *Avishesha* of the Yoga. The doctrine of dharma, lakshana and avastha-parinama, though not in any way antagonistic to Samkhya, is not so definitely described as in the Yoga. Some scholars think that Samkhya did not believe in atoms as Yoga did. But though the word paramanu has not been mentioned in the *Karika* it does not seem that Samkhya did not believe in atoms. Bhikshu considers the word *Sukshma* in *Karika* 39, as referring to the atoms. There are also slight differences with regard to the process involved in perception. On almost all other fundamental points Samkhya and Yoga are in complete agreement." (pp. 164-165)

Our author has not in this book discussed the relation of the Yoga philosophy to other Indian systems of thought. This has been, we have been given to understand, dealt with by the author in another book which, however, has not as yet been published. We are eagerly waiting for the publication of the book.

Our author's exposition is based, not upon second-hand materials, but upon original commentaries of Vyasa, Vācaspati, Vijnan Bhikshu and other scholars. His treatment of the subject is clear, logical and scholarly, and we doubt not the book will be appreciated both by scholars and laymen. It will be a standard book on the Yoga philosophy.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

HISTORY OF KERALA: By K. P. Padmanabha Menon. Published by Mr. Padmanabha Menon, Di can's Road, Ernakulam. Pp. 562. Price Rs. 8.

Malabar is a land of backwaters. This is true not only in the sense of its geographical features but equally of its cultural and political history. Till the railways penetrated the isolation which the Western Ghats had ensured it from the beginning, Kerala was ethnologically, culturally and politically a different unit from the other parts of India. It hardly ever comes into the main currents of South Indian history. Except when Vira Ravi Varma, King of Quilon taking advantage of the anarchy that followed the invasion of Malik Kafur conquered the Pandyas, Cholas and other well-established monarchies and carved out for himself an empire with Kanchivaram as its capital, there is no occasion in the history of Dravidian India when Kerala bears any part in the common political evolution. But this must not be taken as evidence of Malabar living all through ages a life of primitive barbarism. It lived a placid life of its own embracing within itself the diverse culture of the Phoenicians, Jews, Arabs, Syrian Christians and finally the Europeans. Its affinities and associations were with the sea-faring peoples and we have ample evidence of close and uninterrupted inter-

course between Malabar and the Western Nations till the time that the Portuguese annihilated the sea-power of the Zamorin. Dr. Elliot Smith in his "Ryland's Library" Memoirs on the Migration of Culture has conclusively proved the influences that came in the wake of the Phoenicians to Malabar. The allusion to Dravidian words in the Old Testament is well known and a persistent tradition tells us that the last Emperor of Malabar accepted Islam during the life-time of the Prophet and left for Mecca to die there. The arrival of the Apostle St. Thomas at Malankera in A. D. 52 followed by such adventurous missionaries as Thomas of Cana in the 4th century and Mar Sapor and Mar Peroz in 823 who could be considered the founders of the flourishing Christian Church of Malabar is proof enough of the direct communication that existed between Kerala and the countries on the other side of the Arabian Sea. During the time of the Baghdad Khalifs and in fact up to the discovery of the sea-route by Vasco da Gama, the Moors held the sovereignty of the Arabian Sea, and their association politically and commercially with Malabar was intimate. Ibn Batuta, Marco Polo and many other equally famous travellers of those times bear witness to this fact. Since the arrival of the Portuguese and following them the Dutch, Malabar became the scene of considerable commercial rivalry especially as the control of Malabar trade meant the monopoly of pepper and cardamom.

Malabar has not so far attracted the attention of Indian historical scholars. Even South Indian historians—like Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar—have left this interesting country alone, though from a study of its culture and history much light could be thrown on the evolution of religious and social ideas in India. The late K. P. Padmanabha Menon attempted to do this in a minor way but his lack of equipment and the conditions under which he worked made it impossible to do it satisfactorily. His History of Cochin, published in two volumes in Malayalam is an excellent source book but even to it, the name of history would be hardly suitable. The present volume, though styled by the editor the History of Kerala, does not attempt either a continuous narrative or a detailed study of any important epoch. It is merely a collection of notes on different subjects ranging from place names to a description of the arms used by the Nairs in war. These notes were meant to explain the obscure parts in Visscher's "Letters from Malabar," and they are jumbled together in this book by the editor under the pompous but utterly misleading name of "The History of Kerala". Under the circumstances it is only to be expected that these Notes are generally 'scrappy' and occasionally discursive.

Visscher was a Dutch Chaplain at Cochin who regaled his family at home with a descriptive account of the country in which it was his lot to serve. Though a book of some value in matters relating to the Dutch administration of that port, and the relations of the Netherlands East India Company with the local princes, the "Letters" are not of much use for the general history of Kerala. On the social questions of the time, Visscher is altogether unreliable, and on political events before his time, he only sends home what he had heard in the bazaars. Mr. Padmanabha Menon annotated this work and brought to bear upon his task all the resources of his patient scholarship. Naturally the work became a kind of miscellany

dealing with all kinds of subjects. Even so far as the more elaborate 'Notes' are concerned, Mr. Padmanabha Menon's attempt seems to have been to bring together conflicting views of various travellers without attempting either to discuss their reliability as historical evidence. The publications of the Haklyut Society afford ample scope for scholarship of the kind and Mr. Menon seems to have been content with noting down the views expressed by these observers. This is hardly an acceptable historical method.

The most interesting portion of Mr. Menon's work deals with the popular institutions in Malabar. The existence in ancient India of political institutions through which popular opinion was brought to bear on monarchs is a well-established fact now, but it is doubtful whether anywhere else in India they attained that stage of political importance or persisted for so long a time as in Malabar. There were two distinct experiments—one among the Nambudris and the other among the Nayars, and there is sufficient material available about both which make their history fascinating in the extreme. The first in point of time was the theocratic republic which the Nambudris wanted to establish. The whole Brahmin community which was spread over Malabar consisted of 64 *gramas*. These were constituted into 4 provinces over each of which was a governor elected by the members of all the *gramas* in assembly. Over these governors was a *Rakshapurushan*, also elected, whose duty it was to see that the governors did not oppress this people. This system in its fully developed form did not last long as the governors and *Rakshapurushans* began to oppress the people who met together in a general assembly and decided to invite rulers from Pandya and Chola countries to rule over the country for successive terms of 12 years.

The second system continued until very recently and is of greater interest as it was essentially popular. The following summarised extract from Mr. Menon's Note on the subject will be found interesting.

"The national assemblies form a peculiar feature in the early political organisation of Malabar.... The Keralotpatti refers to these assemblies or Kuttams. There were three of this sort and these were composed of representatives of the various divisions into which the country was divided—

(1) Kuttam of the Tara or the village, (2) the Kuttam of the Nadu or district, (3) the Kuttam of all Kerala. The last or the National Assembly under ordinary circumstances assembled only once in 12 years and when the whole Kerala assembled it did so at Tirunavaye on the banks of the Ponani river on the occasion of Mahamakam festival.... Of the three, the *Kuttam of the Nadu* was the most important. It was a representative body of immense power which when necessity existed set at naught the authority of the Rajah and punished his ministers.... The great *Kuttam* or the national assembly was held once in 12 years. Originally it was presided over by the Valluvanad Raja which arrangement continued until the 12th or 13th century when the Zamorin becoming supreme in Kerala assumed the presidency of the assembly. The last celebration of the festival took place in 1743 and the political struggles that convulsed Malabar soon after made it impossible to celebrate it any longer. Ordinarily the next celebration should have come on in 1755 but Hyder's invasion of Malabar made it impossible. With his attack the ancient constitution fell. When Seringapatam had fallen and the

Rajahs and chieftains returned, they came back not as the feudal chiefs of old but as the deputies of an all-powerful suzerain."

Thus these representative institutions continued up to the time of British occupation and it is only the consolidation of British power that caused the breakdown of so powerful a system based on the tradition and history of the Malayali race. These and other interesting phases of institutional evolution require scientific investigation. Mr. Menon's book does not—in spite of its name—pretend to undertake any such work. In fact the editor did a distinct disservice to this useful collection of interesting notes by calling it the history of Malabar. Much of the matter could have been compressed and a few of the Notes which have not even antiquarian interest, left out. As it is, the book is almost an exhibition of futile scholarship though there are many Notes here and there which evidence painstaking and methodical study. There are a few pictures in the volume most of which are reproduced from Mr. Anantakrishna Aiyar's well-known anthropological work on Cochin Castes and Tribes.

K. M. PANIKKAR.

ASA DI VAR (GURU NANAK'S ODE): Translated by Teja Singh. M.A., Professor, Khalsa College, Amritsar. Price 1-14. To be had of Secretary Sikh Tract Society, Khalsa College, Amritsar.

It is a translation, with an Introduction and Notes, of ASA-DI-VAR, the great morning service of the Sikhs. Prof. Teja Singh has given to the English-knowing world a very readable and connected rendering of this great hymn of Guru Nanak.

Besides enjoying in it the sublime ideas of the great prophet about man and his work in this world, we have here also a reasonable explanation of some of the greatest difficulties about Sikhism, such as the institution of guruship and its connection with the principle of organisation among the Sikhs, the place of forms and symbols in their religion. Coming from an educated Sikh who is engaged in the teaching of religion, these views have got an especial value to the student of comparative religion.

X.

FURTHER MILESTONES IN GUJARATI LITERATURE: By Krishmalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B. J.P., Chief Judge, Presidency Small Cause Court, Bombay. N. M. Tripathi and Co., Bombay. Rs. 4. Cloth Gilt letters. Pp. 279+xiv, with a portrait of Ranchhodas Giridharbhai, "the pioneer of vernacular education in Gujarat" and a facsimile of his letter showing how the Education Department worked in the early fifties of the last century.

This book deals with the modern period of Gujarati literature, the older period having been treated of in the author's "Milestones in Gujarati Literature," published in 1914. It is neatly got up and is almost free from misprints.

We have no knowledge of the Gujarati language and literature. But as in spite of that disqualification, we have been led on by the author to read his book with interest from cover to cover and we have thereby got some idea of modern Gujarati literature, we cannot resist the conclusion that it is an excellent handbook. The style is elegant and lucid. We are not qualified to judge of the correctness or otherwise of the opinions the author

pronounces on the authors and their works dealt with in the book, but we can bear testimony that there is in it throughout an evident endeavour to be just and fair and judicious in all observations and pronouncements, which is due, in part at least, to the author's judicial training and habit. These have given him a balanced judgment.

Incidentally we get from the book glimpses of the old system of education prevalent in Gujarat which was of a primitive kind and according to which the students were taught the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic. "The children learnt the letters of the alphabet and the numerical figures by drawing them on sand strewn on the floor or on a small oblong piece of board. The letters of the alphabet and numbers imprinted deep on a layer of mud spread over a piece of board often served, when dried, as safe guides to the young learners who had to run their pen repeatedly over them to become familiar with the correct form. Thereafter they used powdered white clay mixed with water and brass plates, and then ink and paper. They were expected to rise early, especially in winter, and practise writing, as it was thought that the cold of the morning and the absence of all disturbance at that hour tended to steady their hand. One result of this was that the older generation of Gujaratis wrote a neat and well-shaped hand. Reading-books in the sense of modern class-books did not exist, and attention in these schools was mostly concentrated on several branches of arithmetic, in which the learners were so trained that sums in the Rule of Three and Double Rule of Three were worked out mentally, without the aid of slate or paper. Spelling and reading were not much cultivated, and subjects such as history and geography were never thought of. After acquiring rudiments of this kind of education, at the hands of a schoolmaster, concerned more with his remuneration and his cane than teaching, the boys went back to their respective homes, each one to follow the vocation of his family or caste. A Brahmin's son would go to a Pandit and try to learn the Puranas and other holy works while the more ambitious amongst them would proceed to Benares to set the seal of perfection to their studies. The son of a Baniya or Kayastha would either attend the shop of a merchant and pick up the system of native book-keeping, or if the family were so inclined, might be called upon to study Persian and Arabic with a Mulla or an Akhundji and thus qualify for State Service. The other lower castes remained uneducated. In fact, they hardly counted. The only interest in literature of those who were so educated was that they sometimes read the poems of Samal Premanand and others, copied out by copyists, while those who were uneducated rested content with listening to the street recitations of Vyasa or Man Bhatta narrating various episodes, mostly religious or Puranic. The State did nothing towards education in the present sense of the word and private agency did nothing more than produce Pandits or Mullas."

Mr. Jhaveri's book is divided into six chapters: Introductory, Poetry, Prose, Drama, Fiction, and Miscellaneous. The chapter devoted to poetry occupies almost half of the work.

As the Hindus form the bulk of the population of Gujarat, naturally most of the authors come from that community. But it is remarkable that, though the Parsis are a very small community, they have done much for Gujarati literature—much more than

the Muslims, who are far more numerous than the Parsis. According to Mr. Jhaveri, in Gujarati fiction the Parsis "carry the palm on its humorous side".

We are sorry to read the author's paragraph on Gujarati poetesses. Says he:—

"Poetesses too have flourished during this period, but not quite to that extent that is found in the older times. Here too quite a lot of them contribute to the monthlies, but their number is necessarily more restricted than that of men. The quality of their work is decidedly inferior; beyond uttering a few platitudes they have done nothing, they have conceived nothing original. Their work is a mere fifth-rate copy of the work of their brethren. Not a single female writer has reached the height of Mirabai; none can reach even to her knees. There are, however, some ladies who have written poems of some merit."

The author tells us that a very large part, more than half, of the Gujarati literature of fiction consists of translations: "in a majority of cases it is easier to translate than to write an original work. Translations from Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi and Marathi, even from Urdu, and by far the greatest number from English, bear out the above observation. The translators naturally fall into two categories, Hindus and Parsis. There are a very few Mahomedans, and their number is negligible."

"Hardly has a good book in Bengali remained untranslated into Gujarati. A great many of the novels, depicting scenes and narrating incidents from the history of Maharashtra, given away as presents to their subscribers by the "Guzarati" of Bombay and the two other weeklies of Ahmedabad are founded on Marathi works and are more or less translations. Marathi itself has not yet advanced far in this branch of literature. It is far inferior to Bengali, and even to Gujarati, and is only now beginning to make headway."

The author says in conclusion:—

"An endeavour has been made in the preceding pages to trace the rise of Gujarati literature, from the time that education on the lines imparted in the country of our rulers began to be imparted in Gujarat, and the early as well as the later effects of such instruction on the different departments of our literature.....Once it became established in schools and later in colleges, its ideals of liberty and freedom spread rapidly, and young enthusiasts began to confuse licence with liberty and looseness of discipline with freedom. Our old social ideals, our domestic usages and habits, our reverence and respect for aged men and women and things, received a rude shock and began to give way. We thought every Western idea and European ideal better than our own; we thought a lot of that civilization, and proportionately underrated our own. After a few years, however, things began to assume their true perspective, and we began to think that all that was ours was not bad, and all that was our rulers', admirable. We, our country, our religion, our philosophy, our customs, had their good points too. It was Western scholars like Max Mueller that opened our eyes, and we recovered from the first, disturbing effects of that shock. We began to discriminate, and we found that it was possible for us to assimilate the good points of the West with our own. We have been following that line for the last twenty-five years or so. Looking to the rapidity with which everything is moving all over the world after the great war, it is not possible to predict for our ideas in literature any

certain line of development. We also are caught in the maelstrom of disturbance and democracy; none knows where we shall land. We have therefore rested content with presenting the different stages in our literature, which in their turn reflect the different stages in the line of our progress, political, social and economic. We have nothing to be ashamed of in our past record. May God, in the years to come, make its pages still better and brighter!"

THE POCKET OXFORD DICTIONARY OF CURRENT ENGLISH: Compiled by F. G. Fowler and H. W. Fowler. Oxford University Press. Pp. xvi+1000. Rs. 4-8. Cloth. Gilt letters.

It is a marvel of compression and usefulness. We keep it constantly on our table and find it quite satisfactory for all ordinary purposes.

For school boys and girls we do not know of a better dictionary of the same size.

THE JAPAN YEAR BOOK: COMPLETE CYCLOPAEDIA OF GENERAL INFORMATION AND STATISTICS ON JAPAN AND JAPANESE TERRITORIES FOR THE YEAR 1924-25: By Y. Takenobu, Professor at the Waseda University and late of the "Japan Times." Eighteenth Annual Publication. The Japan Year Book Office, Haramachi Sanchoe, Ushigome, Tokyo. Pp. 1012.

There are, besides, one coloured general map of Japan, Korea and Manchuria; coloured plan of Reconstruction of Tokyo; coloured plan of Reconstruction of Yokohama; a coloured map showing the depth of the Bay of Sagami as affected by the Great Earthquake; another coloured map showing the epicenters, the isoseismals and the epicenter of the principal after-shocks of the great Sagami-Sea-earthquake; and coloured plan showing the sections burned in Tokyo.

This edition of the *Japan Year Book* has been called the Earthquake Edition, and contains 270 pages of reading-matter telling all about the earthquake and its effects, besides the plans and maps mentioned above.

The *Japan Year Book* has been all along a very useful book of reference, indispensable to all journalists, statesmen, politicians and others interested in public affairs. The present issue is an improvement on all previous ones. It fully deserves a world-wide circulation.

LETTERS FROM ABROAD: By Rabindranath Tagore. S. Ganesan, Madras. Pp. 156. Cloth. Gilt letters. The get-up is good.

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes in the preface that these letters were written to him by the poet each week during a long absence from the Asram at Santiniketan.

Like the English translations of many of the poet's works which have been published by Messrs. Macmillan and Co., in book form, many or perhaps all of the letters comprised in this book originally appeared in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. It is, therefore, not necessary for us to commend this book to the acceptance of our readers, who know the value and charm of the letters. It is only necessary to draw attention to the fact that these letters were written in English by the poet, and therefore give a better idea of his English style—and, may we add, his pervasive humour?—than many of the translations, done by himself or others, excellent as most of the latter are.

In going through the letters again, it occurs to

us that they should be translated into Bengali and other vernaculars,—they are so full of wisdom, spiritual, moral, educational and (our politicians will pardon us for adding) political. We mention Bengali in particular, because we Bengalis seem to labour under the wrong notion that the poet has given us all that he had to give through the vehicle of the Bengali language and that all his English writings are only repetitions in a foreign garb. Some are no doubt translations, but many are original productions.

R. C.

SOME JAPANESE ARTISTS: By Yone Noguchi

The author of this book has dealt with a subject of no little value. Some of his wise remarks such as, "Enter into nature and forget her," "Signature to a Japanese Artist is a part of the picture and a matter of serious thinking, for the balance, to perfection is the union of reality and imagination etc.," are of rare critical merit. From ages men are born with an instinct to love the beautiful. The art in a man gradually develops or decays according to the taste he acquires from the society he keeps. Our ideas are often misdirected towards the cheap and the vulgar place, than directed towards real appreciation of art. Only a real artist and a critic can save the society from degeneration. The great poet and author of this book has a true admiration for art, no doubt, but we are disappointed by the poor reproductions in western half-tone process, which practically have failed to carry any idea of the famous originals. Still, the Fowl among Palm Palms by Jakuchu, proves the magnificent personality of the artist and traditional atmosphere in it. Yeitoku's screen is a marvellous execution with Chinese influence on the bold lines of the figures. After all with much regret we are compelled to say, that the great poet with so much keen artistic sense in him, has misrepresented his country's works by using mechanical western blocks instead of Japan's woodcut blocks which have established a name for themselves in the world of art.

DEVIPRASAD ROY CHOWDHURY.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE FREE CHILD: By Christabel M. Meredith. Published by Constable & Co., Ltd., London. Price 5 shillings.

In this book the author deals with the subject of education of children between the ages of three and twelve. The book advocates that the three R's, History and Geography, Handwork and Modeling, Drawing and Painting, Music and Dancing, are all to be taught indirectly by creating an "environment which, for children of this age, is both more possible and more important than direct teaching or training". The desirable conditions in home and school-rooms to foster a spirit of self-dependence in everyday activities and to form habits which will persist after their education is over have been discussed in the book in an interesting way. The author advocates omission of a definite lesson time. This however does not necessarily mean the omission of all the subject-matter which would ordinarily be included in lessons. Rigid time-table too often makes things uninteresting to children. Training in self-dependence and general helpfulness is seldom effective if it is made unpleasant. Therefore "definite lessons are at any rate for young children (below nine years of age) of much less value intellectually than free occupations because they can hardly ever have the same spirit of self-direction

enterprise". Though the school time-table for such children should not be too rigid, it should be so drawn up that children might do a certain task every day for a short period and that other things must for the time being give way to this duty.

This book should be studied by all teachers of young children.

J. M. S.

HINDI.

HINDI LOKOKTI KOSA : A DICTIONARY OF HINDI Proverbs. By B. Bishambharanath Khetri. Price Rs. 3-8. cloth bound Rs. 4, to be had from the author, 99 Harrison Road, Calcutta.

It is not the dexterous arrangement of thousands of beautiful proverbs but the incidental insertion of stories pertaining to the creation of the same, and their masterly elucidation that constitute the true achievement of the author.

The giving of well-chosen quotations from the renowned poets of the past to exemplify the proper usage of various proverbs has greatly facilitated the task of readers and has made the whole thing highly useful.

A proverb is to speech what salt is to food : therefore the book, in our opinion, is not only of a great help to students and scholars, writers and poets but also to all readers and public speakers, specially at this transitional period, when great minds are suggesting to make Hindi the lingua franca of India.

The author of such a useful book has undoubtedly rendered a signal service to us all in general and to the Hindi world in particular. We offer our heartiest congratulations to the author and entertain high hopes that the book will be appreciated by the public.

C.

GUJARATI.

KAVYA PRAKASH. PART I : Translated by Ram Narayan Vishwanath Pathak, and Rasiklal Chhotalal Parikh, printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick card bound. Pp. 116. Price Re. 1-8. 0 (1924)

As observed in our prior observations on the publications of the Gujarat Puratattva Mandir, it has been doing a lot of useful work. This fine translation of Mammat's Kavya Prakash, Ullas 1-6, will be appreciated fully by those who are acquainted with the excellences of the original. The preface is a practical piece of writing, and it takes proper note of some of the erotic illustrations in the text, which cannot be defended at present.

CHANDRAPADA : By Dharmanand Kosambi, and Ram Narayan V. Pathak, printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick card bound. Pp. 156. Price Re. 1. 0. 0. (1924).

This is another production of the Puratattva Mandir. As a scholarly translation of this ancient religious book of the Buddhistic creed into Gujarati, it stands by itself, and the way in which it is edited with explanations and an erudite preface, does great credit to the culture of their writers.

Mahan Napoleon : By Narmadashankar Balashankar Pandya. Pp. 797; with pictures. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 3. 0. 0.

GIRDHAR KRIT RAMAYANA. Pp. 749. illustrated, cloth bound, price Rs. 2. 8. 0.

AKHA NI VANI. Pp. 446, cloth bound. Price Re. 1.10. 0.

BANKIM NIBANDHA-MALA : By various translators. Pp. 187 cloth bound. Price Rs. 2. All printed and published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1924.

Enough praise cannot be given to the Society for having published all these four substantial volumes comparatively so cheaply. They are all second editions, the first ones having been sold off in a short time. As second editions, they show considerable additions to the text and fresh research also : the preface to the Ramayana is very interesting as it shows that in some parts of Gujarat the unity between Hindus and Mahomedans is so close that Borah Patels are found singing and explaining as story-reciters mythological poems of the Hindus, such as, the Okha Haran and the Ramayana.

NIRMALA : By Chaturbhuj Manakeshwar Bhatt. Printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 234. Price Rs. 2. 0.0. (1924)

The object of the writer of this short novel is to point out the evil and work for the eradication of the numerous subcastes and subdivisions into which the four primary castes have drifted, and, in consequence, scarcity of eligible brides and bridegrooms. He is an advocate of the original Varnashram Dharm. He is not a novice in literature, and consequently says what he has to say with efficacy and unaggressively. He does not go "the whole hog" and want to abolish the caste system. He stands midway, and even if the ideal for which he stands be achieved, much of the evil from which our society suffers at present would surely disappear. His three heroines are well portrayed.

SHANKHANE KODI : By "Koipan" ("Anyone"). Printed at the Deshi Mitra Printing Press. Pp. 185. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 2. 0. 0. (1924)

The title means, A Conch and a Shell. It is described by the author to be a comedy in three acts, and it deals with three social questions of importance, viz. marriages of old men with young brides, the sale of the latter, and widow remarriage. The humour in places is pleasant, though oftener coarse. He has however been able to make his observations effective and piquant.

K. M. J.

TAMIL.

GHANDHI PURANAM, PART III : By Srimathi Pandithai Achalambeikai Ammal. Thirupathiripuliyur. Pp. 64. Price 12 as.

The talented authoress has kept up in this part also the highly pleasing style of Parts I and II. She is evidently mistaken when she means Hindus by the word Indians. She does not seem to know that the hierarchy of caste has no place in the twentieth century politics.

MADHAVAN.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Russian Muslim Women's Inspiring Move

To *The New Orient* of Lahore Mr. Abdul Qayyum Malik has contributed an informing article on intellectual and political revival among Russian Muslims, from which we extract below some passages relating to the work done by Russian Muslim women.

By far the greatest, the most significant and most far-reaching feature of this Russian awakening is the noble and worthy part played by the Russian women in the up-building of a new Tartar Russia. In order to ensure the success of the new movement for more political rights and more extensive popular education it was found necessary to make the masses, if not educated, at least literate. While men were engaged in directing other phases of the movement, leading women took upon themselves the duty of spreading the blessings of the three R's among the younger members of the people. To achieve this aim, women's committees in Azarbaijan, Daghistan and Crimea were constituted, and from its headquarters at Simfropol, the "Central Committee of Popular Amelioration" launched forth its ambitious programme, controlling hundreds of branch committees in all parts of Eastern and Western Russia. A Central Executive to promote the work of these Committees was formed under the leadership of Shafiq Ghazanfrinskia Khanum, wife of Ismail Ghazanfrinski, the famous Editor of the *Tarjuman-i-Haqiqat* of Baghcha Serai, Crimea, with Aisha Ishkova Khanum, Dilara Bulgakova Khanum, Ilhamieh Taktarova Khanum and others as members. One of the first successes of this body was the founding of hundreds of "reading and writing schools," and recognition, by Kouraltai of Crimea, of the right of women to vote for representative political bodies. The great Oriental Conference of Baku held in September, 1920, reaffirmed women's right to participate in, and to promote, all social and political work of the community and as an earnest of this policy admitted 55 women to the membership of its Central Bureau.

In another Conference held at the same place between May 26 and 31, 1922, no less than 262 women representatives were present on behalf of the Soviet of all Russias. Out of these 262, the Republics of Georgia, Azarbaijan and Armenia sent 70 members, and the Republic of Daghistan and Ajaristan sent 63, so that with the exception of representatives of Armenia and Georgia all other Caucasian members were Mussalmans.

In the Women's Committee, which met before the General Conference, resolutions were passed for the :—

- (1) abolition of polygamy,
- (2) abolition of child marriages,
- (3) abolition of "Kalym" paid by the bridegroom to the bride's relatives at marriage.

The first resolution according to "Pravada" was really intended to improve the status of

women in the more backward parts of Caucasia where polygamy was rampant. It is needless to say that all these activities have considerably broadened Russian Muslim women's outlook on life in changing Russia. This happy result is most in evidence in Azarbaijan where every district and principal town has its Ladies' Club, that of Baku having a membership of 500 Muslim ladies. These Clubs are not only literary, educational and social in their aim, but contain special arrangements for the members to get instructions in arts and music.

The following newly constituted Muslim States are either federated integral units of Soviet Russia or are independent recognised units :—

1. The Republic of Azarbaijan,—independent of the Russian Federation.
2. The Kirghiz Republic,—independent.
3. Daghistan Republic,—member of the Federation.
4. North Caucasian Republic,—member of the Federation.
5. Republic of Abkhazia,—member.
6. Republic of Tataristan,—member.
7. Bashkird Republic,—independent.
8. Republic of Turkestan,—independent.
9. Republic of Bokhara,—independent.
10. Republic of Khiva,—independent.
11. Republic of Crimea,—independent.

Work as a Foundation of National Life

Professor M. Timur, M. A., contributes to the same review a paper treating of work as a foundation of national life. He observes that

The secret of the strength of a nation does not lie in its numbers or the extent and natural wealth of its country, so much as in the moral and intellectual virtues of its members, and, again, not in their intellectual qualities so much as in their moral worth. If a nation wants to be strong and prosperous, it does not require clever debators, and men who can draw nice distinction in law but men loyal and devoted to the cause, working for it with their whole might and loving one another like brothers. The article is an attempt at studying the causal relation between national greatness and a people's love of work.

The following passage should provoke thought both among Muslims and Hindus :—

The followers of the Prophet, who did not consider it below his dignity to mend his shoes and put a patch on his shirt with his own hands at a time when he was the supreme ruler of Arabia would be expected to exhibit a more democratic spirit even when living among the highly aristocratic people of India. But the spirit of aristocracy

is a spirit of such potency that even among the Muhammadans of India the weaver and the shoemaker, although the equals of the greatest monarch when praying in the mosque, are regarded as men of low caste. The teaching and the example of the prophet have no influence outside the mosque. A high-caste Muhammadan feels ashamed of adopting manual profession even when the income he expects from it is higher than what he could earn in any other way. He adopts it with an apology and considers himself degraded in the eyes of his friends and relatives. This is a purely Hindu spirit which the Muhammadans of India have imbibed from their fellow countrymen. It is strong where the Hindus predominate, but in places like Peshawar where the Muhammadan element is stronger, one may find even Sayeds earning their living by making shoes. Fortunately under economic stress and through inability to compete with the industrious Hindus in trade and the learned professions, the Muhammadans of every part of India are returning to the original Islamic spirit of democracy and are making no nice distinction in taking up manual crafts for their living. But the spirit of aristocracy is a dangerous spirit and no man can ever be safe from its secret influence.

If India has to learn anything from Europe, it is the love of work. The beautiful roads, the magnificent houses, the well-cultivated fields and the busy factories are a sure evidence of the hard work habitually done by the people. "Workman" is not a term of reproach there as it is here. It is a term, which signifies independence, determination and honour with the added significance of danger for those who till now considered themselves the masters of the land.

Communal Representation and Difference in Economic Conditions

In the same monthly, Mr. Nur Ahmad discusses the problem of national unity in India. The remedy he proposes is contained in substance in the following passages:—

Communal representation in spheres of public administration is a device for enabling the weaker party in this conflict to put up something like an equal fight against the stronger one. This safeguard is, no doubt, indispensable for the time being from the nationalist's point of view. For, in its absence the difference between the economic conditions of the two parties will only tend to increase, thereby intensifying their mutual conflict still further. But we should not be content with merely checking the aggravation of the existing evil. We should also seek its total elimination.

The line of economic distinction between Hindus and Muslims must, at all events, be obliterated before they can both be merged into a single community.

The "levelling up" of the backward communities is admitted by most thinking persons to be a desirable and even a necessary thing for India. The method of uniting Hindus and Muslims, which I am advocating here, resolves itself into a plea for this very ideal, with particular reference to the difference between their respective economic conditions. How precisely this ideal is to be achieved is a question, which it would require both time and thought to answer. For, such an answer, if it

is to be of any practical use, must be based on a study of carefully collected economic facts. But it is obvious that special educational facilities for the backward community and the popularisation of co-operative credit and other forms of cooperation among its members are some of the most important methods of relieving the economic tension between the two classes. Let Hindu and Muslim leaders join hands in preparing and working out a practical programme for equalising the economic position of the two communities. And it will be only after their endeavours in this direction achieve a certain measure of success that the forces of union and assimilation will assert themselves in the case of Hindus and Muslims. Such a programme should, I think, also provide for a progressive abolition of the system of communal representation. As certain definite stages in the relative economic progress of the backward community are reached certain aspects of the system of communal representation should, according to the provisions of a Pact, automatically cease to exist or to be demanded. A Pact regarding the rights of, and safeguards for, the two premier communities in India can lead us to nationalism only if it embodies a self-eliminating tendency.

It should be remembered in this connection that large sections of Hindus are indigent, and large sections of Muslims are prosperous; so that the line of economic demarcation does not always run along sectarian lines. It is generally thought that Muslims are everywhere more illiterate and ignorant than the Hindus. The fact, however, is that in many provinces and States, Muslims are educationally more advanced than the Hindus, and even where the Muslims are more backward than the Hindus, numerous castes of Hindus are more backward than the Muslims. What is true in the sphere of education is generally true also as regards the economic condition of Hindus and Muslims.

The Life of Postal Clerks and Sorters

Labour writes:—

If the life of the clerical class is so sorrowful, that of Postal clerks and sorters is simply tragic. It is a longdrawn tale of suffering and distress. He has to live a life of forced exile, subject to frequent transfers. Most of his life has to be spent in unhealthy places and despicable quarters. He knows no holiday or rest, even the Sabbath is almost denied to him. His life is a monotonous drudgery. In his youth which is the time of enjoyment he has to lead the life of forced asceticism, far away from his near and dear ones, his wife even, as he can ill afford to maintain a separate establishment. By the time his wages increase he steps into premature old age without any zest for life left in him. He can then possibly keep his wife and children with him but has hardly any leisure to enjoy their company. Chill penury, long hours of monotonous drudgery, unsympathetic treatment from the superior officers and the public turn them into cynics,

devoid of love and sympathy, the highest treasures on earth. Their wives and children famish not only from want of food but also from want of love. There is hardly any sunshine or joy in the Postal clerk's life. It is a life of bondage, of servitude.

The life of R. M. S. sorters is harder still. It is a life of continuous motion in running trains, of humiliating body searches and house searches up to the last days of their life when they become physically incapable of performing the rough work. And yet their pay has been fixed at a lower scale than even that of the lowpaid postal clerks. Is such a life worth living at all?

Formerly these public servants and benefactors bore their sufferings with fatalistic resignation; but now that they have learnt to combine and agitate, let us hope their condition will improve. Our sympathies are entirely with them.

"Capital" on Mr. Jayaswal's "Hindu Polity"

As many educated Indians doubt whether their ancestors ever enjoyed self-government in the modern democratic sense, it may be permissible to extract some passages from the review of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's "Hindu Polity" which has appeared in *Capital*, the well-known weekly journal of commerce, edited by Mr. Patrick O'R. Lovett. It is said therein:—

"Prof. Jayaswal's book on Hindu Polity is a remarkable production. It epitomises within a handy volume—two volumes compressed into one—a vast amount of research and a rare combination of the historical method of enquiry. Those who are anxious to have a glimpse of the Hindu past will read it with profit and pleasure. And the Hindu will read it with pride, for it is of the utmost importance that a nation should have a glorious past to look back upon.....Prof. Jayaswal comes to the conclusion that 'national life and activities in the earliest times on record were expressed through popular assemblies and institutions'. In fact, these institutions were extant even in the Vedic times which synchronised with the very dawn of human history. The Hindu had his notions of representative institutions fully developed in that primitive age."

The reviewer then proceeds to state:—

".....the continent of India or rather the vast expanse that compose the northern portion of it was a conglomeration of republics, each with an independent status with its distinguishing characteristics and distinctive traits. The main lines on which the constitutions were based were practically the same, the voice of the people reigning supreme in each. And the Indian was a freeman in the truest sense of the term."

Regarding the Hindu Republics, it is said:—

"In these early Hindu Republics, the President

was always invested with supreme power. He was assisted by a body of Ministers and as in modern democracies each was entrusted with a separate portfolio. The deliberations used to be conducted on quite modern lines. There were motions, debates and voting—just as, for instance, we have in the House of Commons of England. So that, after all, there is practically nothing new in the world.....The world thought moves in a cycle. It may or may not be the case. But some people seriously believe in this cycle theory. If that theory is correct, the cycle of representative government seems to have started in India and reappears today in the democracies of the West. However, one thing is clear. The early Hindu was the progenitor of the idea and was signally successful in giving that idea shape. That is a record of which the Hindu is entitled to be justly proud."

As to what Alexander the Great saw and as to whether he "conquered" the Punjab, the reviewer's observations are:—

"When Alexander the Great was in India, with his Macedonian phalanx on his self-imposed mission of Hellenising the world, he found his path obstructed and his career of conquest checked by a group of sturdy Hindu Republics. The Greek account of these Republics is really edifying. Prof. Jayaswal, with consummate skill, delves deep into the Greek history of India during the period and places before his readers some every rare chips. The Indian was manly, excellent physique, good-looking, valiant and well-skilled in the art of war. After the last tussle Alexander had with him, he found that in this sanguinary trial of strength his men went to the wall and the parlay he had with his foe with a view to concluding peace—and not so much to conclude peace as to make his retreat easy—was a regular field of the cloth of gold which finally dismisses the idea of a meeting of the victor and the vanquished. It was a meeting of equals.....The Greek account presents an excellent mirror of the Hindu Republics of those days—well-ordered States of free men who could hold their own against anybody and everybody in the world."

As regards monarchy in India, we read:—

"India eventually came to have kings. But the idea of kingship was originally divorced from all sorts of autocracy. The tyrant is of later growth and is an abnormality. The king, according to the Hindu idea, was the slave of the people placed on the throne to please them. He was the Lord's anointed, but he was guided by a body of Ministers who were selected by him, but not subservient to his wishes. It was said of Gladstone that he once told Queen Victoria, 'Madam, I represent the people of England'. The Hindu Ministers fulfilled an analogous position in relation to their king. But more than the Ministers there was another body of men whom the king tacitly obeyed—the ascetic Brahmins of the forest—men who were ever ready to outstare royalty itself. The forests and the hermitages were the nurseries of powerful public opinion in those times just as they were the primitive Universities of ancient India. The place which these Brahmins filled in the Indian States of those days was unique.....the old Hindu king was bound to loyally discharge his duties in respect of his people—he lived for their good—for their moral, material and political well-being. The

institution was grand and the structure superb, but it toppled down eventually with the efflux of time".

Capital's concluding observations are :—

"It may be an irony of fate that Western constitutionalism should set to itself the task of restoring the home of constitutionalism—the first and earliest temple where it was installed and worshipped. But that cannot be helped. That is no matter for lament. India's uplift can no longer be put off. However, it is a grand book Prof. Jayaswal has written. It deserves to be widely read. The style is quite in keeping with the subject."

Something About the Bengal-Nagpur Railway

The Bengal-Nagpur Railway Magazine, which it is a pleasure to handle and to read, says about the Railway of which it is the organ :—

There is a quotation which we would like to use at the head of this article :—

"Man wants but little here below

But wants that little good."

That man does not always get it is a commonplace of life. Various things arise to annoy him daily and as a rule he has his remedy. He cuts them out. By this picturesque phrase we mean that man learns rather to do without than to be annoyed.

Unfortunately if we annoy the Public whom we serve they cannot retaliate in the manner of the individual mentioned above. Transport in these days takes its place as one of the primary necessities of existence.

The Railway Administration being intensely human has no desire to annoy. Rather and very much the reverse. It has before it a constant desire to render good service to the country which it serves. All of which sounds very much like a free advertisement which indeed it is not intended to be.

This Railway goes to what may be accurately described as the commercial limit in its desire to do the right thing. There are people of course who are never pleased. They resemble the gentleman who sat down to dine in the Refreshment Car. After partaking of an excellent dinner he called for the complaint book and wrote therein :

"Drinks should be provided free with meals."

Even had he been so provided, he would have asked for cigars and so on. There are others who wish to carry pet animals in the carriages and one went so far as to ride with a pet panther. It is not to such as these that an administration looks for legitimate complaints. The general public is however not exactly like that and it is to the average individual willing to be satisfied that these words are addressed.

We do not claim to be above "the average individual," but we do claim to be a member of the general public. As such, we suggest that a Railway which can publish such a finely got-up magazine ought to be able to provide clean and lighted lavatories for its third class and intermediate class passengers

in all carriages, and waiting rooms, halls or sheds for them in all stations, and to see that in no station have they to wait for their tickets exposed to rain and the fierce rays of the Indian sun. We do not want comfortable dinners, and wines free, provided for us. But we do want to travel like men and to be treated as such.

Jail Reform.

Mr. J. P. Bhansali concludes a helpful and informing article on jail reform in the *Social Service Quarterly* with the following paragraphs :—

This then is a short picture of a convict's life in jail. There is no sympathy extended towards him. Condemned by society, which after all is responsible for his production, he lives a veritable dog's life in the jail. The question may be asked, "does he not live a similar life when free? Why then, as he is outside, so is he in jail". Let not such a hurried opinion be passed against him. Are we not to improve him? Are we not to embrace him and say, brother dear, how will you be looked to? Should society wash its hands of the affair? The chain is to be judged by its weakest links. So long as we have not tackled the problem of jail-reform earnestly and with devotion, so long we shall be responsible to our Maker, for making the prisoner what he is.

We turn our noses upwards at the mention or the sight of a thief, or a murderer or a man who has committed a rape. If judged by the absolute standard of Truth, who amongst us shall escape whipping? Jail Reform is a serious problem. It requires our serious attention. People are shocked to read Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* or Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities*. Let them but try to see misery amidst them, and they will have enough work for a life-time.

Let us make the jails real reformatories—houses for the regeneration of lost souls; hot-houses where tender misguided plants will be sheltered and protected and taken care of. It is not enough to lock up a man in prison. Society's duties commence with that act. Let us give him more and better food, let us eliminate all punishments which are noted for their savagery and brutality, let us not make him sweat like a slave. In short let us make a man of him. The function of the jail is to awaken the man in him, not to inject more brute in him. Let us try to realise this in our prison-houses.

Here is one of the barbarous jail punishments described by the writer :—

Some of the punishments are simply barbarous. Fancy a prisoner lying at full stretch on his back, his hands tied down with handcuffs, his feet tied down by a piece of string; and lest he might sit up in bed, two long bamboos about 5 feet each tied to his both sides, extending from neck to his ankles, lying on his back in this condition from 5 P.M. to 6-30 A.M., that is, for more than 13 hours without being able to turn on either of his sides, without being able to attend even to nature's call

or even to make water in the pots provided in the cell, locked up, alone, the whole night long !

Shri Rama Chandra

Among other interesting articles, *Young Citizen* tells in one the story of king Shri Rama Chandra of Ayodhya, observing :—

In India, the name of this beloved King has become a talisman of speech and men greet each other in his name, so living under his protection still. But he is the great Aryan Hero, even more than Indian, as witness the many stories, Greek and Celtic, which derive their coloring from this the original.

In many parts of Upper India, Hindus greet one another by saying "Ram, Ram", just as Englishmen say "good morning" on meeting one another.

What the State Is

In *Everyman's Review*, Mr. P. Jogannadha Swami writes :—

In what sense then is the State pre-eminent? When in the community there are a host of associations, it is rather possible that some of them may temporarily fall into the lapses of hostile relations. A central co-ordinating agency is therefore required to deal justice and to run smoothly these, general associations. The justice, here referred to, is not the civil and the criminal justice but is rather social and personal; that is, to regulate and control the evils of unfair competition carried on by the associations. The most urgent interference now longed for is in regard to a very vital matter, e.g. how to afford equal opportunities to all as against unequal distribution of wealth and power, birth and creed that have now formed the canker of all the Governments in the world. The trouble is not merely economic, though it is there most urgently felt but is largely cultural. The state justice is not therefore merely negative justice as exhibited in the prevention of crime or individual tyranny. It shall be positive and constructive. To endow research, to patronise art and culture, to protect against accident and ill-health, to stimulate and to encourage cultural centres and to develop the personality of the individual, to take charge of international relationships—these are some of the directions in which the State has to utilise its quality of pre-eminence and co-ordination. These functions are potentially vested in the community and they tend to increase the communal welfare. The State is but an organ of the community that takes them up as its common aim in the same manner in which other functions of the community are the common interests of other organised associations.

Recent Developments in the Manufacture of Saws

We read in the *Indian and Eastern Engineer* :—

The saw is one of the oldest of known tools.

Perhaps the earliest known type consisted of a chipped flint with a serrated edge, which was merely drawn backwards and forwards across wood or similar substances in order to cut it or whittle it to a certain shape. Later came a development which took the form of inserting the serrated flint into a branch of a growing tree, so that as the tree grew, the wood grew round the flint and held it fast in a natural cleft. These saws were used approximately 10,000 years ago by the lake dwellers of Switzerland. In the bronze age, true saws were cut, and the ancient Egyptians had the ingenuity to embed jewels of corundum, and even small diamonds, in bronze blades used for cutting granite and other hard rock. The same practice survives to the present day, or, rather it has been revived for modern use.

In the ancient Aztec civilisation of Mexico, obsidian was used for the teeth of primitive saws, and in the South Sea Islands shark's teeth and even notched shells have been found in use to this day. Circular saws were first used by Brunel in 1790.

The last 50 years have seen few revolutionary developments in the manufacture and employment of circular saws, but progress has continued along three main lines, each of which will be dealt with separately in the following notes.

The first is the modern revival, already referred to in the above lines, of the jewel-studded saw used by the ancient Egyptians. This is known as the diamond saw, the object of which is to cut granite at a rate never previously practicable. Formerly granite was sawn by a double-handed saw operated entirely by hand. Progress was, as will be realised, very slow until the diamond saw was put into use. In these saws the periphery is studded at intervals with small black diamonds very little resembling the jeweller's gem. These diamonds are largely mined in South Africa and Brazil, and are what are known as "commercial" diamonds. A saw of this kind can cut through many feet of granite in a few minutes. It will be seen that this has considerably helped the development of the granite and marble-quarrying industry, and has rendered possible architectural and sculpture achievements in a much shorter time.

The second important development of the last 50 years is the invention, if it can be so-called of the circular friction saw disc, which is made in various sizes and gauges from a special steel. Where a quick and rough cut only is needed they are a most satisfactory tool. They cut material cold, and being run at a very high speed, force or burn their way through. Two types of these discs are manufactured. One with a plain turned periphery, which is notched on the edge by the user and the other with small teeth cut along the periphery at short intervals. Machines are made specially for driving these high-speed cutting discs. Like hot saws running at a great speed they generate much heat on the outer edge, and burn rather than cut their way through the material.

Perhaps the most important modern development is the designing of the inserted-tooth circular saw for cutting cold metals and other materials. Inserted tooth saws consist of an ordinary steel body with renewable teeth of high-speed steel. The object of using detachable teeth is to save the expense of constructing the whole saw of high-speed steel.

Value of Milk.

Mr. P. E. Lander, Agricultural Chemist to the Government of the Punjab, expresses in the *Agricultural Journal of India* the opinion that

Milk is a complete food in itself, and the sole food for most animals at the time of birth, and there is no subject worthy of more sustained attention on the part of all branches of the community than that of producing an adequate supply of pure and wholesome milk for the people. The eugenicist is at work on the production of improved breeds of cattle suitable to the country, the biochemist should be at work in collaboration with him in determining how to obtain the most economical yield of the greatest quantity of milk of the highest possible quality. There can be no doubt that the people generally do not realize the importance of milk and other dairy products in the diet. There is no substitute for milk, and its use should be distinctly increased instead of diminished, regardless of cost, whilst every possible means should be employed to reduce the cost of production. The necessity for the liberal use of milk and its products both in the diets of children and adults should be emphasized. The value of milk as a food cannot be estimated solely on the basis of its content of protein and energy; even when measured by this standard, it compares most favourably with other foods, but it has a value as a protective food in improving the quality of the diet, which can be estimated only in terms of health and efficiency, and the greatest stress should be laid on the importance to the population of India of increasing the quantity and quality of its milk supply.



Must One's Religion be the National One ?

The arguments in favour of an affirmative answer to the question put above have been thus summarised by *The Light of the East* :—

A nation is not a thing of the present alone but of the past and the future also. A nation without past is like a new born babe : shapeless, ignorant, a thing not fully evolved yet but still in the making. It has no traditions to mould its conduct and define its ideals, no learning or arts of its own, no individual civilisation : no characteristics to distinguish it from the rest of mankind and mark it out as a separate self-sufficient individuality. It is not yet a nation.

The worst crime that can be committed against a nation is therefore to destroy its past. This is like destroying the roots of a tree or tearing a babe away from its mother's breast.

But change the religion of a nation and, so again it is argued, you do cut it off from its past. For to say it once more, religion is at the root of it all. It is religion that has moulded the conduct, shaped the ideals, created the arts and the literature, the culture and the civilisation, of the past; cut off this root and the past of the nation is past indeed, something gone for ever. A new nation may arise from the ashes of the old : but it will no more be the old one than a babe is its step-mother.

These are therefore, briefly stated, the reasons

which seem to inspire so many men, when consciously, or unconsciously, they adhere to the national religion, because it is the national religion "right or wrong" : First, if there is no religious unity, the nation cannot be fully one at present ; then if any other religion but the national one, the religion of the fathers, is accepted, there is a break of continuity with the past, a revolution with all its perils instead of an evolution with its promises; a destruction of the nation with the dim possibility of building up another on its ruins instead of the slow moulding of the old into the new.

If, besides, the new religion be that of another race, to all the risks we have just mentioned there is added the danger of an utter denationalisation of the people. With the religion of the foreigners are bound up his laws, his customs, his culture. Will they not invade the land through the gate and perhaps under the cover of the foreign religion ? If on the other hand, the religion be catholic, universal, embracing or tending to embrace every race and creed, is it not likely that it will suppress nations and nationalism altogether ? Having breached the walls that separate men of various races and languages will it not mix them up hopelessly into a non-descript whole ?

To all this we might answer at once in the words of the old Roman : *Pax iustitia rursus coelum.* Let truth prevail, let the best or only true religion have its due, and nationalities crumble down if they have to. But the reader would probably think that such a short answer to a long and somewhat complex argument is hardly sufficient. We shall therefore reserve for another article a longer and we trust a cogent answer.

Honours for Women Professors.

Prof. Dr. Winternitz of Prague has contributed to *Stri-Dharma* the article printed below.

Twenty, or even ten years ago, nobody would have thought it possible that there would be as many lady professors and lecturers in German Universities as there are now. Dr. Rhoda Erdmann has been appointed as Professor at the medical faculty of Berlin University. She has been assistant at the Institute for infectious diseases in Berlin, afterwards lecturer of biology at Yale University, since 1919 director of one of the departments of the Institute for cancer research in Berlin and lecturer in biology. Dr. Lise Meitner is professor of physics at Berlin. Dr. Paula Hertwig lectures on biology and geology at the University of Berlin. Dr. A. M. Gurtrud von Petzold is lecturer for English at Frankfurt University. Dr. Margarete Bieber is professor of classical archaeology at the University of Giessen. Dr. Charlotte Lenbuscher lectures on socialism and political economy at the University of Göttingen. In the same University Dr. Emmy Noether, an eminent mathematician, is professor of mathematics. Dr. Betty Hiemann is lecturer on Sanskrit at the University of Halle. Her special subject is Indian philosophy. The University of Leipzig also has a lady lecturer for Sanskrit and comparative philology, Dr. Charlotte Krause, who makes a special study of Indian vernaculars. Dr. Matilde Baerting is professor of pedagogics and sociology at the University of Jena.

In the same University Dr. Anna Siemens lectures as honorary professor on pedagogics especially on the education of women. At the University of Tuebingen, four ladies are appointed as lecturers, one for French, two for English, and one for rhetorics. There is also a lady lecturer in rhetorics at the University of Koenigsberg; and one at the German University of Prague (Czechoslovakia). In the new University of Cologne, one lady lectures on modern history, and two ladies are lecturers for English. There is a lady lecturer for German philology at the University of Marburg, Dr. Barthold. And Dr. Adele Hurtmann is lecturer on morphology in the medical faculty of the University of Munich.

The Future of Hindustani Music.

Mr. P. B. Joshi tries to show in *The Allahabad University Magazine* that

The future of Hindustani music rests neither with the di-chord nor with western musical psychology nor yet with the South. What is wanted most, just now, is a definite recognition by the public that our music is an art worthy of cultivation. While it thus gains popularity, let the workers in its cause combine to collect and put to notation all available songs and what is more important learn to imitate the graces from the Ustads themselves and the rest will take care of itself. Let the leaders of the nation who seem so engrossed in the political future of the country realise that the new India must be a full grown entity and that it will never do to omit regeneration of our music which is the most eloquent expression of the national mind. Fine arts have all over the world flourished under the patronage of kings and princes. But that is evidently not possible in India. Therefore, we must naturally look to the populace to supply the sinews of war. "When" as has been well said, "the princes have ceased to rain in thousands and millions, if the commons irrigate in ones and tens, the seed planted by those who strive disinterestedly for the cause of music will survive and their labour will bear ample fruit."

Place of Agriculture in University Curriculum.

Mr. S. Higginbottom makes out a case for teaching agriculture in our universities in the same magazine. His reasons are, briefly:—

Firstly, on the ground of a sufficiently large scientific content, secondly, on the ground of its importance to the continuance of the human race, and thirdly for the reason that progressive improvement in agriculture can be made, that agriculture is worthy of a place in a university curriculum. In fact, it may be doubted whether a university that does not offer agriculture as a subject of study is not misnamed and behind the times.

Some of the greatest and oldest British universities—Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh are not ashamed to have departments of agriculture as also most of the greatest Canadian and American universities. Harvard University, recognized as the

home of arts and liberal culture, had Professor Storer, who gave a course of lectures on agriculture that serious students still consult.

Agriculture is already considered worthy of a place by institutions that are recognised as careful guardians of the lamp of learning and are very jealous that its light be pure and undimmed. There was a time when lawyers, doctors, engineers, were not college-trained, but to-day almost all are, and if there be any exception, it is widely advertised.

The day is now here when the leaders in agricultural science are almost without exception college-trained.

As one compares Indian student life with that of some other countries one is struck by the small number of occupations open to educated Indians and the narrowness of the range of these occupations. They are usually restricted to the non-productive industries, Government Naukary, law, medicine, (dare we say teaching also?) while business, commerce, engineering and industry and agriculture have very few who wish to enter, and it is progress in this latter group that fits a nation for self-government.

Our feelings are repeatedly harrowed by the unfortunate lot of the unemployed Indian college graduates, all ready educated but nothing to do and like one of old he cannot dig, to beg he is ashamed.

A thorough training in agriculture would enable an Indian to get a living with honour and independence. It is not an easy living, it would be by hard work that he would win it, only by the sweat of his brow can he get his bread. But it is well worth it.

I hope therefore that every Indian University will have a department or college of agriculture as part of its regular activities.

God speed the day when the Allahabad University may be so equipped.

Girl Students at Aligarh

In the nicely got-up and interesting convocation number of the *Aligarh Magazine*, we read:

The first batch of four girls appeared in the Middle Vernacular examination in 1912. Three out of four were successful, and one of them stood first in the whole Province. Since 1916 girls have been appearing in the Anglo-Vernacular Middle examination. With one or two exceptions all of them have come out successful securing Government merit scholarship every year. The number of girls who have passed this examination from the school is about forty. The first batch of students was sent for the Matriculation Examination of the Allahabad University in 1921. Two girls were successful and both of them got the Government merit scholarship. Next year three passed the Matric. Examination of the Allahabad University and one of them got the Government merit scholarship. Since then girls have passed the Matric. Examination every year. Most of them have joined the girls' colleges in the Province. One of the first batch of the Matric. will appear in the B. A. Examination this year. One of the girls who passed this Matric. Examination of the Muslim University from this school has joined the Lady Hardinge. Medica

College, Delhi, and the other has joined the Medical School at Agra.

Blake and the Sufis on Good and Evil.

The poet Harindranath Chattopadhyaya writes in *Shama'a* :—

It is the essential quality of all loveliness to become known, to grow into conscious intimacy with the creative impulse, to find itself in spontaneous manifestation. The universe is a visible symbol, the Divine Body of God's eternal Beauty.

"I was a hidden treasure and I wished to be known, so I created Creation, that I might be known." (Koran-e-Sherif.)

But the consciousness of light becomes defined only when revealed with darkness for its background. Good depends on its contrary Evil for its accurate definition, and the impalpable eternal Beng stands begging at the door of the phenomenal world of Not-being for its fame and recognition. But for the whole evolution of reality and truth these contraries are of vital necessity since, according to Blake, "without contraries is no progression." "But contraries are not negations. What we call evil is a necessary consequence of manifestation, so that the mystery of evil is really identical with the mystery of creation and inseparable therefrom" (Browne's Literary History of Persia). But evil must not be regarded as a separate and independent entity. Darkness is not-light, and evil is merely not-good. This is the Sufi doctrine of good and evil and coincides with remarkable affinity with that which William Blake preached to his century. They both came under the fascinating influence of the Neo-Platonists who lived four centuries earlier than the latter and were contemporaries of some of the most distinguished Sufi Mystics who spread their philosophical doctrines over the second and fourth centuries.

From Rigveda to Rammohun.

Mr. Mani Bhushan Majumdar writes, in *Prabuddha Bharata* :—

When India was at the height of her glory, the great sages sang the Vedic hymns, and there was peace and prosperity in all the spheres of her life. At that time flourished such poet-seers as Valmiki, Vyasa, Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti, such philosophers as Kapila and Gautama and such astronomers as Aryabhatta and Bhaskaracharya, and they exercised a great influence throughout the country. Then the high spiritual culture as embodied in the Upanishads was the key-note of Indian life, communal or individual. But during the Buddhist period when the Vedic religion was on the decline, a readjustment was badly needed. And the great teacher Sankaracharya was born, and he infused life and strength into society by rehabilitating the religion of the Vedas. Subsequently, when the Mohammedans were the rulers of India, we see such religious and social reformers as Nanak, Guru Govinda, Kabir and Sri Chaitanya, such poets as Jayadeva, Vidyapati, Chandidasa, Mirabai and Tulsidasa. At the decline of the Mohammedan sovereignty in India when the British became the

rulers many prominent persons who did much for the good of the country, were also born. Of them it may be said without any fear of contradiction that Raja Rammonan Roy was the greatest.

Activity of the Arya Samaj.

What Mr. C. F. Andrews bears witness to in the *Vedic Magazine* is this :—

I have found the spirit of Swami Dayananda still living through the Arya Samaj in places as distant as Fiji in the South Pacific and Kenya and Uganda in the centre of Africa. I have been to Arya Samaj meetings in places as distant as Zanzibar and Durban, Lahore and Madras, Malabar and Singapore, Hong Kong and Suva, Kampala and Bulawayo. I have met members of the Arya Samaj, fulfilling Swami Dayananda's precepts, in New Zealand and Japan and China, in Europe, in Africa and in Australia. If I had been able to go to North America, or if at this very time it had been permitted to me to go with Rabindranath Tagore, the poet, to South America, I know well that I should have found in both the continents of the New World, even as I have found in other continents of the Old World, the faithful workers of the Arya Samaj carrying out their precepts of reform with faithful allegiance to Swami Dayananda, whose centenary is now being celebrated throughout the world. To mention only a few of the things I have seen, I have seen the uplifting of untouchables; I have seen schools for girls, and societies for the higher education of women. I have seen children being taught in distant lands where religion was forgotten; I have seen men and women doing their duty, not only to their fellow Indians but also to the native inhabitants far away, realising the ideal of Rishi Dayananda himself, that humanity is one even as God Himself is one, and that truth is to be preached and taught to every living soul.

It is this which makes me feel that among many of the movements of religion in the Nineteenth century, the Arya Samaj has a history which will make it profoundly progressive in the future, and will give to it a high place as the promoter of social and religious reform. Among the families of mankind, I do not think that its work in the future will be at all confined to India only. I look forward to the time when some of its greatest work will be done among barbarous tribes of savage people, who have never yet been able to learn the truth about God and the soul.

The Churches and the War.

According to *the Oriental Watchman*

During the late war most of the churches keyed their music to the war pitch, and glorified the art of *killing* your enemies, by covering it with the sanctity of religion. But since the war is over some of the churches are having a twinge of conscience and a sentiment is growing in the world that the church should teach the people to "love their enemies", and not to kill them.

Graduates as Volunteer Scavengers and Sweepers

A member of the All-India Congress Committee states in the *Volunteer* :

By inquiry I came to know that there were about four graduates working in the Bhangi Corps; 14 Medical (National) College students and a number of undergraduates, national school teachers, pleaders, merchants and Sawkars who owned thousands, all working as Volunteers. Some of them were R. C. Members, few were delegates and so on. I wondered how these people were inferior to the yellow flowered gentry some of whom thought that they were a superior class to this class of "labourers,"

Buddha's First Converts

Mr. Nalinaksha Dutta writes in the *Mahabodhi* :—

Buddha's ministrations commenced with the conversion of two foreign traders Trapusa and Bhalika who were travelling with a caravan along the trade-route from the Dakkhinapatha to Ukkala, a town in the kingdom of Gandhar. Their conversion at Uruvala was later on commemorated by the erection of stupas in their native villages in Gandhara.

Buddha after enlightenment turned his thoughts first to his comrades in asceticism then residing at Isipatana near Benares.

Here at Isipatana he visited his five comrades who would not accept Buddha's arguments regarding the futility of extreme self-mortification in taking them to their spiritual goal. Their conviction had to be slowly overcome by Buddha through teachings from day to day, impressing upon their minds the impermanence of all worldly things. They were enjoined to live as recluses, practising jhanas and self-control. It was for them he delivered his famous discourse, the Dhammacakkapavattana which embodies truths revealed to Buddha under the Bodhi tree. It explains the *majjhima patipada* or, in other words, the practice of control over *citta* which included *dhyana*, attainment of *panna* or true knowledge and perfection in the *silai* by pursuing the golden mean. The discourse shows the hollowness of extreme self-mortifications practised by the five Brahmins as the only path leading to *mukti* (salvation). The accumulated effect of the discourse and the teachings was the conversion of the five Brahmins to Buddhism.

Care and Training of the Blind

Mr. P. N. V. Rau says in *The Light to the Blind* :—

The blind are taught to read, to write and to do sums in Arithmetic. They have received lessons in music both vocal and instrumental. They can make the sad life of a number of people tolerable and peaceful by their sweet music. So also are the deaf. They whom the people wrongly call dumb are taught to speak. Both the defectives have thus shown proofs of their fitness to learn as

others do, live as we do and feel and enjoy as any other body. So, I close this my paper with the following statement: That a man should be capable of receiving knowledge and to remain ignorant in a tragedy.

Why We Should Learn About Foreign Countries

Mr. K. T. Paul urges in the *Young Men of India* that

With the shrinking of the world not only in economic relationships but, since the War, very much more so in regard to political affairs—it is imperative that we who have responsibilities conferred by education should steadily try to learn about the various countries who are our neighbours. Whatever our estimate of the League of Nations may be, it is an undeniable fact that in most public questions which affect the destinies of any nation, small or large, the public opinion of the world has in these days come to play an important part. Since 1918 the world has not been without incidents where nations have acted in flat contravention of the best judgment of the world. Even as recently as November last there was a flagrant instance of this. The pity of it is that every such incident distinctly lowers the ethical standards of international relationship. Nevertheless, the intrinsic excellence of the principle of the golden rule seems somehow to be released into effective operation, even in the field of international relationships, since the grand debacle of the War proved the hollowness of the illusion that Might can get away with Right. The pathetic way in which Diehards are trying to cultivate public opinion in distant countries in favour of their own points of view, is further evidence of the power of world public opinion. Particularly for us in India who are in a most delicate situation among the nations of the world, it is imperative that we know more and more, what is happening in other nations, what are their scales of values, how their moral and economic evolutions are being worked out; and, if possible also, that we get in direct touch with as many of them as we possibly can. It is the common experience of most Indian visitors to those countries, that India and Indian culture are held in the highest esteem by them. Doors are everywhere open to their hearts. Our great men are revered by them, even when they are unable to take for practical purposes the principles they advocate. Our aspirations are viewed with great sympathy, the future mission of India to the world is a thing in which they have undoubted faith. There is no race or colour prejudice toward us, not anywhere in Europe, at all events.

Moreover, some of these problems of rehabilitation are, undoubtedly, such as it would be highly profitable for us to study in connection with our own problems of to-day. They also cover the field of economics, social relationships, education and culture. The solutions attempted are everywhere experiments. With great wisdom they are multiplying facilities for learning of one another, as regards results of these experiments. They eagerly enquire of the Indian visitor as to what our experiences are in similar lines of activity. One craves for opportunities for our publicists to know, from day to day, how things have been worked out by other nations, besides the Anglo-Saxon.

Regarding the achievements of Czecho-Slovakia Mr. Paul writes, in part:—

In five short years they have done such high work, such volume of it and of such deeply constructive quality, that it is difficult to believe that you are not seeing a settled administration of several decades.

It was highly refreshing to come in touch with a people who, in a difficult situation, do not fear, but with feet firm on *terra firma* set out to counter difficulty and danger by applying radical cures to fundamental diseases. "We do not fear the Bolsheviks: we find the remedy in wide-spreading education, in agrarian reform, in economic justice."

But no kind of need seems to fail to secure attention. From forcible commandeering of land for distribution to the peasants, to the facilitating of a new expression of feeling in fine arts, every line of social and economic reform is carefully attended to.

Above all, the thing which drew my admiration most was the service which the Czecho-Slovakian Republic is doing to Russia. It practically keeps an open door to all refugees, and takes very special care of the students. In Prague alone, 9,000 Russian students are freely educated and even partially or wholly fed and clothed. What deeper service can a country do to Russia in this her day of visitation? Such high philanthropy in international service is not to be surprised at in a country which has elected a prophet and philosopher as the first President of its Republic and re-elected him as Life President. Still, such altruism is very rare in the history of nations.

The Ordinance in Bengal

To the silver jubilee number of the *Indian Review*, which deserves to be congratulated on its longevity according to Indian standards, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., has contributed an article on the Ordinance in Bengal. He rightly observes:—

To admit the existence of anarchical crime and the evident anxiety of Government to put an end to it is not the same thing as to approve of every step taken with that object. The Anglo-Indian press has been writing as though there was no alternative. The crudeness of this reasoning is not less than that of the reasoning by which young Non-Co-operators used to jump to the conclusion that every one who believed in the wrongs of the Jallianwala Bagh and the Khilafat was bound to join their ranks. The remedy of Government against the Bengal situation is no more justifiable on its inherent merits than was the remedy promulgated by Mr. Gandhi in 1920. The protestations of Lord Reading and Lord Lytton amount only to this—that they wish the ordinance to be put into effect only against those, whom the authorities believe from the papers submitted to them to be guilty of revolutionary crime. Perhaps, too, we shall be told hereafter by apologists that they felt considerable hesitation in sanctioning the obnoxious measure, that they actually delayed it by a few weeks, and that there were several persons in whose cases they refused permission for proceedings to be taken under the ordinance. But these facts afford no consolation to those who complain that their liberties are placed at the mercy of the executive.

It is well known, that even experienced judges, if compelled to decide cases on the evidence of the prosecution only, might occasionally convict innocent persons, that no evidence can be really trusted which was not submitted to cross-examination and that no condemnation of a prisoner can be safely accepted till he has had an opportunity of confronting his accusers and producing evidence in defence of himself. Where punitive action is taken against individuals merely on the papers produced by the police against them, there are no means of ascertaining in how many cases out of a hundred injustice has been done. The judgment of another set of people who read the same papers is all that is available. A test of this dubious type was made a few years ago, and the percentage of error that it disclosed was about five. If an open trial had been possible in all the cases, the percentage would certainly have been much higher. Let us assume that among every hundred proceeded against under the ordinance ten are innocent. In the ordinary judicial process every chance would be given to these ten of escaping through an open trial or in appeal. The ninety whom we assume to be guilty, have their own rights in the matter as subjects of a constitutionally governed State. They are not outlaws, as a high authority recently described them in a moment of vexation. Government and its critics are alike in the habit of confining their attention to the innocent, as if it did not matter one whit what happened to those who were supposed to be guilty. Even they must be tried and judged according to the forms of law. An ordinance which suspend the law and substitutes the will of the executive is for this purpose not a law.

With respect to the exhortation addressed to the public on such occasions to put our trust in Viceroys and Governors, he remarks:—

We respect and honour them duly; but where do they come in here? They proclaim, they authorise and they disappear. The daily exercise of arbitrary power is not theirs and cannot be. Political workers in this country have to deal with the members of a bureaucracy, largely foreign in personnel, without active sympathy with popular movements, and always concerned about their special prerogatives and privileges. It is notorious that they are in a state of perpetual irritation against the educated classes, against lawyers and particularly against political agitators.

Is it any wonder that they welcome arbitrary power at all times and regard it as an administrative convenience in times of trouble? It is an essentially demoralising practice to read the reports of the C. I. D. You may be never so full of the milk of human kindness, but if there is a system under which reports pour in upon you from all sides, apparently emanating from different quarters and conveying something or other against the best men in the land, you cannot help living in an atmosphere of suspicion and believing that human nature in India is cursed with a double dose of every sin.

Supposing the future ministers of autonomous governments started a system of espionage and secret reports against the prominent members of the Anglo-Indian community, what strange things they would read from day to day, most of them false but so seemingly true that one might see

around one many plotters against the advance of India to dominion status!

Some of Mr. Sastri's concluding observations are also worth noting. Says he :—

If in Bengal at the present moment there is need for drastic action on the part of the executive, sober opinion would support the adoption of extraordinary measures, provided they stopped short of the closure of all chance of redress to the aggrieved subject. The gravamen of public displeasure is against the indefinite duration and the apparent permanence of detention, imprisonment or other restrictive order. If it is necessary to put out of action certain suspected persons, let it be done, subject to the condition that after a certain period, say three or four weeks, the executive is under an obligation to bring the victims to trial before a regular court of law.

At first, when drastic powers are assumed or asked for, promises are made of the most scrupulous care in their exercise. No doubt at the time they are sincerely made. Once however, a repressive measure finds its way into the statute-book and subordinate officials here and there begin to put it into operation, they interpret the promises in their own way, look into the letter of the law and decline to be bound by statements of intention or interpretation made at the time of enactment. This is precisely what happened in the case of the Press Act of 1910. The member in charge and the Law member undertook that existing presses would not be affected prejudicially, and the statement of objects and reasons had words to that effect. But not many months passed before magistrates brought old presses also under its operation. Mr. Gokhale, who had lent reluctant support to the Act, felt compelled to make public protest against this abuse of its provisions. Other safeguards too were pronounced to be illusory by the highest courts in the land. Still the Act was worked in all its rigour and, though often requested to do so, Government would neither amend nor repeal it. Officials found it an administrative convenience, and Anglo-Indian opinion favoured it. So it continued till the other day.

Democracy Not a Failure

In the *Swadesamitran* annual number Prof. Rushbrook Williams writes with reference to the dissatisfaction with the system of parliamentary Government :—

The fact is that peoples in many different countries are so dissatisfied with the system of Parliamentary Government that they are discussing eagerly any alternative device which presents itself. If I understand the popular demand, it is for some system of political machinery that will operate smoothly and efficiently under the guidance of experts, but which will respond instantly to the pressure of public opinion. Hence it is that such institutions as the Cabinet, Secretariat, which seem to hold the germ of continuity in administration while party politicians rise and fall, are beginning to find favour in many countries. Hence the tendency to train up professional administrators for the public service, and to leave them an increasingly free hand in the conduct of everyday business.

It is, however, important to notice that this impatience at the inefficiency and clumsiness of Parliamentary Government only really touches the democratic idea at a single point. No one desires to revert to the days of the uncontrolled autocrat; although, as we have noticed, men of to-day will endure much from a leader who employs absolute power to execute the popular will. The fact that democracy and parliamentary institutions are at present almost synonymous terms, is a historical accident. The general wave of impatience which we have noticed is directed, not against democracy itself, but against the inefficient machinery at present employed to carry into effect the will of the people. It may be that the political architects will be able so to patch and to repair traditional structure of Parliamentary Government that it will be able to sustain the overwhelming burden—and this is the real root of the whole trouble—placed upon it by the modern state. It may be that we shall be compelled to fall back upon a federal system of small, semi-self-contained units, such as is postulated by the theory—as opposed to the practice—of the Soviet plan. I do not know. But upon this, at least, I am quite clear. The Will of the People is in no danger from the present wave of discontent. What men seek is to make it more effectively operative.

The People and the Nation

In a lecture on international relations delivered in Japan, the poet Rabindranath Tagore drew a distinction between the results of the work of the people and the results of the work of the nation. He said in part, as reproduced in the *Visvabharati Quarterly* :—

It is the people in the Western countries, that have produced its literature, its art, its music and dance; it is the spirit of the people that spoke through the voice of the great dramatists and artists of Greece, through the voice of Dante, Shakespeare and Goethe; it is the soul of your people, which reigns in your homes, giving them a profound quiet of beauty, in the dignified self-control of your behaviour, in the combination of usefulness and grace in all things that you produce, in your inimitable paintings and dramatic performances.

But what are these products of the Nation,—the machinery of destruction and profit-making, the double dealings of diplomacy,—in the face of which moral obligation lies defeated and the spirit of human brotherhood destroyed? You have been tempted, or perhaps almost compelled, to accept them; and we in India are envying you, ready for ourselves to accept as much of them as comes our way. The cruelty and meanness of lies and exaggeration and the greed of self-seeking are creeping up over that soil on which were born those great sages who preached *maïtri* and self-emanicipation.

Whenever the spirit of the Nation has come, it has destroyed sympathy and beauty, and driven out the generous obligations of human relationship from the hearts of men. It has spread the ugliness of its cities and its markets into the minds and enthroned the demon of deformity on the hearts of men. Though to-day it dominates the spirit of man everywhere in the world.

it will die like the worm which dies in the heart of the fruit that it has devoured. It will die—but unfortunately it may meanwhile destroy things of unrivalled worth, the products of centuries of self-control and spiritual training.

I have come to warn you in Japan, the country where I wrote my first lectures against Nationalism at a time when people laughed my ideas to scorn. They thought that I did not know the meaning of the word and accused me of having confused the word Nation with State. But I stuck to my conviction and now after the war, do you not hear everywhere the denunciation of this spirit of the nation, this collective egoism of the people, which is universally hardening their hearts?

I have come once again to remind you. I hope to be able to meet individuals in this country, who have the courage of faith needed to bring about a great future. Let Japan find her own true mind, which will not merely accept lesson from others, but will create a world of her own, which will be generous of its gifts to all humanity. Make all other peoples of Asia proud in their acknowledgment of your greatness, which is not based upon the enslavement of victims, upon the accumulation of material wealth exclusively for your own enjoyment,—wealth which is not accepted by man for all time and is rejected by God.

Nationality in Theory and Practice

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar says in the *Hindustan Review* :—

Nationality is a very young phenomenon both as a concept and as a fact. Consequently a good deal of vague thinking is still associated with it not only in the East, but also in the West.

Nationality as interpreted by the political philosophers of the nineteenth century is not the same as the nationalities actually realized in modern times. The theoretical ideal embodies itself in such formulæ as "One language, one state," or "One race, one state," or, more vaguely, "One culture, one state". As a matter of fact, however, neither in the nineteenth century nor even on earth since the days of Memphis and Nineveh has this metaphysical concept been realized in practice.

History knows only "states." Diplomats and politicians also know only states! But patriots, philosophers and poets talk of nations.

Much of the present-day muddle in political thinking is due to the ignoring of this great discrepancy between the speculation of modern theorists and the practice evolved in actual history. The political mind of the whole world is consciously or unconsciously "sicklied o'er" with the abstract idealism of Fichte, Hegel, Mazzini and John Stuart Mill. It has fought shy of the effort to square the theory with the facts of concrete political experience. Rather, the old dogma of the race-state or the language-state has acquired a fresh lease of life under the Reconstruction of Versailles.

And yet the so-called "nation-states" that one sees on the new map of Europe are not nation-states at all in the sense in which one is taught to understand the term nation. Jugoslavia, Techeo-Slovakia, Poland, each of these "states" is poly-glott and multi-racial, in other words, an old Austria Hungary in miniature.

Not the least disturbing factor in the political *milieu* is furnished by the fact that twenty million German men and women, about a third of the entire German-speaking population, has been distributed right and left among a dozen or so old and new states of Europe to give birth to a "German irredenta" in every so-called nation-state.

The Birth of Nations

The same writer states in the same review :

From an inductive study of the nationalities old and new, oriental and occidental, one is then in a position to define the objective foundations of the State. The first formative force is the will or consent of the people, the plebiscite, silent or declared. The second agency that operates in the birth of nations is the force of arms, the power of offence, and defence in open war.

The State comes into existence, first, because certain men and women are determined to create it, and secondly because they are in a position to maintain it against all odds. In regard to offence and defence the nation-makers or manufacturers of States have to see to it that not only the military-naval-aerial equipments are adequate but also that financially, industrially and economically the staying power of the people during war is up to the mark.

Historically speaking, nations are born in wars and wars only. Genetically, therefore, nationality is in essence a militaristic concept. If there be any spirituality associated with nationalism it is the spirituality of war or the categorical imperative of *Kshatryaism*.

Nationality thus postulates, as a matter of course, the *milieu* of a conflict of rivals to browbeat one another as in a Kautilyan *mandala* (circle or sphere of states). The being of the nation depends on a condition of the *matsyanyaya* (logic of the fish) and on a thorough-going "preparedness" of the *vijigisu* (the aspirant) against thousand and one eventualities.

The Health-giving Sea

Ellis Barker discourses in the *Mysore Economic Journal* on the sea as a source of health.

Guided by sound instinct, and the wisdom of experience, the majority of English people who take a holiday go to the seaside. "There is nothing like the sea for a holiday" is a trite and a true saying.

The sea is indeed the great giver of health and strength. Air, light, water and salt are the most potent natural medicines. There are no better tonics obtainable for the town-dweller.

We live on air and sunshine and are starved of air and sunshine during our long winter spent in a more or less sunless and devitalized atmosphere which is often poisoned by smoke, soot and unwholesome chemicals.

Professor Leonard Hill, perhaps the highest authority on the curative properties of air and light, has told us that the air on the sea-shore is ten times, as invigorating as country air inland.

There are mysterious health-giving qualities in the sea-air. Besides, we receive a double dose of

sunshine, the direct sunshine, and the light which is reflected from the water.

Why the West Can be Saved

In *Current Thought* Mr. Wilfred Wellock tells us why he thinks the West can be saved.

We know the West can be saved because a powerful spiritual impulse is beginning to move within it. All manner of external changes will have to take place, but the motive behind them all, if success is to be assured, must be the desire to give freedom and increased opportunity to the human soul.

The re-born soul of the West wants cooperation in industry so that work may be a pleasure. It desires a juster distribution of the industrial output so that the people may be freed from the fear of poverty and unemployment. It demands a rational organisation of production so that all may have ample leisure in which to cultivate the arts and handicrafts—the arts and handicrafts which commercialism has swept away, and new arts and crafts also. It seeks to revolutionise foreign relationships so that selfish nationalism, or what is commonly called patriotism, may be brought to an end, and the peoples of the world drawn together in a great co-operative commonwealth.

In a word, it asks for the substitution of the creative principle of love for the destructive principle of greed. And it wants the change to begin now, for greed is fast breaking the world asunder, increasing war, enmity, poverty, hatred and every destructive agency, converting science into an instrument of death and art into a perverter of the instincts. That love, or the desire to serve, is a practical principle is obvious, for the creative impulse is the strongest impulse in human nature. And who is not able to work better where relations are amiable, where justice abounds, and where the object of all labour is the happiness and welfare of men? If, then, fear and greed have been able to accomplish wonders in the production of wealth, how much greater wonders should love and the joy of free service be able to accomplish?

The spirit of co-operation, love, and the joy of service infused into the processes of modern civilisation, would accomplish the greatest revolution in the history of mankind. That, indeed, is the revolution which is destined to mark the beginning of a quite new type of civilisation, an order of society wherein the craving and need for private possessions have been overcome by virtue of a sufficiency of goods for all and the adoption of a more wholesome motive. It is patent to every thinking person, that with a little co-operative effort all the needs of mankind can quite easily be satisfied, thus affording to all ample scope for free self-expression through the medium of the arts. The transition to a spiritual order of society would set free for noble uses immense reservoirs of spiritual force now being ignored, wasted, or worse, perverted—spiritual force that through a better directing of the artistic impulse would transform the world out of a recognition inside a generation.

Welfare February

In this number appears an article from the pen of Mr. M. N. Roy who criticises

Rabindranath Tagore's views on Private Property as expressed in a writing in the *Vishva-bharati Quarterly*.

Mr. Roy says :

The poet's opposition to industrialism leads him in such questionable directions, because he is actuated by a reactionary social ideal. Had his criticism of the industrial system been revolutionary—even progressive,—he would find that the root of all trouble lies in the right of property. But he frankly believes in the eternal nature of property. His solution of the present social problem is to replace the existing form of property-relation by an earlier form, already left behind in the evolution of modern civilization.

Mr. Roy further points out :

He (Tagore) believes in private property, but is opposed to the evolution of property-forms and relations. He affirms the existence of property to be a "moral force", yet denies the essential "morality" of the present form of property-relations. Capitalist industrialism, which rests upon and is a product of the sacred right of private property. Not knowing how to extricate himself from this dilemma, Tagore postulates that property-relations should develop as far as feudal-patriarchy, and stop there. But this is impossible. The forces that determine the evolution of benevolent despotism out of tribal patriarchy, do not cease to operate at the bidding of a reactionary dreamer. The modern plutocrat is just as inevitable a product of these forces of evolution as was the kind king and benevolent despot. If property is eternal, as Tagore holds, its successive stages of evolution cannot be denied. To preach the eternal nature and beneficial role of property, and to denounce modern industrialism, whose foundation is private property, as immoral, is either hypocrisy or bickering at facts.

A criticism of Mr. M. N. Roy's article by Mr. Ashoke Chatterjee appears in the same number of *Welfare*. Mr. Chatterjee writes

Mr. Roy says "that the root of all trouble lies in the right of Property". We are afraid that Mr. Roy is a bit over-confident in his diagnosis. When we come to make up a list of all the ills that afflict mankind we dare not say that by merely making all wealth common or social we shall get out of our troubles. We do not believe that any one has a *birthright* to wealth, but there is such a thing as *Worthright*, if we may coin a word. Mr. Roy hates to think that a patriarchal aristocracy should dole out charity to the less fortunate. We do not see how it would improve matters if the charity were doled out by a benevolent society instead. It is the charity and benevolence that repel those who believe in worth, and not their source. But so long as all men are not equally worthy, the less worthy shall depend to some extent on the charity of the better class of men. A peevish proclamation of some metaphysical (a thing which Mr. Roy does not approve of) equality will not help matters. As to private possession of wealth, all possession is by nature private and has nothing evil in it on that account. When Mr. A. puts on his coat, the act of putting on the coat and the satisfaction of having a coat on one's back are private things. How the coat came to being

to Mr. A., whether through some hereditary or through some socialistic distributive organ, matters little. The mechanism of distribution is of secondary importance. It is its fairness that we should worry about. Rabindranath paints a picture of society in which the structure of economy shows unequal distribution of wealth but social idealism balances things much more than "class-war" has succeeded in doing in the West. Mr. Roy may think that the masses were treated nicely only because they were like human cattle belonging to the aristocracy, but history does not support his contention. It was only when the relation between the rich and the poor was dehumanised during the days of the so-called Industrial Revolution that such inhumanity found a place in man's heart. Abnormal men there have been and there are even in Soviet Russia; but Mr. Roy's picture of social relations does not do justice to normal men as they have been, let us say, in the Middle Ages.

Mr. Doongersee Dharamsee's article on Petroleum Trade gives us the following opinion :

By the Laws of Supply and Demand the price of petrol should not have so much difference as it has today with American locally sold petrol. The cost of transport ought to be the same in the case of bringing the oil from Mexico to New York and from Rangoon to Calcutta. Yet the rate there is about 12s. per gallon, while Re. 1-10 as. is charged at Calcutta. The U. S. of America's Government

compel great oil kings to sell petrol cheaply in local markets and at high rates in foreign markets. While Indian Government tolerate selling petrol at a very high rate in local markets and at cheap rate in foreign markets.

Petrol is an article of commerce and is a commercial necessity to a modern nation. It is a business asset, as motor car and lorries are doing service and have become a necessity. The business men of India wish that inland duties levied as a war measure should be now removed. The matter was brought in the Council of State but with no result. With the increased pay contemplated for highly paid services the new budget is not likely to bring such surprise packets, as removal of inland tax on petrol.

Mr. Benoykumar Sarkar gives us the following information in his article on French School of Vocational Training :

Co-operation from the side of private bodies and non-official experts is brought to bear on the technical schools in and through the "inspecteurs" or visitors who are nominated or elected on account of the part they play in agriculture, industry or commerce. Their functions, although honorary, are almost semi-official, and although not inspectors in the administrative sense they serve to supplement the work of the government inspectors of schools. The number of such visitors is 200. Professional education is in every way enabled to act and react upon economic development.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"Our Debt to the Ancient Wisdom of India"

Mr. Edmond Holmes writes in *The Hibbert Journal* :—

"In the paper on this theme which appeared in the October (1924) number of the *Hibbert Journal* I tried to show that we owe to the 'Ancient Wisdom' of India a noble idealistic philosophy which was informally set forth in the Upanishads and found its chief practical exponent in Buddha".

NIRVANA

Mr. Holmes holds that Nirvana is not an eternity of nothingness.

"The word means *going out, extinction*. What is it that is extinguished? Not the flame of life, but the smouldering fires of earth-born desire. When Nirvana has been won, the desire, or group of desires, which attached the soul to earth and drew it back again and again into the whirlpool of rebirth, has been fully and finally extinguished. In other words, a long and arduous stage in the pilgrimage of the soul has ended, and a new stage has begun. We may say, then, that to enter Nirva-

na is to pass into the new order of things, *whatever that may be*, which awaits the soul when the last of its earth-lives is over. What the new order of things may be, we do not know. Buddha did well to keep silence about it. Its mysteries and glories can no more be realised by the ordinary dweller on earth, than can the mysteries and the glories of colour be realised by one who was born blind, or the mysteries and the glories of sound by one who was born deaf. But whatever it may be, we may be sure that it is a higher and purer state of existence than that which we are now passing through. The soul has climbed to a higher rung in the ladder of spiritual evolution. It is a stage nearer to its ideal goal, the goal of oneness with the Brahman, the spirit of God".

WORK OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

Though the number of people who profess Buddhism in India is very small, Mr. Holmes thinks that

"In India itself, in spite of its apparent failure, Buddhism accomplished a great and beneficent work. 'Buddha', say the authors of the article on 'India' in the 11th Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 'never ousted Brahmanism from any

large part of India. The two systems co-existed as popular religions during more than a thousand years (250 B.C. to about 800 A.D.) and modern Hinduism is the joint product of both.....In India the influence of Buddhism has survived its separate existence: it supplied a basis upon which Brahmanism finally developed from the creed of a caste into the religion of the people. The noblest survivals of Buddhism in India are to be found not among any peculiar body, but in the religion of the people; in that principle of the brotherhood of man, with the re-assertion of which each new revival of Hinduism starts: in the asylum which the great Hindu sects afford to women who have fallen victims to caste rules, to the widow and the outcast; in the gentleness and charity to all men which takes the place of a poor-law in India and gives a high significance to the half-satirical title of the 'mild' Hindu."

DEBT OF THE WEST TO INDIA'S ANCIENT WISDOM

Mr. Holmes then proceeds to show that it was outside the land of its birth that Buddhism won its greatest triumph. Having described what it has done for Asia, he asks: "What of the West? Does it owe nothing to the Ancient Wisdom of India?"

His answer is:—

"I think it owes more than it is willing to admit. We are ready enough to acknowledge our debt to the thinkers of Greece. But what is a direct debt to them may well be, in part at least, an indirect debt to the Upanishads and Buddha. Pythagoreanism, with its doctrine of metempsychosis, its practice of vegetarianism, and the quasi-monasticism of its Brotherhood, savours so strongly of Indian influences that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that when (as is highly probable) Pythagoras visited Egypt, he drank there at a well which had received an influx of Indian thought."

Mr. Holmes gives his reasons for coming to this conclusion. He also quotes Dr. Flinders Petrie, the eminent Egyptologist, who ascribes an Indian origin to the ascetic monasticism which is found established in Egypt in 340 B. C., which persisted there for some centuries and which spread thence into neighbouring countries such as Palestine and Syria. There seem to have been two separate invasions of Egypt by Indian asceticism. Dr. Flinders Petrie says:

"There may have been at that time (before 340 B. C.) only an idea of withdrawal of the scrupulous from the world, due to the Indian influence under the Persian Empire; and the fuller adoption of the Indian form of contemplative life may be due to the great Buddhist mission under Asoka in 260 B. C."

The reasons that Dr. Flinders Petrie gives for ascribing an Indian origin to both invasions seem to be fairly strong. The conclusion which he reaches is that "practically the whole system of life [ascetic life in

Egypt] was that of Indian asceticism, planned as an ethical system."

If Pythagoras owed anything to India derived through Egypt, and if Mr. F. M. Cornford, in his work on *Greek Religion and Thought*, is right in regarding Plato "as the successor of Pythagoras and the inheritor of the mystical tradition in Greek religion" responsibility for the debt which Pythagoras contracted has been passed on to the West, says Mr. Holmes. "The mystical tradition," says Mr. Cornford, "asserts the unity of all life—divine, human, animal—and accordingly denies that there is any gulf fixed between the nature of the gods and the nature of man". This is the teaching of the Upanishads, says Mr. Holmes. Mr. Cornford goes on to say that "Plato's adoption of the Pythagorean religion raised it to a position of incalculable importance in the whole subsequent history of European theology. It made possible the alliance of Platonism with the religion of Christ and of St. Paul." If that alliance, observes Mr. Holmes, was in any way facilitated by the secret influence of Indian idealism, the debt which Christendom owes to the Upanishads is very great.

JESUS CHRIST'S DEBT TO THE UPANISHADS

"Did Christ owe anything to the Upanishads?", asks Mr. Holmes. His reply is:—

"Perhaps he did. A great soul is peculiarly sensitive to the spiritual influences of the age in which it lives, and of the world in which it finds itself. Indeed it is its mission to accept what is best in those influences, to assimilate them, to transform them, to make them its very own. And the greater the soul the greater are its obligations and the more fruitful the use that it makes of what it borrows. The Levant in the time of Christ was a whirlpool of conflicting and commingling beliefs. The building-up of great empires such as the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman, had at once denationalised and supernationalised religion; and many of the religious ideas which were current in the Judæo-Hellenic world were of quasi-universal significance.

Foremost among these was the idea of the unity of all life and the consequent oneness of man with God. With this went the kindred idea of the duty of purifying the soul through the medium of conduct in general and of virtuous conduct in particular; the latter idea having found practical expression in the lives of the Essenes, some of whose communities Christ may well have visited. Both these ideas had come from India. They may have had other sources as well; but their Indian origin is indisputable, and India had set its own special stamp upon them. And both ideas are at the heart of Christ's teaching. In his conception of God as the loving Father of all men and all other living things he brings God very near

to us. In his memorable saying, "I and my father are one," he brings God nearer still.

"Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet," Whor he says to us, "Be ye perfect even as your father which is in heaven is perfect," he sets before us the purification of the soul through virtue as the end and aim of our lives, and he again emphasises the nearness of God—of the very perfection, the very infinitude of God—to man. It is true that this sublime precept, just as it brings God very near to us, and because in doing so it bids us aim at an unattainable ideal, has never been taken seriously by Christendom. But its day is yet to come."

INDIA'S ANCIENT WISDOM, THE ANTIDOTE TO WESTERN MATERIALISM

In concluding his article, Mr. Edmond Holmes says:—

"Ten years ago the civilisation of the West was to all appearance orderly, progressive, prosperous, and stable. Then came the tragedy of the Great War, which revealed the hollowness of our material prosperity and accelerated the process of its hitherto unsuspected decay. Now, after five years of peace, Europe is a weltering chaos of conflicting aims and interests, a whirlpool of selfish desires, of angry passions, of dark suspicions, of jealous fears. Nation is set against nation, class against class, party against party, creed against creed, cause against cause. The whole social structure is rocking as if in an earthquake; and its very foundations seem to be breaking up.

"The catastrophe has been sudden and swift, but the preparation for it has gone on for centuries. The civilisation of the West is materialistic to the core; and the Nemesis that waits on materialism, with its inverted ideals, its false standard of values, and its open encouragement of greed and self-indulgence—a Nemesis which delays its coming till the materialistic civilization is at the zenith of its greatness—is moral decadence, social disorder, and economic disaster.

"Why is the civilisation of the West materialistic to the core? Because the mind of the West has never been able to realise the essential spirituality of Nature and the consequent Unity—in the Trinity of Man and Nature and God—of the Universal Life. It has exiled its God to the dream-land of the Supernatural; and in that phantasmal world its God has become a phantom and is now fading away into nothingness. Bereft of God's indwelling spirit nature has become a complex of machinery, in which each of us—an automaton in his own being—is but a helpless atom in a whirling mass of steel. In such a world human conduct is apt to be regulated by such maxims as "Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost," and "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die". When these inverted ideals win general acceptance the consequent corruption of society becomes the nemesis of the false philosophy on which society is based.

"If we are to find the antidote to that false philosophy we must turn for guidance to the 'Ancient Wisdom' of India,—to the speculative philosophy of the Upanishads and the ethical philosophy of Buddha. To place God at the heart of nature by thinking of him as the ideal self of man—to merge in ideal oneness the spirit of man, the spirit of nature, and the spirit of God—was the supreme achievement of the Upanishads. The Gospel of Spiritual Evolution, as preached by Buddha, and preached again five centuries later by Christ, is the practical embodiment of that sublime conception. And it is for the gospel of spiritual evolution that the world is waiting now.

Until the higher thought of the West is able to enter, with some measure of understanding and sympathy, into the ideas that dominate the Upanishads, it will continue to waver, as it has long done, between supernaturalism and materialism seeking rest and finding none,—finding none, because it does not see that the only rest which can refresh and revivify the soul is the inward peace which comes from the progressive realisation of our potential oneness with God, the peace which passeth understanding, the rest of infinite unrest."

Birth Control as an Unsolved Problem

We read in *Current Opinion*:—

For two generations the martyr-propagandists of the so-called "birth control" movement on both sides of the Atlantic have endured imprisonment and persecution as a result of their efforts to publish contraceptive information; and yet, if the truth were told, one would have to admit, according to Morris Fishbein, Associate Editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, that birth control is still an unsolved problem. In connection with this statement, Dr. Fishbein cites the presidential address, before the American Medical Association last June, in which Dr. William Allen Pusey devoted himself to the subject of the limitation of population... "I particularly desire", he said, "that the mistaken impression should not go out that I mean to say that medicine now has any satisfactory program for birth control. It has not"... Dr. Fishbein continues (in an article in the *American Mercury*: "The fact is that none of the students of the problem, not even the physicians, have ever perfected any method of birth control that is physiologically, psychologically and biologically sound in both principle and practice." "Of all the devices at present available, the most ancient and the most certain of all is that of simple continence...."

Each of the chief advocates of birth control has some method which he or she considers the ideal; but the fact that Margaret Sanger, in America, and Dr. Marie Stopes, in England, do not agree should be sufficient evidence in itself that the ideal has not been reached.

The conclusion reached by Dr. Fishbein is that medical science, despite all the time and effort spent, is not yet satisfied with the achievements of its investigators in this field. Research workers are still seeking methods which are scientifically safe and psychologically satisfactory.

A Million Words in a Square Inch

It will appear from the following passages extracted from *Current Opinion* that diplomacy is going to be more effectively secretive and hypocritical, and war more difficult than hitherto:

An invention tested by the United States Bureau of standards has been perfected that will engrave letters so small that in the space of one square inch the inventor, Alfred McEwen, claims he could write eighty complete copies of the Bible. To the Bureau the inventor sent a sample of his

work, upon which the following report has been issued: "Identification No. 241. The total area covered by the writing of the Lord's prayers (fifty Six Words) on the above described slide has been measured and found to be 0.0016 inch wide by 0.0008 inch high. Test number T. W. L. 31,374."

These dimensions multiplied give a total area of 128 hundred millionths of a square inch or the 781,250th part of a space one inch wide by one inch deep. That is equal to the 78th part of a 10,000th part of a square inch, so that 78 prayers 4,368 words, could be accommodated where the two letters "L" on the page might be made to cross each other at right angles. What chance would the most inquisitive enemy secret service agent have of discovering a message so minutely engraved?

The inventor, according to the *New York World*, intends his efforts to perfect the process of microscopic engraving to be applied particularly to the transmission of secret documents or messages during war time. A suspected messenger could carry written communications of unlimited length engraved on the surface of a button, or hidden in a tiny corner of his eye-glasses—perhaps covered by the attachment of the nose piece. It would be literally impossible for the keenest enemy officer, unless he were an expert micrographist and knew exactly where to look, to find a trace of the message that was passing right under his nose. Imagine a metal button composed of two parts soldered together. On the inside of one of those parts a message longer than the complete works of Shakespeare could be engraved. Or a messenger could carry the complete financial records of some secret transaction on space smaller than the eye of a needle.

Another use suggested by the inventor is the making of permanent records on some such material as the new rustless steel. These records would occupy such a small compass that whole volumes of valuable data could be kept in a small safe deposit box.

Splitting Seconds into a Billion Parts

Current Opinion records that:

"Professor Paul Heymans and his laboratory assistant, Nathaniel H. Frank, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, have succeeded in measuring intervals of time down to one billionth of a second and are confident of being able presently to split a second into a hundred billion parts. In accomplishing this extraordinary feat the two physicists employed a modification of a method devised by Dr. P. O. Pederson, of the University of Copenhagen, involving what are known as Lichtenberg Figures which manifest themselves when an electric wave is reflected from an electrode."

Chemistry and Peace

This is a notable contribution to the *Atlantic Monthly* by Mr. J. B. S. Haldane, the Sir William Dunn Reader in Biochemistry at Cambridge University.

THE PREVENTION OF WAR

Mr. Haldane thinks.

"War will be prevented only by a scientific study of its causes such as has prevented the epidemic diseases. For many centuries people had guessed that epidemic diseases constituted a punishment for human misconduct of some kind. They tried to prevent them by prayer and atonement. Christians gave up washing; Hindus liberated rats captured during plague epidemics. [Did Hindus ever do this? Ed., M. R.] Religious orders and priests of the church gave the most magnificent examples of self-sacrifice in times of pestilence. But that was not the way in which pestilences can be prevented. Besides good intentions a special type of accurate thinking was needed. We have not yet made a scientific study of the causes of war and, until we do, may expect more wars."

Mr. Haldane says that twenty-five different poisonous weapons were employed during the last great war, of which mustard gas and dichlorethyl sulphide caused more casualties to the British than all other chemical weapons put together.

Mr. Haldane's paper contains many other interesting things, but nothing as to how chemistry can be made to promote peace. So the caption chosen for his paper appears to be a misfit.

Religion as a Force in Modern Life

Mr. Reinhold Niebuhr writes in the same monthly:—

"If religion is to be restored as a force in modern life, it must be able to gauge the evil in human life and yet maintain its faith in the spiritual potentialities of human nature. It must be able to deal with the problems of economic and political life in the spirit of scientific realism and offer for their solution the dynamic of a faith that is incurably romantic. Nothing less than a transcendently oriented religion is equal to this task, but it must be a religion which fearlessly faces the moral implications of its faith."

Count Keyserling on Indian Music.

Count Hermann Keyserling is a well-known German author. One of his works, *Das Reisetagebuch eines Philosophen*, is a comprehensive record of the impressions, emotions, and thoughts called forth by experiences in the Far East and North America during 1911 and 1912. An English translation of this "Travel Diary of a Philosopher" has been recently published in America. Dr. Kuno Francke, Professor Emeritus and honorary Curator of the Germanic Museum at Harvard University, has written an article

on this book in *The Atlantic Monthly*. Educated Hindus will find both the book and the article very interesting and helpful, as it will enable them to understand what in Hinduism appeals most to a cultured German author like Keyserling.

Incidentally Dr. Francke writes:—

"It is a pity that Count Keyserling did not see India after the Gandhi Movement had stirred all classes of the nation to a new and unprecedented spiritual effort. The last days, however, of his Indian sojourn were devoted to a stay with the other great representative of modern Hindu culture Rājindranath Tagore. Of an evening spent at his house, listening to native musicians, he says:

"Indian music is only another, richer, and fuller expression of Indian wisdom. He who wishes to understand it must have realised his own self, must know that the individual is only a fleeting tone in the great world symphony, that everything belongs together, that nothing can be isolated, and that every objective existence is only the glimpse of a moment in the current of mysterious ever-flowing life. He must know that all phenomena are only a reflection of the invisible Being, and that our redemption lies in anchoring our consciousness in this Being. Tagore himself impressed me as a visitor from that higher region. Never perhaps have I seen so much spirituality concentrated in a human form."

Count Keyserling on the Future

According to Dr. Francke,

"The Hindu ideal of individual perfection within a given limit, Chinese belief in the harmony between the moral and the physical order, Japanese genius for intellectual exploitation, American power of individual initiative—these, unsatisfactory as all such formulas are, may be said to constitute the mental harvest which Keyserling brought back from his trip around the world."

The following are among the closing words of Count Keyserling's remarkable book:

"We are coming to a broadening of the generally human basis of our life such as was never known before, and at the same time to a deepening and intensifying of every individual racial tendency equally unparalleled. While formerly there was the alternative, nationalism or cosmopolitanism, there will henceforth be a mutual penetration of the two. The different types of culture and belief will come to respect each other as necessary complements of each other. The former "He or I" will more and more be transformed into a conscious and deliberate "We". And this will take place almost independently of all goodwill, because the life of the world is itself a connected whole. Already in science, in money, in economic interdependence, foundations have been laid on the basis of which mutual agreement is inevitable; soon the same will be the case in legal relations. These objective realizations of internationalism, or their part, react upon the subjective side, the states of mind. More and more leading minds are renouncing all exclusiveness of national culture. The in-

ternational solidarity of Labour is daily becoming more powerful. On some day of grace all humanity will feel as one, in spite of all conflicts and contrasts.

"To help in bringing about this blessed day and this better world—that, and not the Occidentalization of the rest of the globe, is the mission of the occidentals. It is the mission of the West to put into practice what the East, and especially India, has first understood as a theoretical command."

What is civilisation?

"What is civilisation?" asks the *Forum*. "Is it railroads, telegraphs, skyscrapers, and open plumbing? Is it the conquest of the air and of disease? Is it literature and art, philosophy and religion, the superlative excellence of the few, or the greatest good of the greatest number?"

"In this age of vast material progress, too many of us are prone to limit our definition of civilisation by the very prejudices born of our own particular type of culture. We are apt to regard civilisation in terms of our mechanistic achievements, and to look down pityingly from the altitude of our progress upon the backwardness of other times and peoples. To-day this attitude is being challenged by many writers, who bid us look to other cultures and see what we can learn from them. In the brilliant kaleidoscope of history many diverse civilisations have flashed and faded. Each one has contributed something to the great wealth of culture of which we of to-day are the heirs and beneficiaries."

A Scheme for the Medical Profession

Major-General Sir Gerard Giffard, I. M. S. (Retired), writes in *The Asiatic Review*:

I hold in my hand a document just received from Madras sent by the Raja of Panagal, the first Minister of the Madras Government. I have received it, from my old friend the Minister, with great pleasure because he has just carried out a scheme which I recommended to him before I left India last year. The scheme is based on the belief that the future of Medicine in India cannot be a future of Government Medical Servants. Although the medical graduates of Madras are few in number in proportion to the number of persons needing medical help in the Presidency, many of them are unemployed. The medical graduates and also the L. M. P.'s (Sub-Assistant Surgeons grade), up to the present, crowd into the large towns where there are already too many doctors. They have to compete there with the Government servants who, being in charge of the Medical Institutions, and receiving a fixed salary, are easily able to obtain the greater part of the private practice. These private practitioners have usually spent all the money they can command on their education and so they cannot make a start in the rural districts. The Minister's scheme proposes to subsidize these men and to supply them with a house for a certain number of years and with a free supply of medicines and apparatus. The subsidy will gradually diminish, thus leaving the doctors, at the end of a few years, to succeed or fail as private practitioners. In the mean time they must treat the poor gratis, but may

charge such fees as they can collect from well-to-do patients. I welcome this scheme as a small beginning towards the establishment of an independent medical profession, and I hope that, if the recommendations of the Lee Commission be also carried out, and the Professional chairs be no longer held by the Services, the handing over to an independent Medical Profession of the top and bottom may eventually lead to the growth throughout India of a self-reliant, self-respecting, independent Indian Medical Profession, no longer divided by educational barriers, but itself capable, in the future, of building up for India a position in the Scientific World to which its numbers and intelligence will entitle it.

Democracy in Islam

We read in an article on Democracy in Islam by Mr. Syud Hossain in *The New Orient* of New York :—

I claim for Islam that it alone among the religions of the world has provided a working basis for true democracy. It has reduced the principle of the brotherhood of man to terms of actuality—to practice and not merely profession—both socially and internationally. Go where you will in the Moslem world, from Morocco to China, from South Africa to Siberia, you will not find any barriers of race or color or caste dividing Moslem from Moslem. The Moslems of the world constitute one great family. No sense of strangeness keeps them apart; no artificial inequalities mar their social organization or intercourse.

After a somewhat extensive study of democratic conditions and institutions in the West, I can still affirm that the reality of democracy, in a fundamental sense, has been better realized in Islam than in any other system. True, there have been flagrant spells of corruption and backsliding, and there are present today phases of self-betrayal in Moslem society. Moslems, indeed, have fallen because they fell away from Islam—alike from its truth and its tolerance. But even so, a marvelous fraternal spirit, transcending all barriers of race or country or colour, still animates the great brotherhood of Islam in a degree perhaps not discoverable in any other great community of men. Here, at any rate, we have a great example, and a great promise for the redemption of humanity. If Islam had done nothing else than eliminate, as it has incontestably done, the unconscionable barriers of racial antipathy and national exclusiveness from among one-fifth of the human race scattered over the surface of the globe, covering every land and clime, it must hold civilization its debtor.

Christianity, after two thousand years of evolution, has signally failed in this vital respect. The conception of a human brotherhood, a social communion, that would transcend geographical, racial or national boundaries seems to be equally unrealized in the other great religious systems of the world. It is Islam alone that rules out, in theory no less than in practice, the claims of race or nation, caste or colour, to break the unity or mar the harmony of the human family. And there can be no question that it is along that path the world will have to travel to find its ultimate salvation.

What the writer says is true. But it is

also true that Islam has not solved the problem of *political* democracy; for though it has ruled out "the claims of race or nation, caste or colour", if not always in practice, at least in theory, it has *not* ruled out the claims of creed. All Muslims may be equal, but in Islamic theory, Muslims and non-Muslims are not equal politically or otherwise.

Measuring Genius

Mr. William Douglas tells us in *Chambers's Journal*.

The world in general is content to regard genius as a phenomenon that appears at rare intervals in defiance of, rather than in accordance with, natural laws. The fact of genius, its choice of the medium in which it expresses itself, and the form of that expression, are unquestioningly accepted as inevitable and inexplicable. The reading-public, while it is eager to be amused or interested or thrilled, will not readily consent to think. So it prefers to look upon genius as something altogether miraculous, and loves such fine phrases as Wordsworth's 'light that never was on sea or land' and Carlyle's 'inspired gift of God'.

Most people are strangely gratified when there is striking contrast between the circumstances of genius and its performance. The greater the contrast, the greater the miracle. If a ploughman turns poet or a policeman paints pictures, the world applauds the prodigy. It would be disappointed if Bacon proved to be Shakespeare. This trick of contrasting opposites is as old as history. David of Israel and Jack the Giant Killer are heroes because they were, comparatively speaking, pygmies. Diogenes steps from his tub into the temple of fame. The average man is particularly delighted when the personality or history of a poet seems out of keeping with his poetry. He thinks of Chatterton as the 'marvellous boy' who starved in a garret. Marlowe is the tavern brawler who is killed in a drunken scuffle over a prostitute—by Will Shakespeare himself, if we are to believe Miss Clemence Dane, who certainly knows better. Milton writes *Paradise Lost* and Homer *The Iliad*, each after he is blind. Dr. Johnson is scrofulous, gluttonous, and a boor. Goldsmith is the 'inspired fool' who 'wrote like an angel but talked like poor Poll'. Shelley is an atheist, and Byron a black-guard.

Yet it is obvious that Shakespeare would have been no less a genius if he had been Lord Chancellor of England. Homer and Milton would not have written worse poetry even if they had had Argus's hundred eyes. Shelley, although he had turned Quaker, would still have dabbled his fingers in the day-fall, and littered the floor of heaven with his broken fancies. Were Mr. Chesterton thin as an eel and Mr. Bernard Shaw gargantuan, their charm would be no less potent. The man in the street cannot be made to think so. Believing that the marvellous essential is rendered more marvellous by contrasting concomitant inessentials, he measures the first by its distance from the second—as if genius were not something above and beyond such accidentals; and he is encouraged in this false correlation of opposites by literary biographers.

whose opinions he swallows as trustfully as he swallows innumerable patent medicines, their effects scouring of the miraculous because he is ignorant of the ingredients.

But the man in the street has other methods of judging genius. Though he enjoys best what is simple and easily intelligible—the tritely true, the strongly emotional, the obviously clever, and the broadly humorous—yet he distrusts his preference because he suspects simplicity.

Simplicity of subject and expression is so often regarded as a mark of mediocrity that the worth of a work is frequently measured in inverse proportion to its simplicity.

Men of Genius are believed to be wanting in sanity.

The man of the world sometimes judges genius, particularly poetic genius, by comparing its mentality with his own, flattering himself considerably in the process. By this method of calculation, genius is measured in inverse ratio to its sanity. The man of the world does not make the comparison in respect of originality, inventive power, imagination, perception, receptivity, spiritual energy and enthusiasm; that were too exhausting a method—and the result might not be so flattering to his self-esteem. The standard of his measurement is common-sense, and he fondly misapplies Dryden's famous couplet:

Great wits are sure to madness near allied,
And thin partitions do their bounds divide.

So he regards genius as a kind of mental disease, and credits the weaknesses of the long-haired types, familiar in caricatures, to poets like Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and Wordsworth.

As a matter of fact, these, the greatest masters of English poetry, are characterised by a practical sanity and commonsense that the man of the world might envy. Chaucer wrote his *Canterbury Tales* in the intervals of making out bills of lading and of attending to his duties as ambassador, master of works, and member of Parliament for Kent. Spenser was planning his *Faerie Queene* while he was secretary to the deputy-governor of Ireland. Shakespeare, successful actor-manager and merchant was suing a certain Mr. Philip Rogers of Stratford for the sum of thirty-five shillings and tenpence about the time he was writing *Macbeth*. It was while Milton was, prosaically enough, earning his living as a schoolmaster that he wrote his *Areopagitica* "the majestic classic of spiritual and intellectual freedom with its outbursts of shattering vituperation, its inflammatory scorn, its boundless power, and overflow of passionate speech in all its keys of passion". Wordsworth was so strong in reasoning power, so restrained in imagination, and so eminently practical in his theory of poetry that the reproach in his case, also, is wholly unjustifiable.

No doubt there have been mad poets as there have been mad hatters. Some great men like many little men, have been guilty of poverty, blindness, corpulence, smallpox, and self-indulgence and excess. A poet, however, is great not because of these things but in spite of them.

Other methods of measuring genius have also been mentioned as follows:

Some people would measure genius as they measure the efficiency of machinery, by ease and rapidity of production. They labour under the illusion that poets produce their masterpieces without effort. They love to read of poets who never blotted a line, who lispd in numbers for the numbers came. To such people he is no heaven-born poet who scorns delights and lives laborious days, whose genius is an infinite capacity for taking pains. *Poeta nascitur non fit!* He must be able to toss off a sonnet with his 'night-cap' before stepping into bed.

Gray's immortal elegy, which took eight years to complete, is, on this basis of measurement, not poetry. But Cecil's saying of Sir Walter Raleigh, 'I know he can toil terribly,' is true of genius in every sphere of activity. Shakespeare's knowledge is as wide as his range. He must have been an omnivorous reader, an observant and diligent student of men and affairs. Originality, imagination, comprehensiveness of soul, sensibility to impression, sincerity, sympathy, emotion, eloquence, a just sense of proportion, and a delicate appreciation of musical sound, are some of the chief elements of genius; but all are useless without that boundless energy of mind, that self-denying tenacity of purpose, which exercises and cultivates them and transmutes capacity into imperishable work. A few writers like Rousseau may learn more from men than from books, more by meditating on their own experiences than by meditating on the experiences of others; but to produce work that will quicken the intellect, stir the emotions, and fire the imagination they must not only think truly, feel deeply, and imagine nobly, they must toil terribly.

A good measure of genius has been thus described by La Bruyere: 'Whenever,' he says, 'the perusal of a book elevates your mind and inspires you with noble and courageous sentiments, do not seek for any other measure to judge the work: that work is good and written by the hand of a master.'

Mosques Open to All Worshippers of God

"Once a deputation from a Christian tribe waited upon our Holy Prophet Muhammad (may peace and the blessings of God be upon him). They were having a discussion with him on doctrinal points. The argument grew long and it was their time to pray. They asked his permission to go out and say their prayers. He said there was no need for them to go out for they could pray in the Mosque where they were holding the discussion. So we know from the Holy Quran as well as from the Life of the Holy Prophet, that the doors of Moslem Mosques are open to all those who want to worship God alone and that the Moslem Mosques are the centres of unity."—*The Review of Religions*.

The Future of Africa.

"The future of Africa lies with the African, and this more particularly applies to the Central and Equatorial zone. With the exception of the Highlands surrounded by the mountain groups of Kenya, Kilimanjaro, and Elgon, little of this is suited for white settlement. I think I am right in saying that the policy of the British Government must be very

strongly opposed to encouraging projects which have for their object the creation of European-owned and managed plantations to replace agricultural industries which are already in existence or which are capable of being developed by the Africans themselves."

"Africa is at last awakening from an age-long inertia, and there is a slow but sure movement in which one can already recognize the beginnings of a race-consciousness among millions of people who have up till now been regarded as the most backward of mankind."—R. St. Barbe Baker in *The English Review*.

The Future of Constantinople

According to *Le Temps*, Constantinople is a dying city. Its formerly busy harbor is deserted, banks will loan money only on exorbitant terms, big business houses are liquidating their affairs and closing their doors. Foreigners are leaving en masse, or—as in case of the Greeks and Armenians—are being expelled by the authorities; and even part of the Mussulman population is migrating to Anatolia in the hope of bettering its condition.

Constantinople suffered severely during the succession of wars that began with the Balkan conflict in 1912 and only ended with the defeat of the Greeks last year. A series of conflagrations, the ravages of which could not be repaired in the prevailing unsettlement, has swept away more than one fifth of the city. Revolution and civil war have practically extinguished the Black Sea trade; and Constantinople, like Vienna, is suffering from the shrinkage of the territories of which it formerly was the commercial centre. Last of all, the departure of 300,000 Greeks and Armenians, like the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and the Huguenots from France, has prostrated important economic activities of the city. Meanwhile Constantinople's rivals are profiting by the distress of their old competitor Alexandria, Beirut, Piræus, and Saloniki are no longer simple satellites of the metropolis on the Bosphorus, but are rapidly becoming independent trade-centres.

Notwithstanding this discouraging situation, however, correspondents point out that the causes of the present depression are political and transitory, while the natural advantage that has made Constantinople great—her strategic situation at a focus of land and sea routes—remains unaffected, and they confidently predict her ultimate revival.—*The Living Age*.

Europe and Internationalism.

Mr. Junnosuke Inouye, ex-minister of finance of Japan, writes in the *Japan Magazine*:—

I was present at the meeting of the League of Nations Association held in Lyons, in which I made an address on the equal treatment of all the peoples in the world, regardless of their nationalities. In the meeting I had the opportunity of personally seeing various people representing various countries. What I was heartily moved by on the occasion was that the idea entertained by various peoples in the world was further and further receding from the lofty conception of internationalism or that of the League of Nations, and they had begun to be

inclined to the idea of nationalism or that of nationalistic egoism. It is true that each of the representatives argued with dignity and impartiality, expressing quite fairly his own views, superficially. However, I was able to find very easily the idea of nationalism and nationalistic egoism burning allaze behind it.

It may be no wonder that nationalism has begun to prevail, because it may be the shortest cut for the European nations to resume the normal economic situation by consolidating themselves nation by nation or it may be the only means for a nation that they consolidate their national union, in order to prevent themselves from other nations' contempt. At any rate, it cannot be overlooked that the idea of all the European nations is now inclined to nationalism. I don't know whether it is a deplorable or congratulative phenomenon, but, nevertheless, it is an undeniable fact. In this way it can be safely said that the centre of the current of thought of the World is moving to nationalism from internationalism.

A Message from Mahatma Gandhi to "The World Tomorrow"

"My study and experience of non-violence have proved to me that it is the greatest force in the world. It is the surest method of discovering truth and it is the quickest because there is no other. It works silently, almost imperceptibly, but non-violence is the one constructive process of nature in the midst of incessant destruction going on about us. I hold it to be a superstition to believe that it can work only in private life. There is no department of life, public or private, to which that force cannot be applied. But this non-violence is impossible without complete self-effacement."

Americans and the Red Indians of America

Is there any reason, asks the American Indian Defense Association, why the tuberculosis death-rate of the Navajo Indians should be ten times that of the registration area of the United States, why there should be twenty-five thousand cases among two hundred and ten thousand Indians; why their trachoma patients should be allowed to go blind in the presence of known methods of prevention? There are, of course, plenty of reasons. The American Indian is a charge that has sat very heavily on the Puritan conscience of America. The shortage of decent medical service among them is by no means the greatest of the ills the Indians have suffered at our hands. Neither will the rectification of these conditions make amends for the wiring out of their civilization. But nothing could do that, while immediate assistance will do something toward eliminating the most deplorable aspects of the present. Therefore the association is preparing to launch a comprehensive drive against the whole existing system of handling Indian affairs. The future may offer the Indian no alternative but what has confronted him in the past; extermination or assimilation. But even so, he is entitled in the present to the most humane treatment the 'superior' civilization can muster."—*The New Republic*.

Mr. Savel Zimand on Mahatma Gandhi.

No matter what one may think of Gandhi's economic program, of his idea that modern civilization is pernicious in its effects upon the individual or of his belief that railways and hospitals, for example, are at best a necessary evil—Tolstoi and Ruskin preached such theories two generations back—it must be admitted that his method of non-violence has not only contributed to the advance in self-sacrifice and self-respect in India, but has also had a far-reaching influence all over Asia.

What he asks of his countrymen is to adopt non-violence for the purpose of regulating the relations between the different races and for the purpose of attaining *Swaraj* (self-government). "This I venture to place before India, not as a weapon of the weak, but of the strong."

"Do you believe," I asked, "that your people will give up every kind of violent method in their struggle for *Swaraj*?"

"I believe that the Indian people will gradually come to 'adopt the doctrine of non-violence,' he replied. "All our ancient traditions, our epics, our history show that we are more ready to suffer than to inflict punishment on others."

He has never asked his people to eschew violence in their dealings with robbers or thieves, or with nations that may invade India. He has never presented that extreme form of non-violence, if only because he does not regard himself fit enough to re-deliver that ancient message. Though his intellect has fully understood and grasped it, it has not as yet become part of his whole being. His strength lies in asking people to do nothing that he has not tried repeatedly in his own life. But in order that they may be better able to protect themselves, they must learn to restrain themselves. The method of non-violence can never lead to loss of strength, but it alone will make it possible, if the nation wills it, to offer disciplined and concerted action in time of danger.

As he was talking, I seemed to hear again the voices of India, to see the stormy background of his country, to feel the innumerable sorrows of his people, to scan the lofty passages of Indian scriptures, to experience the exalted deeds of his countrymen. I heard the triumphant music of the reborn Indian nation. I heard the sacred tidings of peace on earth and goodwill which Asia sends, once more, to the children of men.

And then the Mahatma summed up his message: "I am fighting for nothing less than world peace." "For," said he, "if the Indian movement is carried to success on a non-violent basis, it will give a new meaning to patriotism, and if I may so say, in all humility, to life itself."—*Survey Graphic*.

Science of Government

From *Science Progress*:

"The question which is the best form of government for the human race to adopt is really a strictly scientific question, requiring scientific modes of thought by man who have had experience in scientific methods. The popular idea to-day that anybody from a manual worker to a fox-hunting nobleman is capable of forming just opinions on this subject is as ridiculous as the supposition that such men would be able without special study to

form just opinions on modern astronomy, physics, or medicine. As long as men imagine that they can be properly ruled by amateurs in the science and art of government, so long will they be badly ruled—they may as well have their engineering or medical treatment done by similar people. It has been proved over and over again in scientific works on political economy that the creed commonly called Socialism is as impossible as the creed that two sides of a triangle are together less than the third side."

Progress

Concluding an analysis, in the *Nineteenth Century*, of the idea of Progress, Mr. G. H. Bonner writes that progress

"Is a kind of awakening, a gradual lifting up of the object of pursuit from the material to the mental, from the mental to the spiritual plane. The first effect of such an awakening is to produce chaos: the good which is at first pursued is not the good itself, but a partitive and personal good. And so the chaos of the world of to-day is not a cause for pessimism, but for rejoicing, for it is an infallible sign that the great awakening has begun. The throes of birth are upon the world, for the old order is changing. The darkness which is around us is the darkness of the very early morning, and from it will be born a day more beautiful than any that has yet been.

"It is idle for the pessimist to moan of the wrath to come: Goodness, Truth and Beauty must inevitably prevail, for they are the foundations upon which both man and the universe are built. Some time and somewhere that ideal perfection of manhood which has existed in the world of the real from all eternity will blossom out in man. And it rests with himself whether the time be a long or a short one.

"Even now there are many signs that a new age is beginning. There is abroad a spirit of questioning, of dissatisfaction with established systems and institutions, of determination to arrive at truth. The very existence of all kinds of new sects and teachings, almost all purporting to have a panacea for every ill, is but another evidence of this dissatisfaction with things as they are."

Translation and Original Creation

Mr. George Russell (A. E.), writing in the *Irish Statesman*, expresses the opinion that the work of the translator is even more difficult than the work of the creator.

"It is easy to us to find words to express our intimate feelings. But how hard it is to put words on the thoughts of another. When a man is himself exalted, the words which fly up to the brain seem to be brought by some affinity, a law of spiritual gravitation which acts as the power which attracts the filings to the magnet. There is a swift collaboration between thought and its symbols. We do not understand by what magic an idea evokes swiftly out of so many thousand symbols those which fit it with a body. We find ourselves speaking so swiftly that the word seems to follow the

thought as the shadow the substance, there is hardly a second for conscious selection of phrase. Indeed, it may be said in most speech, and often in the finest writing, there is no conscious selection of phrase at all. The imagination of man is a despotic genie and words are its trembling slaves who wait obediently on it to mirror its lightest motions. But when a writer sets himself to translate, he has not this swift magic of the unconscious to aid him. Everything he does he must do deliberately with reference to an original. For him there can be no ecstasy of swift creation such as enabled Shelley to write the 'Prometheus Unbound' in a few weeks."

Books and Magazines in Japan

The following items of information are compiled from *The Japan Magazine* :—

Women's magazines are very prosperous today. They sell far more than other periodicals. They are, therefore, able to pay handsomely their novel writers. They are headed by the *Fujio-kai* and the *Shufu-no-tomo*, each of which has a circulation of 300,000 a month. No other Japanese periodicals outnumber them except some juvenile and popular magazines, such as the *Kodan-Club*.

The *Shufu-no-tomo* paid as much as 10,000 yen for *Hasen* (Shipwreck) by Mr. Masao Kume and the *Fujio-kai* paid similarly for the *Shinju* (New Jewel) by Mr. Kan. Kikuchi at the rate of 25 yen a sheet of copy paper. This created a precedent and the "Central Review" is said to have come to pay a similar rate.

As compared with Western countries, the reading public of Japan is very limited and is confined to a small circle, and a book that sells to the number of 5,000 copies is thought to be a success. Some vulgar books have sold over 10,000 copies, but this is an exception, such publications being taken little account of in the literary world.

The prosperity of Juvenile Magazines.—Juvenile magazines in Japan are at the pinnacle of prosperity. At a bookstore, one will find tens of these magazines arranged before him, and he will be perplexed as to which to choose.

There are several kinds of juvenile magazines. The first is for children of 2-6 years. Their contents are mostly coloured pictures with simple explanations. The second kind is for common school children with plenty of illustrations, and much more reading-matter, mainly fairy tales and popular songs. Besides, they collect freehand drawings from their subscribers. The third is for senior class children of common schools and junior class pupils of middle or girls' high schools, there being separate publications for boys and girls. The reading-matter is somewhat more difficult than in the second kind, the space being occupied chiefly by juvenile detective stories, adventures and stories of heroes, while the girls' magazines contain sentimental stories for the most part. These juvenile magazines welcome contributions from their readers more than the rest, publishing on the last pages their compositions, popular songs and free-hand drawings, some of which receive prizes. The fourth kind of magazine is entirely for middle school and girls' high school pupils. They are full of articles of particular interest to these pupils. They give as a specialty detailed information about entrance examinations to higher schools or former examina-

tion questions, to help their young readers preparing to undergo the entrance examinations for academies, the competition in which is particularly severe in Japan.

Children's songs are very popular to-day and every juvenile magazine gives in each issue a few of these songs. Many pictures enrich these publications by them.

Careers for Japanese Women

From the same magazine we gather the following facts about women's careers in Japan :—

A great many Japanese women work in business or professionally in every direction. These professional women are not confined simply to those who work absolutely from necessity but even those who wish to provide against separation from their husbands by death or to earn their marriage expenses themselves.

Typists have an occupation, which most girls are eager to take. The demand for them is increasing rapidly.

Clerks have a position preferable to comparatively sober women. Everywhere in banks, mercantile houses and offices women clerks are at work; yet the demand is much on the increase.

Another important position filled by women is that of saleswomen.

The telephone girl has one of the oldest callings monopolized by the gentle sex.

In the educational field, positions as school teachers are popular and appropriate. They teach in primary and girls' high schools and academic.

Midwives have had a privileged feminine occupation since olden times. One simply with experience of assisting at child-birth is not licensed as such to-day as in bygone days. There are certain legal requirements demanded of them. They must be trained in maternity hospitals or offices of midwives and pass the license examination or must be trained in schools attached to certain hospitals, in order to qualify.

Nurses belong either to hospitals or nurses' associations.

Hair-dressers have perhaps the most remunerative of women's occupations, while they socially rank low. This has been a monopoly of women from ancient times. Their husbands have been hen-pecked, serving their bread-winning wives like servants. There are about 150 styles of Japanese hair-dressing, of which only about 5 are in practical use to-day. There are a number of female hair-dressers' schools in Tokyo and Osaka, where the art of hair-dressing is taught for six months or a year.

Beauty-parlours also belong to the domain of women. This is quite a new occupation. They dress women and prepare their persons for weddings and other ceremonial occasions. The fee is 1-3 yen for beautifying the face and 5 yen for her attention. The capital needed is comparatively large but the income is better than that of the Japanese hair-dressers.

Flower-arrangement, the tea ceremony and Japanese music are taught by those who hold certificates granted by their masters, the *iyari-oto* (the head-houses), after taking at least three years' lessons under them or their direct pupils.

Foreign music teachers are paid better than

those of Japanese music, and get over 5 yen for going for a lesson to the pupil's house.

The teaching of needle-work has been an occupation of genteel women since old times.

Housemaids have an occupation unpopular with women, for they have to work all day at comparatively small wages, and the work of spinning hands and waitresses is preferred. A new occupation has been created to fill the want, called "hashutsu-fu," in large cities. They are open for engagement for certain fixed periods. They do the work of ordinary maids, and their regular daily wages are 1.50-2.00 yen for first class maids and 0.80-1.20 yen for assistant maids.

Waitresses of cafes have a position offered to good-looking girls of 16-20 years.

Models have a calling that did not exist before the Meiji era.

Miss Nobuko Koda was the first independent teacher of western music in Japan.

The pioneer of women physicians in Japan was the daughter of Kenzan Nonaka, a senior retainer of the Tosa clan in pre-Restoration days.

Kinema-actresses have an occupation eagerly sought after by "new women" of good appearance and physical beauty.

The English-speaking Union and the Latin Union

We read in an article in the *Century Magazine* by Mr. Charles Edward Russell:—

Anglo-Saxon solidarity means another solidarity against it. "We labor to spread and uphold the Anglo-Saxon ideals," say organizations like the English-Speaking Union. "We read those ideals in the histories of Ireland and India," responds the Latin. "and if you spread them here, you must advance over our dead bodies."

Hence the Latin Union.

Mr. Russell continues:—

Scorn of the Latin seems to glow in every English breast. For generations the idea has been wide-spread in England that Latin peoples are both decadent and dying. "Their day passed long ago," has been the accepted doctrine of the English school as year after year the English journals have with manifest gusto repeated the figures of the birth-rate in France. An American to whom recently an Englishman fervently advocated the Anglo-American alliance suggested that its sure consequence would be the forming of a combination against it, and the world would thereby be made just another battle-ground.

"What of it?" cried the Englishman. "Great Britain and the United States together can lick the whole world!"

There is no doubt that this is the view of the matter generally taken in England and the sole ground upon which the alliance is urged as a measure of peace. Who could withstand the British fleet and the American army? But who could withstand the perfectly drilled and perfectly equipped German and Austrian armies? said the German before the war. Even upon the low ground of physical preponderance all such forecastings are illusory. Giving full weight to the superior organization and resources of some of the Nordic nations, the truth remains that in this world of ours the Latin outnumbers the Teuton.

As this will not be readily believed by readers, so strong is habitual thinking to the contrary, I must refer to the figures.

POPULATIONS IN ROUND NUMBERS

Latin Group		
France	...	41,200,000
Belgium	...	7,600,000
Italy	...	38,500,000
Portugal	...	6,000,000
Rumania	...	17,000,000
Spain	...	21,000,000
South America	...	62,700,000
Mexico and Central America	...	22,000,000
<i>Total</i>		216,000,000
Teutonic Nations		
Germany	...	60,000,000
Austria	...	6,500,000
<i>Total</i>		66,500,000
Add Continental nations of Teutonic kindred:		
Denmark	...	3,300,000
Norway	...	2,600,000
Sweden	...	6,000,000
Netherlands	...	6,800,000

<i>Total of Teutonic blood on the Continent</i>		85,200,000
If to this we add Great Britain and its dependencies:	...	70,000,000

Grand Total ... 155,200,000

If to this again we can conceive of the United States being added, although the majority of its people are not of even Anglo-Saxon origin the total becomes 260,000,000; but if the United States is to be counted on that side, Japan must be counted on the other, which brings the anti-Anglo-Saxon-Teutonic alignment to 286,000,000. And if we are going ahead with the blithe spirit indicated by the Englishman to court this unspeakable calamity, there would have to be added to the Latin strength Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Jugoslavia, at least.

Of course these divisions are political rather than ethnological: Walloons in Belgium, many bloods in South America 3000000, Germans in Czechoslovakia, and many other mixtures complicate the estimates, which are sufficiently appalling without these details. The chief thing is to note that numerically, at least, the Nordics, if they are without Russia, start with no such supremacy as should breed over-confidence. Conceding that the Bolivian navy will never be a deciding factor in the universal two-camp struggle to which we seem to be heading, it is evident that the idea of securing the world's peace by overawing it with Anglo-Saxons guns is chimerical. It is manifestly not true that the Anglo-Saxon can with ease and one hand tied behind his back beat up all these peoples that he despises as "low foreigners". It is equally manifest that if the world's peace is to be maintained, other means must be found than the noisy furthering of racial combinations and antipathies. Because these methods lead not to peace, but straight to certain war, and what a war it will be when it comes, we can gather from foregoing figures.

The question, on which side would India

fight in case of a racial war has also occurred to Mr. Russell. So he writes:—

Some superficial support for the overawing theory of peace is found by adding to the Nordic strength the hordes of India. To anybody that has been in India this is a bitter jest. Nothing is needed for the final separation of India from the British Empire but a great foreign war. If the hordes of India were to take sides at all in such a struggle, it would be on the side of England's foes, particularly after Amritsar.

America Growing Healthier, But India—?

Mr. Robert L. Duffus observes in the *Century Magazine*:

The basis of human happiness is health. Now, it is probable that civilized man in the twentieth century is not only healthier than any other human being that ever lived, with the possible exception of a few happy-go-lucky savage tribes living in lands of plenty, but that he is the first civilized man who ever attained anything like a state of health.

The proof is in death and mortality rates. At the beginning of the century, in the United States registration area, the death-rate was 17.6 a thousand, in 1921 it was 11.6. and though it rose to 12.6 during 1923, its general tendency is still downward. In New York City the rate dropped from 20.26 in 1898 to 11.72 in 1923. Infant mortality in New York City was reduced during the same period from 205 a thousand to 63. Death-rates are, of course, an average between extremes. In the cities of Mississippi in 1923 the rate was 10.3 a thousand; in the rural districts of Iowa 6.5 a thousand; among large groups of insurance policyholders, 8.9 a thousand. As hygienic knowledge spreads, the average will naturally tend to approach the minimum. But even now medical science in the United States may be credited with saving at least half a million lives yearly that twenty-five years ago would have been lost.

The baby born in 1900 had a life expectation of about 49 years; now it may count on living, with reasonable luck, seven years longer. Certain diseases, as every one knows, have been almost wiped out. The death-rate from typhoid has been reduced nearly eighty per cent., that from tuberculosis nearly fifty per cent. Yellow fever, typhus, malaria, diabetes, the hookworm disease, diphtheria, and scarlet fever are wiped out or under control. Surgery of all descriptions has made remarkable advances. New drugs have been found which alleviate suffering and promote recovery; in fact, it may almost be said that a new medical chemistry has developed. More and more the treatment of disease is an exact science, with predictable results. The modern physician is almost as far ahead of the practitioner of the eighties as the latter was ahead of an Indian medicine-man. Good roads, the automobile, and modern methods of sanitary organization have made the new knowledge accessible even in remote regions.

What figures and facts has British-ruled India to adduce for comparison?

What the West Requires]

The same writer observes in the same magazine:—

A civilization, to be healthy and significant, must be going somewhere. A nation, like an individual man, must look forward, or to all intents and appearances it ceases to live. The tragedy of our century is loss of faith, not in God, but in man. Humanity is in desperate need of a new synthesis which will give meaning to life. Until that is vouchsafed, our sparkling toys, increase though they may in number and in splendor, will not bring content. But the lack is hard to fill, for we require now not a Thomas Alva Edison, or a Henry Ford, but Buddha, Confucius, Plato, one godlike philosopher able to take these scattered, glowing stones and rear them into a vast and luminous tower, rising to heaven, toward which all men's eyes shall be turned.

"White, but Black"

An anonymous writer contributes to the *Century Magazine* an article with this caption, which begins thus:

My eyes are light blue, my hair is light brown, my features are undeniably Nordic, my skin is white; yet in my veins run a few drops of negro blood. Therefore, in America, I am a negro.

My wife and daughter and I live on the outskirts of negro Harlem, in New York City. My wife is of olive-brown skin, with lustrous black hair. Others than myself have called her beautiful. When first I saw her I thought instantly of a man in a clad Castilian in some lovely old Spanish town.

After detailing various experiences of his and his wife's, in which the white man's racial prejudices, superstitions and unreason play a predominant part, he says in conclusion:—

Last year I spent several months in Europe. In London I was invited to luncheon by an author whose work is known wherever books are read. He opened the door and hesitated, then introduced himself. A puzzled frown wrinkled his face when I told him my name.

"Pardon me," he said, "but I expected from your writings to see an elderly colored man. Instead, you are a young white man".

I laughed as naturally as the circumstances would permit, and assured him that though guilty of being young, I was innocent of being white—that I was a negro. His bewildered expression increased as he asked:

"Do you mean to tell me they class *you* as a negro in America?"

I assured him that I was so labeled.

"What damned fools Americans must be on the race question!" he exclaimed.

In India, there are thousands of Brahmans and "untouchables" having exactly the same types of features and the same complexion; and the same kinds of morals and brains, but the former are "holy", the latter are "un-

clean", "untouchable," "unapproachable," "un-shadowable" !

Home Recreation.

Introducing the subject of Home Recreation, Mrs. Milton P. Higgins, Past President of National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations, stressed the need for recognizing that play is not merely for babies and small children but for the entire family group ; that means of entertainment and social activities of a recreative nature must be taught parents so that the individual members of the family will be resourceful and capable of taking care of the leisure hours of the family as a group as well as of their own individual needs.

The developing and planning of play rooms, play boxes, backyard playgrounds and children's corners are necessary in every home. The entire family must participate in the playing of games, parents playing with their children. Pleasant evening programs should be planned around the family fireside, with stories, singing and games, the family thus being cemented together in bonds of friendship. How can we help this plan? What activities can we suggest? How may we train the parents? Who can distribute the necessary information? These, Mrs. Higgins pointed out, are some of the questions which recreation workers must consider :—*The Playground.*

Imperial Preference

In the *Contemporary Review* for February Sir Charles Mallet observes :—

"The proposal for preference is not a proposal for giving us equal treatment. It is frankly a proposal that we should tax our consumers, reduce our revenue—so far as revenue duties exist already—and prejudice our trade with foreign notions, in order to secure larger profits for certain Colonial interests. And at present it is open to one grave objection, that on both sides it is to some extent in the nature of a sham. So long as we decline to give the Dominions on their great natural products, bread and meat, wool, timber and hides, a Preference which must raise the cost of food and raw materials for our people, we are in fact, in Mr. Bruce's words, "dodging the issue," pretending to offer advantages which we do not really mean to give. And so long as they on their side take every opportunity of imposing fresh tariffs against British manufactures, it is evident that they have no desire to facilitate imports of British goods which compete with their own."

Sir Charles disposes of several illusions in regard to the Preferences given by the Dominions, and concludes :—

".....The whole scheme of Preference is based upon illusions, illusions of fact, of policy, of economics and most of all on the profound illusion that anything less than unrestricted freedom in matters of taxation and in matters of trade can ever be acceptable to the English people."

The Mandatory System after Five Years' Working

In the *Contemporary Review* Mr. John H. Harris examines the mandatory system as it

has worked during five years and defends it thus :—

"The most active element in the machinery is the Permanent Mandates Commission. It may be true that this body has disappointed some of the more extravagant hopes, in that it has not yet taken severely to task any Administration, called for the dismissal of any particular official, requested an enquiry into the treatment of the inhabitants or recommended the revocation of any Mandate, but the members have proved themselves to be remarkably conscientious and painstaking. The single task of reading reports from all the territories under their supervision is an exceedingly heavy one ; in addition to this there is a continuous output of correspondence with Headquarters in Geneva. Once a year (now apparently to be twice a year), these Commissioners meet in Geneva or elsewhere to discuss the work and prepare reports for the Council or Assembly. The whole of this work is done without one penny remuneration, beyond, of course, out-of-pocket expenses. All this means a large expenditure of physical and mental energy and represents without doubt, one of the most generous pieces of disinterested public service performed by the League : civilisation owes to every member of the Permanent Mandates Commission a debt it cannot easily repay.

"Those who may be inclined to be critical of the effect of the Mandatory machinery would do well to reflect upon the very healthy control which is set up by the fact that each year the Mandatory powers submit to a pretty stiff cross-examination upon their stewardship—a procedure which might be adopted with no little advantage by the Colonial Powers with regard to those of their respective Dependencies where there is no system of self-government. On the whole, the League of Nations may be justly proud of the success of the Mandatory system."

Just as in India, the system of "self-government" has given the people the power to exert "moral influence" on the Government, so the mandatory system has given the League of Nations the power to exert "moral influence" on the mandatory powers. Therefore, the success of the mandatory system is not greater, but seems to be rather less, than the success of "self-government" in India.

Negro Race-Movements in America

The Rev. A. M. Chirgwin describes in the *Contemporary Review* Negro race-movements in America.

He starts with this bit of talk :—

"Why, you niggers have an easier time than I do", said a white storekeeper in Georgia to his black customer. "Yes", he replied, "so does Yo' hogs." It is not an easier time that the ten million black citizens of America are seeking, but the attainment of racial manhood. The negroes in the Southern States are demanding their place in the sun.

".....There are new ferments at work in their lives; they are beginning to organise, and through clearly marked schools of thought are giving expression to their emerging race consciousness. One group is openly hostile to the white man, another section stands for cordial co-operation, while a third school aims at forcing the white man to yield to the negro fair and equal treatment."

One of these schools is led by Dr. W. E. B. DuBoys, editor of *The Crisis*, a monthly

journal for negro people with a circulation of upwards of 50,000.

"He stands for the assertion of full negro rights, and affirms that his race has a worthy contribution to make to the world's life. He is out to remove the colour-bar and all the disabilities that are associated with it. In a word, he found that he negroes are a segregated, servile caste, with restricted rights and privileges, and he claims for his race an open road to betterment."

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. No criticism of reviews and notices of books will be published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

"Dravidian Origins and the Beginnings of Indian Civilization"

Dr. S. K. Chatterji, in the course of his article on the "Dravidian Origins and Beginnings of Indian Civilization" published in the December number of the "Modern Review" thus observes in one place: "The Aryans in India burned their dead, their ancestors certainly did it in their primitive home, and we find their kinsmen (at least those who inherited the same culture and language with them) in Europe—the old Greeks, the Teutons and the Slavs and others doing the same thing" (p. 672). Cremation was certainly an old custom with the Aryans of India and Europe, but burial appears to be older still. I have fully discussed the subject in my forthcoming work "Rigvedic Culture" (in the press) and I make no apology to your readers for making the following extracts from it:—

"The following Rigvedic *mantras* (X. 18, 10-13), as translated by Wilson, indicate the existence of the custom of burial in early Rigvedic times:—

'Go to this thy mother-earth, the wide-spread delightful earth; this virgin (earth is) as soft as wool to the liberal (worshipper); may she protect thee from the proximity of Nirriti.

'Earth, rise above him; oppress him not; be attentive to him (and) comfortable; cover him up, Earth, as a mother covers her child with the skirt of her garment.

'May the earth heaped over him lie light; may thousands of particles (of dust) envelope him; may these mansions distil *ghee* (for him); may they every day be an asylum to him in this world.

'I heap up the earth around thee, placing (upon thee) this clod of earth; may I not be injured; may the Pitris sustain this thy monument (Sthuna) may Yama make thee a dwelling here.'

"Sayana says that the above *mantras* were uttered at the time when, after the collection of the bones or ashes of the dead, they were put into an urn, and buried in a grave; and in this opinion he is supported by the Asvalayana Grihya Sutra (iv. 5). This may have been a later custom for aught we know, and may be regarded as a relic of the ancient custom of burial which was being replaced by the custom of cremation, and also as a compromise between the two customs. It will be seen

that at the time of cremation, *mantras* were uttered with the object of sending the dead man to heaven, the dominion of Yama, situated in the highest heaven. If he had already gone to heaven, why, very soon afterwards at the time of burying his ashes and bones, should he be asked again to "go to this thy mother-earth, the widespread delightful earth?" Would not such a procedure be inconsistent and contradictory? The perusal of the original *mantras* thus leaves no doubt in the mind that they were in ancient times uttered at the time of burial; otherwise, they would be quite meaningless. If it were at all possible for the dead corpse to suffer any pain, it must have suffered extreme agony at the time of its cremation, and the burnt bones or ashes would suffer no further pain or agony at the time of their burial in a grave, after having been enclosed in an urn provided with a lid, over which earth was heaped up. But the *mantras* become quite sensible when they are applied to the burial of a corpse. The dead body was still there, and the mourners could not as yet dissociate themselves from their feeling and belief that the dead man who had been quite alive a few hours ago could not feel any pain so soon afterwards. It was, therefore, quite natural for them, while performing their last melancholy rites towards him, to entertain tender feelings for him and address him as follows: 'Go to this thy mother-earth, the widespread delightful earth; this virgin earth is as soft as wool'. The Earth also is besought 'to oppress him not' and 'to be attentive to him and comfortable' and 'to cover him up as a mother covers her child with the skirt of her garment'. Then again it is prayed that the earth heaped over him may lie light. It is certain that a monument or *tumulus* (*Sthupa*) was raised over the grave, and the Pitris were besought 'to sustain it' and Yama 'to make thee a dwelling here'. The last verse (*mantra* 14) of the above hymn is very curious: 'At the decline of the day they have placed me (in the grave) like the feathers of an arrow; I have restrained my declining voice as (they check) a horse with a bridle'. What is the real significance of this verse? Sayana is quite silent, and I am not aware of any one throwing any light on it. That it was intended to be the soliloquy of the dead person just buried seems most probable. The

buried man seems to say to himself, after hearing all the prayers and wishes of the mourners: 'You have placed me in the grave at the decline of day, when darkness is approaching; or, in a grave where day has declined, i. e. which is dark. And you have placed me in a slanting (i. e. not fully-stretched on-length) posture, as feathers are tied slantingly to an arrow, and this posture is far from comfortable to me. But what do complaints now avail? My voice is dumb.'

"If the above interpretation be correct, then the *mantras* undoubtedly refer to the burial of a dead person, and not merely of his ashes or bones after cremation. It is noteworthy that the dead man is not asked to go to Yama's world in the highest heaven where Yama, Varuna and the Pitris dwell in great happiness and enjoyment of bliss, nor to join his ancestors in that blessed region, but he is asked to go to Mother-earth, 'to widespread and delightful Earth' and to live in the mansion created for him, which, it is hoped, would prove to be 'an asylum to him in this world'. The Pitris are simply asked 'to sustain this thy monument' (*sthuna*), and Yama is besought 'to make thee a dwelling here'. There is no question here of the dead man enjoying any bliss for his good actions or suffering any pangs or punishment for his misdeeds. He is simply asked to rest there in peace probably till the end of Time, though from the supposed soliloquy of the dead man, an eternal peaceful sleep in a rather dark mansion under the ground was considered to be a far from ideal existence even for the dead." (Chap. X).

In the face of these evidences regarding the existence of the burial-custom in early Indo-Aryan society, it is indeed very bold to assert, as Dr. Chatterji has done, that "the burial customs are un-Aryan". The custom of cremating or burning the dead body must have followed that of burial, when the Fire-cult came to be firmly established. As Fire was supposed to carry the oblations consigned to it to the gods to whom they were offered, so the dead person was supposed to be translated to heaven by Fire consuming his remains, and speeding the "unborn portion" (*Ajo bhaga*) to the celestial regions in order to enable it to assume a new body there and live in happiness with the Gods and the Pitris. If Central Europe was the original cradle of the Aryans, it would be strange if the ancient Greeks, the Romans, the Teutons and the Slavs had no burial custom prevailing among them, anterior to the custom of burning the dead. If no traces of the burial custom be found among them, the natural inference would be that Central Europe was not their original cradle, and that they separated from the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans after the custom of burning the dead had come into vogue.

Mr. Rakhal Das Bannerji has discovered at Mohenjo-daro various strata in which "were found four kinds of burial—in kennel-like tombs (*tholos burial*), in Terracotta chests containing the entire body (*larnax burial*) similar to those found at Adittanallur, besides what has been called *jar burial* in which an unburnt bone was placed in a small jar inside a big one with food, drink and garments in small pots also placed inside; and *urn burial*, with ashes and burnt bones, together with stone implements within urns. The other kinds of burial, without burning the body at all, are found in the other strata—dating from the sub-neolithic stage to historical or post-Buddhic times." There is nothing to show in the Rigveda that all these different kinds of burial were "un-Aryan." The following

inferences drawn by Dr. Chatterji are also unwarranted: "The Mohenjo-daro and Harappa culture does not seem to be Aryan. The burial customs are distinctly un-Aryan; they show a deep-rooted difference in racial and cultural origins. When the half-pastoral and half-agricultural Aryan barbarians were invading and fighting in North Mesopotamia and then later were settling in Eastern Iran, Gandhara and the Punjab, the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa people were a flourishing community in the fertile valley of the lower Indus. The Aryans came into India, and as we see from the Rigveda and other literature, they expanded east into the Ganges valley and south-east into the Vidarbha country on the eastern side of the desert. It is strange that no Aryan States grew up in Sindh in the Vedic and Brahmana periods, that there was no early expansion of the Aryans southwards along the Indus." With regard to this last statement, Dr. Chatterji will be surprised to learn that the Rigveda mentions an Aryan king, Bhavya or Svanaya as the powerful lord of Sindh (Sindhau adhi) who presented hundreds of fine-bred horses (for which ancient Sindh was famous), gold coins (*niskas*) chariots with *vadhvas* (girls), cows bulls &c. to Risis (vide Rv. I. 126, 1-5). As regards, the expansion of the Aryans to the east or the south, it may be stated here that during Rigvedic times they never advanced beyond the upper courses of the Ganga and the Yamuna towards the east, as they could not do so on account of a physical barrier like a sea existing in that direction, nor southwards to the Deccan for very similar reasons. It is a pity that Western Vedic scholars, and their disciples in India have not taken note of unmistakable evidences in the Rigveda of the existence of seas to the east and south of the Punjab and of an extremely cold climate in that region during Rigvedic times, which go to prove its horry antiquity.

January 7, 1925.

ABINAS CHANDRA DAS.

Dr. Chatterji's Reply

Dr. Das joins issue with me on the question of the racial affinity of the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa (as well as Adittanallur) peoples. They appear to Mr. Rakhal Das Bannerji and myself as having been non-Aryan and in all likelihood Dravidian, while Dr. Das thinks they were Aryan. I pointed out that the distinctive Aryan and Indo-European practice for disposal of the dead was cremation, whereas at Mohenjo-daro we find the practice of interring the uncremated body either in a kennel-like tomb, or in a terracotta *larnax* (a practice which obtained equally at Adittanallur), or of placing an unburnt bone within a jar; and the practice of burning the body and placing a burnt bone within an urn is found only in the latest stratum at Mohenjo-daro (2nd Century A. C.) I also mentioned that Aryan expansion in the direction of Sindh was arrested, and Aryans had to direct themselves to the east and the south-east, and this fact can be well accounted for by the presence of a strong non-Aryan people being already settled in the south-west of the Panjab and in the lower valley of the Indus.

Dr. Das has taken pains to show at length that interment was known to the Rigveda Aryans. This is a point which I had not mentioned in my article, and I now hasten to cry *peccavi*. But Dr. Das has been slaying a dead lion. What I insisted upon was that cremation was the common or cha-

characteristic method practised by the Aryans in India, and cremation was also the normal custom among the old Greeks and the Germanic tribes. It was commonly practised by the Slavs and the Celts as well. This method of disposal of the dead places the oldest Indo-European peoples of whom we know something definite, namely the Aryans of the Rigveda and the Greeks of the Homeric poems, in sharp contrast with other peoples of antiquity—the Egyptians, the Aegean Sea people, the Sumerians, the Semites, and the peoples of Asia Minor. According to the findings of Archaeology in Europe, the Indo-Europeans in that continent simply exposed the dead in the early Stone Age; in the late Stone Age, this was followed by burial; and finally, in the Bronze Age, burning was the method practised (Cf. O. Schrader, 'Reallexikon der Indo-Germanischen Altertumskunde', pp. 76 ff.; H. Hirt, 'Die Indo-Germanen' II, pp. 601 ff., 733-734). The dispersion of the Indo-Europeans did not take place earlier than the Bronze Age, for we see that the same Indo-European word for bronze is found in Italic (*Latia aes*), Germanic (Gothic *aitz*) and Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit *ayas*: the word came to mean 'iron' in India). It cannot, of course, be proved beyond any doubt that the Indo-Europeans in their undivided state outside India practised only cremation. But judging from the fact that this practice (along with a number of other socio-religious ideas and usages) was shared in common among the most widely-separated Indo-European peoples, the legitimate inference would be that it was an inheritance from before the time of dispersion. The practice of *larnaz*-burial, again, which is such a noteworthy thing in the culture sites of Mohen-jo-Daro and elsewhere, is nowhere mentioned in the extant documents of old Indo-European peoples.

The Rigveda in the main is an Indian document, although it is quite probable that considerable portions of this collection were composed outside India in the Indo-Iranian period, and some of it quite conceivably is even earlier. There are strong traces of non-Aryan influences on the culture world of the Rigveda. Aryanisation of groups of original non-Aryan speakers seems to have started quite early, and it is not unlikely that methods of disposal of the dead other than by cremation were practised among some of the Aryanised non-Aryans. Similarly the custom of placing the dead on trees, which we find mentioned in a later Indo-Aryan document, the Mahabharata, was undoubtedly non-Aryan.

Dr. Das's discussion of Rigveda X, 18, 14, does not have much bearing on the question. He is 'not aware of any one throwing any light' on this verse. There are some European scholars who have translated and have sought to throw light on it. But apart from that, the verse has been explained in a perfectly satisfactory manner in the Brihaddevata. My respected friend Pandit Vidhusekhara Sastri of Santiniketan, to whom I applied for information on this point, has very kindly looked up the passage for me and obtained for me the reference to the Brihaddevata*. Rigveda X, 18, 14 reads—

mam ahani 'sah purnam iva dadhuhi: Praticim jagrabha vacam asvam rasanaya yatha.

* Brihaddevata, ed. Macdonell, Text. p. 80:
'Pracine yathahani apahrti' etarani tu:
Ahahsu pitaro dadhuhi ity asate 'naya' sisah:
Ahahsu agamisu ca mam prajantam samajivayan.

Pandit Vidhusekhara translates as follows: 'Like a feather of an arrow, they (the Fathers, as in the previous verse) have placed me in the days which come towards or approach (i. e. in future days); I have caught the word that comes towards (i. e. the future word), even like a horse with the rein.'

Dr. Das's attempt to see a burial 'in a slanting (i. e. not fully stretched on length) posture,' to give his own words, goes against the views of the *parvacaryas*, to say the least, and does not throw any further light on the question.

I should indeed be surprised if the words *adhi Sindhu*, in Rigveda I, 126, 1 were to mean 'in (the land of) Sindh' and not 'on the Sindhu or Indus river', pace Sayana. We have *adhi Gangayam*, *adhi Yamunayam* exactly in the same way to mean 'by the Ganges, by the Jumna'. We would certainly expect *Sindhusu* if the people or the country were meant. Is the use of *Sindhu* in the restricted sense of the present-day Sindh tract older than the 7th Century A. C.? *Sindhu* meant all India, as the Iranian form *Hindu* and the old Chinese name *Sin-tu* or *Hsin-tu* would show. One commonly finds in Sanskrit literature *Sindhu-Sauvira* for the Sindh of the present day. Sindh was certainly outside the pale of Aryan lands in the Brahmana period. Even in the early Buddhist Pali literature, we do not find *Sindhu*, or *Sauvira*, among the Sixteen Great States (*Mahajanapadas*) of Northern India. Aryanisation of or Aryan settlement in Sindh seems to have been a comparatively late thing. And this lateness of Aryan settlement in Sindh (as much as of certain other tracts in Eastern and Southern India) is clearly borne out by Baudhayana's inunction (I, 1, 13, 14) that Aryans who went there had to perform a sacrifice by way of penance:

Avantayo' nga-Magadhas Svastra Dakshinapathah, upavrt-Sindhu-Sauvirah ele sankirna-yonayah. Arattan Karaskaram Pundren Savviran.

Vanga-Kalingan Pranunan iti ca gatra punestomena yajeta sarva-prstaya va.

Dr. Das might have spared himself the trouble of bringing in Bhavya and the rest, when Macdonell and Keith's *Pedic Index* is so handy, to help us to bring in our papers the necessary air of original study if we chose to do it.

Dr. Das evidently is sceptical about 'Western Scholars' and their methods. He certainly will repudiate the appellation 'Western', if one were to apply it to the scholarship and the methods which have been displayed in his *Rigvedic India*, a work which will always remain famous in the history of modern research in India as having put forward in all seriousness the proposition (among others) that India was the home of a highly civilised Aryan people in the Pleistocene Age. Perhaps following the favourite way of indicating contrast, Dr. Das will call this other kind of scholarship and method of research 'Eastern'; but as a native of the East I would protest against that. For whatever label one might put on it, this 'anti-Western' type of scholarship is not entirely unknown in the West either, and in fact, was quite common there not very many decades ago; and a distinctive feature of this brand, whether in India or in Europe, is its strong undercurrent of theological chauvinism, sweeping away the results of specialised study and investigation by the very daring and recklessness of its assertions and conclusions.

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SHRUTI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

TEMPEST

Half asleep on the shore you dreaded
the voice of Tempest
When he thundered in your ears
his "No."
You had said to each other
that the store had its plenty,
the house had its comfort,
When suddenly grinding his flashing teeth
Tempest growled "No".

But I have made Tempest my comrade
and left my shore,
My ship tosses on the sea.
I have trusted the Terrible,
have filled my sails with his breath
and my heart with his assurance
that the shore is there.
He cries to me, "you are vagrant
Even as I am myself,
Victory to you".
Things are shattered to pieces
scattered by the wind,
The timid murmur in despair,
"The end of time has come".
Tempest cries, "Only that remains
which is utterly given away."
With trust in him I march forward,
I look not back
While the hoarded heap is swept away by flood.

My traveller's reed is tuned
with the tune of his loud laughter,
it sings:
"Away with lures of desire, with bonds that are fixed
with the achievement that is past
and hope that is idle.
Learn for your drum the dance time
of the reckless waves beating against rocks,
Away with greed and fear
with tyranny's banner borne by slaves.

Come Divine Destruction
drive us away from the house
from safety's easy path,
Come with the flutter of your wings of death,
Spread upon the wind your cry "No".

No rest, no languor,
No load of feebleness weighing down the head.
Knock and break open the miser's door,
Scatter away the musty gloom of storage.
banish the self-distrust
that seeks a hole wherein to hide
and let your trumpet proclaim
in the wind
Your terrible cry, "No".

NOTES

The Fatherhood of God

In an article on "The Mysticism of Jesus" contributed to the *Century Magazine*, Mary Austin writes :—

"Jesus saw God as no man before him. He saw God as the father, and man the veritable son; God stuff in man, He in us and we in Him."

That Jesus saw God as the father, is quite true; and it is one of his claims to eminence as a religious teacher. But that he saw God as no man before him, is not true. Dalman, in his work entitled *The Words of Jesus*, pp. 184—194, gives numerous examples of God being addressed as father in the pre-Christian sacred literature of the Jews, and observes :—

"Jesus adopted this term for God from the popular usage of his time.....The instances cited above also show the incorrectness of the idea that the relation of God to the individual was not set forth until the New Testament revelation.....It was therefore nothing novel when the fatherly relation of God was also applied within the Jewish community to the individual."

Nor was the idea of the fatherhood of God a conception peculiar to the Jews. In the sacred books of the Hindus, the fatherly relation of God was recognised centuries before the birth of Christ. In the Rig-Veda, 10. 82. 3., we read, "Yo nah pita janita sa vidhata"—"He who is our father and progenitor is the Ordainer". In the white Yajur-Veda, 37. 20., we read, "pita no'si", "thou art our father". There are many such other passages, which we need not quote.

As for "God stuff in man, He in us and we in Him", it is a pre-Christian Upanishadic doctrine. In fact, when Mary Austin writes, "If Jesus said, love your neighbour as yourself, he meant not in a Jewish shopkeeping fashion, measure for measure, not even as one of yourselves, but in the sense of *being* yourself, undivided part of the spirit made manifest as men, mankind", she unconsciously gives a sort of paraphrase of the Vedantic doctrine, "*tat tvam asi*", "thou art That", which has been thus expounded by Professor Deussen in his *Philosophy of the Vedanta* :

"The Gospels fix quite correctly as the highest law of morality: 'Love your neighbour as thyself'. But why should I do so, since by the order of nature I feel pain and pleasure only in myself, not in my neighbour? The answer is not in our Bible,

but it is in the Veda, as in the great formula, "*tat tvam asi*," which gives in three words metaphysics and morals all together. You shall love your neighbour as yourselves because you are your neighbour, and mere illusion makes you believe that your neighbour is something different from yourselves".

It is true that the Jews thought of God as specially the father of the Israelites but Jesus also had that sort of limitation, as Mary Austin herself tacitly admits when she writes :—

"...he [Jesus] was a Jew and a small-town man...He had no books but the law and the prophets: no words, no figures, no illustrative anecdotes that were not small-town in shape and Jewish in color. He was as much bound by these things in the transmission of his message as telegraphy is bound by dots and dashes."

This view is supported by Pfleiderer. *Primitive Christianity*, vol. ii, pp. 419-420, when, in speaking of "the traditional assumption that Jesus had separated the hoped-for Reign of God from any close connection with the Jewish people and had thought of it as destined for all men," that author observes :

"That is directly contradicted by the dialogue of Jesus with the Syrophenician woman, in which He declared that He was only sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and that it was not right to take the bread which was meant for the children of the house and give it to the dogs (heathen) (Matt. xv. 24 ff). So, too, He commanded His disciples not to go into the "way of the Gentiles," nor to enter any city of the Samaritans but only to the lost sheep of Israel (Matt. x. 5). He never sought out the Gentiles; only when they came to him unsought and asked his help did He by way of exception, answer their earnest petitions, as in the cases of the Syrophenician woman and the centurion of Capernaum.....The passage about the Son of Man judging all the nations (Matt. xxv. 31f.) does not come from Jesus but from the ecclesiastical Evangelist, as does the saying about preaching the gospel in the whole world (Matt. xxiv. 14) and the command to baptize all nations (xxviii. 18f.), the origin of which from the later convictions of the Church is betrayed by the Trinitarian formula."

'The Ancient and Recognised Right of Self-Government'

The preamble to "The Commonwealth of India Bill", drafted by Dr. Annie Besant and her co-workers contains the words, "whereas it is the desire of the Indian people to exercise anew the ancient and recognised

right of self-government, enjoyed by their ancestors from time immemorial," etc. In commenting on these words in the Bill, *The Indian Social Reformer* of January 24 writes :—

"By way of introduction, we may say we do not like the assertion in the preamble that the ancestors of the Indian people enjoyed the ancient and recognised right of self-government from time immemorial. Local self-government of a more or less complete kind they certainly enjoyed up to the British period; but they never enjoyed the right of self-government, which does not, of course, mean government by an indigenous autocrat such as the Indian States enjoy even to-day. Such a gross historical inaccuracy is scarcely the most auspicious beginning for Indian self-government."

Our information is that it is not "a gross historical inaccuracy" to assert that the ancestors of the Indian people enjoyed the ancient and recognised right of self-government from time immemorial. From the year 1907, in which this **Review** was founded, it has been trying to obtain and spread information regarding forms of government prevalent in India in the past and the rights, if any, possessed by the people.

In March 1907, in an article written by the late Sister Nivedita and ourselves, it was said on the basis of information then available that "India has been from ancient times immensely more skilled in the mode and habit of democratic self-government than England has ever cared to know or believe".

In June, 1907, we quoted the following sentences, among others, from an article on oriental research in the *Times of India* by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.

"The Indian Aryans had, like their European brethren, the rudiments of free political institutionsAnd actually the existence of aristocratic republics is alluded to in Buddhist Pali books,"

In the same issue (June, 1907) we wrote :—

Mr. Vincent A. Smith also says in *The Early History of India* :

"The Punjab Eastern Rajputana, and Malwa for the most part were in possession of tribes or clans living under republican institutions.....The reader may remember that in Alexander's time these regions were similarly occupied by autonomous tribes, then called the Malloi, Kathaioi. and so forth." (p. 250, second edition).

In April, 1908, appeared an article on "The Popular Assembly in Ancient India" in monarchies by Dr. Abinaschandra Das. It gave some idea of a kind of limited monarchy.

In August and September, 1910, we published many Notes on self-rule in the East. We quoted from Dr. Hoernle's presidential

address at the Asiatic Society of Bengal, delivered in 1898, passages stating that Mahavira, the "founder" of Jainism, was born in a State which was an oligarchic republic. We quoted also various passages from *The Early History of India* by Vincent Smith (second edition), pp. 25, 67, 270, 271, referring to, or descriptive of, various republics in India. We gave some long extracts from *Buddhist India* by Dr. Rhys Davids. We may repeat a few sentences from it here.

".....And the tendency towards the gradual absorption of these domains, and also of the republics, into the neighboring kingdoms, was already in force. The evidence at present available is not sufficient to give us an exact idea either of the extent of country or of the number of population under the one or the other form of Government. Nor has any attempt been so far made to trace the history of political institutions in India before the rise of Buddhism. We can do no more, then, than state the fact—most interesting from the comparative point of view—that the earliest Buddhist records reveal the survival, side by side with more or less powerful monarchies, of republics with either complete or modified independence.

"It is significant that this important factor in the social condition of India in the sixth and seventh centuries B.C. has remained hitherto unnoticed by scholars either in Europe or in India. They have relied for their information about the Indian peoples too exclusively on the Brahmin books, and these, partly because of the natural antipathy felt by the priests towards the free republics, partly because of the latter date of most of the extant priestly literature and especially of the law books, ignore the real facts. They convey the impression that the only recognised, and in fact universally prevalent form of Government was that of kings under the guidance and tutelage of priests. But the Buddhist records, amply confirmed in these respects by the somewhat later Jain ones, leave no doubt upon the point."

We reproduced in the notes referred to above some passages from Dr. Leitner's *Indigenous Elements of Self-Government in India*, published in the last century.

The conclusion reached by us in 1910 was stated as follows :—

"The extracts from various authors given above show that republics existed in India, that they existed at least as early as the days of Buddha and Mahavira (sixth century B. C.) and as late as the reign of Samudra Gupta (fourth century A. C.) and that they were situated in the extensive tract of country stretching from the Panjab to Bihar and from Nepal to the southern borders of the Central Provinces. So the republican form of Government in ancient India had a duration of at least one thousand years. We do not know of any other country, ancient or modern, where democracy has prevailed for a longer period. In ancient Italy the republic of Rome lasted for five hundred years. In ancient Greece the republic of Athens lasted for a little more than three hundred years. And these

countries, which in ancient times were dotted over with small republics, are certainly not as extensive as the parts of India which in olden days could boast of many republics. As for achievements, the history of these Indian republics is too little known to enable us to say anything positive on the subject. But we suppose, the fact that they gave to the world a Buddha and a Mahavira will not even in these jingo and materialistic days be considered unworthy of being blazoned in letters of gold in the pages of history."

As to popular rights and checks on kingly power in monarchies, we were privileged to publish in 1912 some results of the special study made by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal to find out what constitutional progress, if any, Ancient Indians had achieved. "A connected paper," writes Mr. Jayaswal in the preface to his recently published great work *Hindu Polity*, "was read to the Hindi Literary Conference in 1912 and its translation published in the *Modern Review*, 1913, under the title '*An Introduction to Hindu Polity*.' Before the publication of the *Introduction* there had been no work in any modern language on the subject."

It is not necessary for us to enumerate exhaustively all the notes and articles on self-government in ancient India published in this *Review*, but we should state that, as mentioned in the preface to *Hindu Polity*, we had the honour to publish Mr. Jayaswal's paper on Paura Janapada in April, 1920.

Our object in writing this note is to show that so far as this journal is concerned it has tried to make available to the public the results of the researches of scholars on the subject of self-government in ancient India, as periodicals are dipped into more often than learned brochures and treatises. The remarks quoted from the *Indian Social Reformer* at the beginning of this note show what little success has attended our efforts.

It goes without saying that scholarly works are entitled to greater attention than popular monthlies. It is hoped, therefore, that Mr. Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity* will be studied particularly by those who do not believe that the ancient Hindus enjoyed and exercised the right of self-government in their monarchies and republics. If this book does not convince them in the main, they will do a service both to the author and the public by stating definitely why they think our ancestors had not made any constitutional progress as self-governing free men. This is not to claim that our ancestors never lived under tyrants. They did, like all other peoples, in some period of history or other. What Mr. Jayaswal contends is that Hindu polity, under

monarchies and republics, "had a free career of at least thirty centuries of history—a career longer than that of all the politics known to history".

The topics discussed in Hindu Polity are:

- (1) The Sovereign Assembly of the Vedic times,
- (2) The Judicial Assembly of the Vedic times,
- (3) Hindu Republics (1000 B.C. to 600 A.C.),
- (4) Hindu Kingship (from the Vedic times to 600 A.C.),
- (5) The Janapada or Realm Diet, and the Paura Assembly of the capital (600 B.C.—600 A.C.),
- (6) The Council of Ministers under Hindu Monarchy (1000 B.C.—600 A.C.),
- (7) Judiciary under Hindu Monarchy (700 B.C.,—600 A.C.),
- (8) Taxation (1000 B.C.—600 A.C.),
- (9) The Hindu Imperial Systems (1000 B.C.—600 A.C.), and
- (10) Decay and Revival of Hindu Constitutional Traditions (650 A.C.—1650 A.C.)

The book shows that the Hindu race has experimented in great and various systems of State and political machinery.

The number of republics discussed in the book is eighty-one. Many of them were small States, but some were large and powerful.

Incidentally our countrymen may be reminded here that as they have entrusted a committee with the work of drawing up a scheme of Swaraj, it would be profitable for them to explore all the methods and machinery of administration described in *Hindu Polity*. For, perhaps there may be some detailed in that book which are more suited to Indian conditions than Western devices.

Conquest and Sense of Justice among the Ancient Hindus

In continuation of our Note on "Excuses for Usurpers and Exploiters" in the last issue, we may be permitted to make the following extract from: *Hindu Polity*, Part II, pp. 190-191:—

"Laws of war and conquest were incorporated into the Civil Law as one of its limbs. So much so that the question of conquest was often discussed from the point of view of Municipal law, the standard being the standard of the morality of law. If a State was conquered, its government was to be re-entrusted into the hands of the old ruling house. This was what the Manava Dharma-Sastra laid down after an experience of a nearly all-India, one-king empire, extending 'from sea to sea,' from Madras to the Hindu-Kush. It was based on the analogy of the legal theory of 'legitimacy'. It was not a mere theory which was once preached as a pious opinion and then forgotten. It was largely followed from the 4th to the 10th century A.C. In the Allahabad pillar inscription of the great conqueror Samudra Gupta of the

Imperial Gupta dynasty we find the same principle acted upon. Kalidasa records the same practice. The earliest Muhammadan writer bears witness to it. "The wars they wage with the neighbouring princes are not usually undertaken with a view to possess themselves with the adjoining dominions When a prince makes himself master of some kingdom, he confers the government upon some person of the royal family," (1851 A.C.—*Account of the Merchant Sulaiman* recorded by Abu Zaid, trans. (1718) by the Abbe Renaudot). In the age of Hindü Rationalism which formed the palmiest days of Hindu history, the theory existed in the form noticed by the Greek writers with regard to Hindu attitude to foreign politics. Arrian drawing upon Megasthenes records in his *Indika* (ix):—

"Sense of justice, they (Hindus) say, prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India."

Only such a theory would explain the great fact that although Chandragupta's was "the mightiest throne then existing in the world" (Rhys Davids) and so it remained under his two successors, and that although the Maurya emperors found their next-door neighbour, the Seleucid empire, weak and crumbling, yet no inclination was exhibited to go beyond the Hindu-Kush, the natural frontier of the India of those days.

The Brahmo Samaj and the Swaraj Movement

Forward has published an abridged report of a speech of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, in which he explained the contributions of the early Brahmo-Samaj towards the development of national consciousness in this country.

The seed of the present-day movement for national freedom, known as the Swaraj movement, S. C. Pal said, was shown for the first time in the soil of Bengal by the stalwarts of the early Brahmo-Samaj movement, such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, Keshab Chandra Sen, Raj Narayan Bose and Sivanath Sastri. Each of them worked in his own field in his own way to evoke and nurture the spirit of freedom in its different aspects and their joint services resulted in turning the national mind to seek and appreciate the wealth and beauty of the religion and philosophy which had been handed down to the Indian people by their forefathers.

"Swaraj" in its crudest sense is generally understood to stand for the complete elimination of the British Raj from the administration of the country. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, some hundred years ago, thought of the ultimate political consummation of India in this negative term.

Maharshi Debendranath Tagore drew the attention of his English-educated countrymen to the sublimity of their own indigenous culture and civilisation and stemmed the tide of the increasing tendency to conversion to Christianity. He was really speaking the father of modern patriotism in Bengal and the feeling of pride which now throbs in every young heart of this country is to be traced to his teachings.

Keshab Chandra Sen's services in the foreign countries—his preachings and propaganda enabled

the world to assess the culture and civilisation of this country at their true worth and thus gave a strong fillip to the patriotism and national pride of the children of the soil.

Raj Narayan Bose anticipated Bankim Chandra's idea of the need of organisation and sacrifice as reflected in the *Ananda Math*. The necessity for reasoned non-co-operation with the government machinery and civil disobedience was felt long ago by Pandit Sivanath Sastri and the young band of workers who followed his lead.

Concluding, the speaker said that the ideal of Swaraj was indissolubly connected with the ideal with which the Brahmo Samaj was started. Political emancipation of the country was an essential condition for the realisation of the Truth by the people. Slavery stood in the way of the nation rising to its fullest stature. Poverty and its attendant evils were the direct outcome of political servitude. The ill-nourished, short-lived, cringing individual could not convey the idea of the Eternal Beauty of God after whose image he has been created. Swaraj was, therefore, a spiritual necessity with the Indian people according to their religious philosophy. The pioneers of the Brahmo Samaj, which was primarily a religious movement, therefore, worked heart and soul to evoke a longing for Swaraj as part and parcel of their religious mission.

British Propaganda in America

Some time ago the following paragraphs appeared in *The New York Times*:—

Otto Rothfeld, for many years a member of the Indian Civil Service, who has come to the United States to lecture, expressed confidence in an interview with a reporter for *The Times* yesterday, that discontent with British rule in India would die out as the result of the policy of conciliation and co-operation adopted by the British. Mr. Rothfeld believes that the British reform scheme will succeed, and that the majority of the Indian people desire to remain in the empire. Sympathizing with their hope to obtain greater Indian control of the Government of India, provided safe-guards were established against too sudden transitions, he stated his belief that India would gradually take her place in the British Empire with its other component parts.

Mr. Rothfeld, throughout his career in India has advocated liberal views similar to those which in the last three years have been embodied in the reform scheme. He was head of a district for many years, and during the last three years has been a member of the first Legislative Council in Bombay under the reform scheme. His last post in India was head of the Cooperative Department in Bombay. He is now on leave, preparatory to retiring. Besides lecturing in this country, he is a representative of the London book-distributing firm of Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton & Kent. He is a graduate of Oxford, a Fellow of the London Geographical Society and a former President of the Anthropological Society in Bombay.

May we enquire, who paid the expenses of Mr. Otto Rothfeld's lecture tour in America, himself or the British Government in India?

He spoke of "the policy of conciliation

and cooperation adopted by the British". Indian opinion would characterise the policy exactly in the opposite way. We have no space either to quote in full what he said in response to the questions put to him by the reporter or to expose the half truths and untruths which he uttered. But the reader will be able to judge of his glozing from the following extract.

"It is essential to realize the background against which political discontent has arisen and become visible. The primary fact, I think, is that in the last twenty-five years India has altered roughly as much as Europe did from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century. It has passed in twenty-five years from medievalism to something of a renaissance or modernism. The transition has been complicated by the fact that, unlike the change to the renaissance in Europe it was not confined mainly to the things of the spirit but had also to face added complexities of industrialism and capitalism. The economic change from a system of handicrafts to the full force of a capitalist industrial system has been even greater than that introduced in Europe by the influx of gold after the discovery of America.

"In those twenty-five years, therefore, the Indian has seen many of his cherished social institutions swept away or modified and the whole social fabric disturbed by new economic conditions. The marriage system has largely altered, the old joint family has almost disappeared, artisans have abandoned the villages, the ownership of land has passed to a large extent into the hands of business men, and the cities have become congested and unwholesome. Above all, in twenty-five years prices have risen to at least four or five times as much as they were. All this of course creates unhappiness and mental unrest."

It is true that prices have risen at least four or five times, but it is not true that the old joint family system has almost disappeared, or that India has felt "the full force of a capitalist industrial system". But the most surprising falsehood which Mr. Rothfeld uttered is contained in the second of the two sentences quoted below:—

"Gandhi's main principle was a revolt against capitalism and industrialism. To him the British Government was satanic simply because it supported or tolerated factories and banks."

It was a deliberate perversion of the truth to suggest that there was no political reason for Mr. Gandhi to call the British Government "Satanic" and to say that the reason why he called it "Satanic" was solely or even partly economic.

The Dayananda Centenary

The celebration with befitting splendour of the centenary of the birth of Swami Dayananda reminds one afresh of the perso-

nality of that great religious reformer and the services rendered by him to the country.

He is known and will be known principally as the founder of the Arya Samaj. And as the Arya Samaj has been directly and indirectly the means of rejuvenating to some extent the Hindu community in the Panjab, the United Provinces and other regions of upper and northern India, he is looked upon generally as a great benefactor of Hindu India. But his services to Hindu India are themselves sufficient to show that he was a regenerator of India as a whole. A chain is as weak as its weakest link. A nation is as weak as the weakest community included in it. So whoever contributes to make a weak community strong, really thereby makes the whole nation strong. The Swami had a remarkable virile personality. And he has infused his virility into the Arya Samaj, making that body full of self-confidence, making its members feel that they *can*, if they will, accomplish whatever they set their hands to in any part of the globe.

The *Tribune* of Lahore rightly observes:—

"The Swami is a rare instance of a primary religious reformer who placed the political and material well-being of his people almost on the same level with their spiritual well-being. He laid great emphasis on love of country and was among the first in this generation in India to demonstrate the value and usefulness of organisation as an instrument of national regeneration. He was equally clear and equally insistent on the paramount necessity of the people realising their political rights as well as their political obligations, both of which he detailed at great length in his famous work *Satyartha Prakash*. Secondly, he was the first Indian on this side of India to realise the supreme importance both of the education and emancipation of women and of the all-round healthy development of the child, who is not only the father of the man, but the maker of the nation.....He was also the first Indian reformer to emphasise the necessity of a common language. Lastly in the sphere of social institutions he was strong and unequivocal in his condemnation both of early marriage and of the treatment meted out to widows in many Hindu families. The most enduring of his contributions in this sphere, however, was the emphasis he laid on the paramount necessity of putting an end to the institution of depressed classes. Here, as elsewhere, here prehaps more than anywhere else, he was a true pioneer, and of his many titles to immortality perhaps the greatest is the imperishable service he rendered to his country and people by drawing pointed attention to this plague-spot in the Hindu social system."

Saying and Doing

Fredrick the Great is reported to have said once upon a time that there was an

understanding between himself and his subjects that they were free to say what they liked and he was free to do what he liked. It is also said that when it was on one occasion brought to his notice that a certain person had been saying very uncomplimentary things against him, he simply observed drily: "How many soldiers has he behind his back?"

There is no such understanding between the British Government and the people of India as there was between Frederick the Great and his people. In fact, many a man has here been sent to jail and put to untold suffering for saying things that were true but not palatable to the bureaucracy. But so far as the council chambers at Delhi and in the Provinces are concerned the principle acted upon is like that underlying Frederick's cynical remarks.

The Government of India and the Government of Bengal assigned certain reasons for promulgating the Bengal ordinance. At once, Mr. J. Chaudhuri took them to pieces in *The Calcutta Weekly Notes* and showed that the reasons alleged were not based on truth. When the ordinance came up for discussion in the Legislative Assembly, Pandit Motilal Nehru showed in the same way that the reasons assigned by Government were unsubstantial. What is written in newspapers may or may not be replied to by Government;—Government officers may claim truly, or pretend, not to have read them. But when the spokesmen of Government are faced in council chambers and made to listen to the comments of the spokesmen of the people, the former must either come forward with their replies or admit by their silence that they have no reply. As there was no reply to what Pandit Motilal said, the conclusion reached is that Government had nothing to say in answer. Hence Pandit Motilal's speech was a more effective exposure of the position taken up by Government than the criticism published in *The Calcutta Weekly Notes*.

It is laid down in the Government of India Act that there shall be freedom of speech in the Council Chambers. Many of our legislators like the Pandit have taken advantage of this provision to make outspoken speeches. If we do not mention all of them, it is simply because all of them do not at this moment come to mind, and also there is no need to be exhaustive. But a few recent instances may be noted. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal suggested that many offences laid at the doors of the anarchists might be

due to the activities of agents provocateurs. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta said that an ordinary cheat or swindler was sent to jail, but when a finance member defrauded the people of India of forty crores of rupees by the sale of reverse councils, he was elevated to a provincial satrapy. Mr. Patel said in the course of a very outspoken speech:

"You don't listen to us here because there is no sanction behind us, no army of our own to back us. You have an army behind you; that is how you enforce your orders."

Whenever the Indians claimed the grant of Responsible Government or the grant of more constitutional rights they were told "you are unfit to rule because you are unable to undertake defence to-day". Therefore, he supported with all his heart the proposal to establish a Military College in India for training of officers for the Indian Army. But the Government, said Mr. Patel, was insincere. It did not want them to learn the defence of their country.

During the Military College debate, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Jinnah and some other members made strong speeches.

Mr. Jinnah's words, uttered with a ring of sincerity and force which is peculiarly his own proved most bitter to Treasury Benches. He charged the Government with bad faith and with no desire to equip India to defend herself. There was the proof that the Indianisation of Army had only recently been thought of and still there was no proper scheme for it. Every Indian distrusted the Government intentions. Even that loyal friend of the Government Sir Krishna Gupta who was a member of the Esher Committee, distrusted it. If the Government was sincere let it prove its *bona fides* by appointing a committee to draw a scheme of the Indianisation of army and for the establishment of a Military College.

Perhaps the boldest and strongest speech ever made in any council chamber in India was that of Mr. Tulasi Charan Goswami, in which he accused Government of being more anarchical, terroristic and lawless than the anarchists, and so forth.

Every time that either in the central legislature or in any provincial council Government is "defeated", it is claimed by our people, in the language of the school-boy poem, that "it was a great victory." But when Peterkin asks what good came of it, old father William of the poem only repeats his observation that "it was a great victory".

Of course, we are not so cynical as to suggest that these victories are of no use at all. It is certainly necessary and profitable for us to try to convince our people and the rest of the world (perhaps including official and non-official Englishmen also) that reason and justice are on our side. But all

the same, it remains the chief thing for us to ponder why, say what we will, the bureaucracy are in a position to do what they will. The problem of problems facing us is to devise some means whereby we can prevent the bureaucracy from doing what they please and make them either carry out the will of the people or give up their official positions. It is easy to say that the solution lies in the attainment of Swaraj. *But what is Swaraj, and how to attain it?*

Agents Provocateurs

More than once have we referred in this Review and in *Prabasi* to the fact that repeatedly, when the occurrence of some "anarchical" outrage or some "religious" riot, some circulation of revolutionary pamphlets, some find of bombs, arms or ammunitions, would come handy to the British rulers of India in England or in India, such things have happened just in the nick of time. More than once have we suggested that such coincidences could not be accidental or "providential", but might be due to the existence of secret agents. Other journalists may have said similar things. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal made a similar suggestion in the Legislative Assembly. In his speech on the Bengal Ordinance, Pandit Motilal Nehru referred to a remarkable representation sent to the Secretary of State by some State prisoners in which they undertook to substantiate the charge that a certain agent provocateur whom they were prepared to name was responsible for the recent outrages which were alleged by Government to have been perpetrated by the revolutionaries. The Government benches did not take up the challenge implied in the Pandit's speech.

Shortly after *Forward* published a letter addressed by a State prisoner to the members of the Indian Legislative Assembly in session in which he repeats the charges contained in the memorial to the Secretary of State. We will make a few extracts from this remarkable letter.

We stated in our representations to the S. O. S., that a man who, we had every reason to believe, was an agent provocateur exploited the high patriotic fervour and idealism of the Bengali youth and managed to get up a party of violence during the N. C. O. Movement and at a convenient moment succeeded in committing the few outrages and the Government used these as a handle to checkmate public propaganda in connection with the Swarajya Party's Council programme which the Bureaucracy looked upon with suspicion and disfavour from the very beginning. Outrages and discoveries of arms

and explosives continued the series being played to the tune of the course of public events. Every action and discovery significantly preceded one or other momentous motion in a Legislature. These have all been mentioned in our statement but the news of the publications of the "RED BENGAL" leaflet did not reach us then, but it was cabled in time to be published in the British papers on the morning of the House of Lords debate on the Indian Questions. The Peers and the press in England fulminated and followed in its wake the Ordinance and the reinvigorated application of the rusty Regulation.

The charge is repeated in another part of the letter thus :—

We have very unambiguously put it that all acts of violence that have been committed in Bengal after the N.C.O. movement have been inspired, engineered and committed by the group got up by that particular "agent provocateur" and it was significant that the Bengal Government statement published along with the Ordinance mentions again and again that the "outrages were all the works of a particular group of the party". The word "Party" here has no particular sense about it and it is used for a body, the existence of which is assumed or the public is invited to assume. On this point, I beg to draw your attention to His Excellency the Viceroy's statement which makes mention of "Two terrorists organisations" and not one.

Some details are given in a subsequent part of the letter.

We know that two Bengali ex-interness who served the police during the period of their detention were sent to Europe at the expense of the "Secret Service". Much has been made of the activities of these two men, one of whom was described in course of the proceedings in Cawnpore as the manager of the "Vanguard". Ultimately at a certain moment, literature began to flow into the country in spite of strict censorship and report of such literature coming into the country began to be published in communiques from time to time. A case was set up and the world knows the nature of the case, the unwillingness of the prosecution to go into the source and origin of the matter of the case and the rest of it and I leave it to you to form your own conclusions. Of course, I stick to our joint statement to the S.O.S. and I repeat it that the educated public particularly the young men of the country are intolerant of their present position as serfs and helots in their own country and they are groping in darkness to find their way to freedom.

The writer of the letter indignantly repudiates the charge that he and his fellow prisoners were guilty of any acts of violence.

This is the long and short of all that has happened in Bengal. We have demanded public trial, we have challenged the genuineness of any proof against us, we have made the very allegations that all activities that appeared lawless were inspired. Yet, to add insult to injury those very persons, who inspired, aided, abetted and utilised for their own selfish ends the murders and other acts of violence, have been using these very materials for calumniating and libelling men whose connection with them.

has never been sought to be proved. Rather responsible police officers of the standing of Messrs Tegart and Bamford admitted in interviews with some of us that they were aware that we had not been connected with any murder-plot. No case has been made against us, no offence proved, no evidence produced, and yet these irresponsible talks from men supposed to be very responsible are continuing unbridled. Particularly one person among them who has already made himself famous by virtue of his rampageous utterances, if not by anything else, has gone so far as to forget the high responsibilities of his position. Neither the sanctity of the court, nor the shame of attacking men not in a position to defend themselves, has been enough to restrain this high personage. He pronounced on several "sub judice" cases; while we were in detention he connected us with acts of violence in various speeches. Eleven of us from the Midnapur jail sent a wire protesting against his Council Speech but that was of no consequence to him. One of his latest performances is, what may be called his "Outlaw" speech. His remark that "Men who defy the law and live and act outside the law.....have no right to the protection of the law" about men who have never been tried lawfully, is, to say the least no proof of faith in the civilised canons of law which require that men should be considered innocent so long as his guilt is not proved in a court of law.

The letter concludes with some further details.

The Revolutionary Movement after the N. C. O. Movement is a bogus thing stage-managed by the C. I. D. If possible all the facts should be made known to the foreign countries, including the Labour Party in England, so that the Government is compelled to make the enquiry. On you devolves the sacred duty and your devotion to the Mother is much counted upon. You may suggest some questions to M. L. A. regarding the nature of the activities of ex-State prisoner Shisir Kumar Ghose since 1921. If anything was paid to him for tour all over Bengal in 1921? What was the object of that tour? Is it a fact that he was called by Mr. Tegart a few days before Sankaritola outrage? Is it a fact that the D. I. G. of C. I. D. instructed the prosecution to withdraw the case of Kona murder against Haren and Sailen? Will the Government produce the correspondence? Also please ask some questions about ex-internees Ram Bhattacharjee and Suhrid Roy who were supplied the money for their journey to Europe? How do they maintain themselves in Europe? What is the nature of their activities there and of Kshitish Biswas in America? Is it a fact that all the four men acted as informers during internment?

By the by, these questions suggest a moral which ought to be laid to heart by all adherents and advocates of secret societies. It is that the members of such movements can never be sure of not having spies and informers and traitors among them.

✓ The Bengal Budget

The Bengal Budget for 1925-6 is a deficit budget, the extent of the deficit being eighty-

nine lakhs of rupees. In spite of that fact, the amount budgeted for police expenditure is greater by over three lakhs than the current year's estimated expenditure. Moreover, a loan of Rs. 8,50,000 is proposed to be floated for building better houses for the Calcutta Police.

Crime and Its Causes and Remedies

It would be foolish to suggest that there should not be unremitting efforts made for the prevention, detection and punishment of crime. But it is not statesmanship, but its opposite, to think that that object can be gained merely by increasing police expenditure. Some crimes there are which are due to economic causes, and perhaps these form the majority. Some there are which are due to insanitary conditions and conditions which stand in the way of decent and moral living. Some are due to bad social customs and arrangements. Some are due to the facilities created for obtaining drink and drugs. Some are due to animal propensities and the forces of immorality not being curbed or eradicated by proper education, culture, recreation, etc. Some are due to political and politico-economical causes.

Therefore, while adequate police arrangements ought to be made to cope with crime, the more important and statesmanlike step to take is to strike at the roots of crime. That can be done only by improving the educational, social, moral, sanitary, hygienic, economic, political and other conditions of the country. But Government has never taken any adequate steps for such improvement.

It was not wrong for Lord Lytton to draw attention to the absence of *adequate* social service in the country, though he was ignorant of what social work was really being done. But he forgot that social service, too, depends for its efficiency on political freedom. Without political freedom, that confidence and that hopefulness cannot exist without which adequate efforts cannot be made. Moreover, social improvement in many directions depends on new or improved legislation.

Why is it that Government has often borrowed large sums for war and police expenditure, but has never, to our knowledge, borrowed such amounts for educational, industrial and sanitary purposes?

Public Health

It is noteworthy that in the Bengal Budget the Public Health grant has been reduced by more than two lakhs. Perhaps Bengal has been rapidly growing into a sanatorium!

Treatment of State Prisoners

Complaints of cruel and barbarous treatment of Bengali State prisoners transferred to Burma have found publicity in the columns of the *Rangoon Mail* and thence in other papers. A contrast is often drawn between the treatment of political prisoners in England and their treatment in India. But as such prisoners are not suspected in England of overthrowing British rule and substituting any other rule in its place, they are not considered guilty of any unpardonable crime. Here, in India, political prisoners are suspected of trying to put an end to the predominance of the Anglo-saxon race, who constitute the modern "chosen people of God". What crime can be greater than an offence against "God's anointed" people? And as the object of punishment is to give pain, it is only fitting that the maximum of pain should be inflicted on those who are guilty of the most serious offence.

Alleged Inhuman Tortures at Nabha

Not a day passes without our receiving one or more letters from the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee containing details of cruel treatment meted out to members of Akali *jathas*. While we are thankful to that committee for its generous effort to keep us informed about what is going on in the Panjab and Nabha so far as the Akalis are concerned, we have always regretted that we have not been able to make any use in this monthly journal of most of the information so kindly supplied. We can, however, assure our friends that we have felt for them and respect their heroism and perseverance. If we may make a respectful suggestion, we would say that the committee would do well to cultivate greater concentration and conciseness, and refrain from recording unimportant details.

The following message, dated the 19th instant, received from the committee, has been published in many newspapers:—

Reports from Nabha just received give harrowing details of inhuman tortures including wholesale

merciless beating to unconsciousness, dragging by "Keshas" (hairs) and beards, ducking into water, putting hot iron rods on various parts of the body and hanging by their feet, heads downwards, resulting in several deaths on the spot. Many more are in a precarious condition. A large number is seriously wounded. No rations were issued on 13th and 14th instant to some *Jathas*. Great excitement prevails. The situation is very serious. Immediate action is necessary.

We are greatly pained to read this. We refrain from making the usual request to the powers that be to enquire into the allegation and take speedy action. For we know that they will do or not do just what they please without our request or its absence making the least difference.

Weaving Department of the Institute of Rural Reconstruction, Visva-bharati

From the annual report of the weaving department of this institute we learn that it was started on September, 1922. Its object is to revive the indigenous weaving and other allied cottage industries of this province. The reports states:—

Formerly there was a large number of weavers in this district of Birbhum. They manufactured a large quantity of silk and real Muga cloth. The cotton industry also was very prosperous at that time. But this weaving industry is now practically ruined. A class of middle-men supplied weavers yarn on *dadan* system (i.e., they advanced yarn and took back the production at a low rate). The weavers did not get fair wages for their labour.

During the last twenty years many attempts were made to revive this important industry. Many people tried to revive it by introducing the workshop system. Many workshops were started in different parts of the country, but almost all of them failed owing to the following reasons.

(a) There was no arrangement for cheap yarn supply.

(b) This industry can prosper only if the weaver can work in his own home in co-operation with women, children and other members of his family. In addition to their daily works, each member of his family can help his work in sizing, winding and other preparations, whereas in workshops these works made the industry more costly.

Considering the above conditions, we have adopted the following methods for reviving the weaving industry of this district.

(1) We are giving the weavers training in new designs which are sure to bring more profits for their work.

(2) When they go back to their homes after finishing the training, we supply them yarn at a cheaper rate than the middle-men of the market and take back their product paying the proper price for it. Thus we save them from the clutches of the *Mahajans*. This system increases their income. Fifteen weavers were taught by us during the last year and they are now earning better livelihood.

(3) The people of other classes who want to learn weaving for supplementing their income are given every facility according to their needs in the above-mentioned ways. In this year, seventeen persons received training in this way and five of them are still working in our weaving department. They are earning a handsome amount for their labour. The rest are working in their respective homes utilising hitherto the waste time of their family members.

(4) To spread this home industry throughout the whole province we have given attention to the educational institutions also. We have invited the teachers of High and Middle English schools and Pathshalas to get training in weaving, dyeing, printing and durri-making etc., so that they may open classes on vocational training in their respective schools. From the beginning of this year, we have trained seven High School teachers, sixteen M. E. School teachers, two Pundits of Pathshalas and sixteen students of Guru-training school of Bolpur.

(5) The knowledge of dyeing is essential for weavers. Most of the weavers depend upon outsiders for dyed yarn. This hampers their business. So we have given equal attention to the dyeing industry.

(6) Along with dyeing, calico-printing invariably comes. So we have made sufficient arrangement both for vegetable and chemical printing.

(7) Formerly the sheep of this locality were not shorn. We made an experiment to find out whether the wool of local sheep may be made into yarn. This experiment has fortunately become successful and now we have begun to teach blanket-making.

(8) In this year, we have trained altogether seventy-two students. Amongst them forty-one were the teachers of different schools. We shall have to help and guide them in continuing their work in their own schools. We shall try to arrange occasional visits to their places to stimulate their works.

The Ahmadiyas in Kabul

The world was shocked when the news of the stoning to death by judicial order of an Ahmadiya gentleman in Kabul was first published some months ago. Recently the stoning to death of two other Ahmadiyas in Kabul has been reported. And it is also said that thirty other Ahmadiyas are in prison in that town, perhaps awaiting a similar fate.

These barbarous punishments for difference in religious opinion cannot but lower Afghanistan and its king in the eyes of all civilised people.

Hindu Fissiparousness

The following resolution was moved at a recent meeting of the Madras Legislative Council:—

"That this Council recommends to the Government that at least 49 per cent of posts in both the lower and upper grades of the services under Government be reserved for the non-Brahman

Hindus, 10 per cent to the depressed classes, 15 per cent to the Mahomedans, 10 per cent to the Indian Christians, 10 per cent to the Brahmans, and the rest for the representation of other communities and for recruitment by competitive examinations."

The Musalmans, no doubt, first started the game of demanding that a certain proportion of government posts should be reserved for them. But still they had the good sense to make that claim on behalf of their entire community. No one among them demanded that the Saiyids should have so many per cent., the Sheikhs so many per cent., the Pathans so many per cent., the Borahs so many per cent., the Khojas so many per cent., Julabas so many per cent., etc., of the posts reserved for Musalmans. The Hindus are going one better.

They are demanding that different castes, communities and classes among them should have a fixed proportion of the posts, showing that there is no solidarity among the Hindus. We suggest that a further subdivision be made;—that the posts to be reserved for the non-Brahmans be apportioned among the Reddis, the Naidus, the Mudaliars, the Pillais, the Nairs, the Chettis, etc., according to their numbers, and the number to be reserved for the Brahmans be proportionately distributed among the Aiyars, the Aiyangars, the Acharis, the Acharlus, the Sastris, etc. or there may be a sub-division of posts among the followers of Ramanuja, of Madhvacharya, etc.

It is one of the farces of contemporary history that the Indian people demand Swaraj, claiming to be a united people having national solidarity, and at the same time display to the world the highly edifying petition for posts laid at the feet of an alien government, which this Swaraj-loving people wish to send adrift.

Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmed on the Safeguarding of Minority Rights

The Asiatic Review contains an article on the safeguarding of minority rights in India. There is nothing new in the article which calls for special notice. The article proper begins with the third and fourth paragraphs, wherein it is stated:

"A new situation developed in 1906, when the Minto-Morley Reforms began to be discussed.

"We now reach what may be termed the political era, which is marked by the address presented on October 1, 1906, by the Muhammadans, under the leadership of His Highness the Aga Khan, to Lord Minto, from which I take the following passage

as being points that were emphasized in the address."

As Maulana Mohamed Ali said from the Congress presidential chair, this address-presenting business in 1906 was a command performance, that is to say, the Musalman deputation waited upon Lord Minto at a suggestion emanating from the latter. This finds support from what Lord Morley wrote to Lord Minto. "You started the Moslem here," the former wrote to the latter. *Vide* Morley's *Recollections*. So it was the Aga Khan and his correlative religionists who ought to have commemorated Lord Minto by a park, a pillar or a statue, not Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

That is, however, neither here nor there.

Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmed calls his article "The Safeguarding of Minority Rights in India", but pleads only for his own community by name. We do not blame him for what he has done, but we only wish that he had given to his paper a somewhat different title, *e.g.*, "The Safeguarding of Moslem Rights in India".

Among the minorities in India the Moslems are the most numerous, the strongest and the best organised. Therefore the rights of other minorities, which are smaller, weaker and less organised, require far greater safeguarding than Moslem rights. But the rule is, every one for himself and the devil take the hindmost. So, in 1906, the bureaucracy, as represented by Lord Minto, its head, took care of its predominance by seeing to it that India's demand did not become a united demand; and ever since the tendency among us to divide and subdivide has gone on increasing, most communities thinking separately of their own interests but not of the interests of the whole people of which each is a part. There are honourable exceptions like the Indian Christians and the Beni-Israel community etc. who are courageously and wisely prepared to take their chance.

Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmed concludes his article by saying:

".....We need a stable Government in India, and I would add that it will not remain stable, unless equal facilities are given to every community and the interests of the minorities are adequately safeguarded."

That is true.

The writer advocates separate representation by means of election by separate electorates and the reservation of fixed proportion of posts in the public services for his community. Obviously, therefore, in order

to act up to the principle enunciated in the lines quoted above, that is to say, in order to give equal facilities to every community and to adequately safeguard the interests of each minority body, separate representation, separate electorates, and separate reservation of posts must in his opinion be provided for each of our communities; there is no other or better way. We have not yet seen any scheme or pact which makes any such provision. Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmed is a great mathematician. It should not, therefore, be difficult for him to take up the Imperial and Provincial volumes of the Indian Census Report for 1921, and prepare such a scheme. When ready, the scheme should be published in pamphlet form.

Of course, the scheme will have to be revised after the publication of the report of each decennial census. That may come after. In the meantime, sufficient unto the day is the trouble thereof.

The learned Doctor thinks that no government in India will remain stable which does not act according to the principle he has laid down. He may be right or he may be wrong. But we are prepared to learn wisdom, and would, therefore, ask him to name some countries in which government has owed its stability to separate representation by separate electorates and the reservation of posts for different communities. Should he say that the lessons to be learnt from the political histories of other countries are inapplicable here, we would not quarrel with him.

Western Praise of Eastern Wisdom.

Most Western people profess the Christian religion. It is, therefore, natural for them to extol the excellences and ideals of Christianity. And that religion really possesses many merits and teaches many high ideals. It is for professing Christians to judge whether their lives conform to these teachings and ideals of their faith.

Similarly, Moslems boast of the many high ideals taught in the Quran and the life and sayings of the prophet Muhammad and the lives and doings of the early Caliphs. They also quote the high praises bestowed on Islam by some European writers. It is natural for them to do all this. But the more important thing for them to attend to is whether present-day Moslem society conforms to the high ideals and teachings of Islam which

undoubtedly influenced the lives of many followers of the faith in the past. ~

Hindus and Buddhists and others also indulge in similar boasts, and feel flattered when they find any European writer or speaker speaking in high terms of the spirituality of their religions. We have ourselves sometimes quoted such praise—we confess, with serious misgivings as to whether we were doing quite the right thing. For, though such praise sometimes encourages and stimulates, oftener it perhaps has a soporific and narcotic effect. Particularly, owing to our "slave mentality," when praise comes from European sources, we appear to be confirmed in our easy-going belief that all is right with our collective and individual lives and no reform, no improvement is needed. Hence it is always vitally necessary for us to cultivate a critical and discriminating spirit. Neither ourselves nor the Europeans are infallible. We should judge for ourselves whether that which is praised is really worthy of praise, and if it be worthy, whether we in our present-day intellectual social, moral and spiritual condition and with our existing social customs and arrangements can claim that praise as bestowed on something which we can now call our very own.

It is one of the delusions engendered by the almost all-engrossing political sensation-mongering of many politicians that a people can be politically enslaved and remain so in spite of its being intellectually, morally, physically, socially and spiritually all that it should be. The fact, however, is that the different aspects of a people's inner and outer life are not water-tight compartments; they are interdependent and interact on one another.

When we hear our ancestors or their faith and wisdom and spirituality praised, we should consider that praise to be an exhortation addressed to us to be worthy of our ancestors and of the eulogy bestowed on them.

Political Backwardness and Progress in Literature, the Arts and the sciences.

The Indian Daily Mail of February 21 (second dak edition) contains a leading article on the poet Rabindranath Tagore entitled "An Apostle of World Peace". Quite rightly has he been so named. We also endorse the eulogium pronounced on the poet in the article. But we cannot identify ourselves

with the opinions expressed in its opening sentences, *viz.* :—

"There is no more trite explanation of the backwardness of India than that its political condition is a barrier to progress. Even granting that in industry and commerce success is controlled by political factors, none can contend that they stand in the way of advancement in literature, the arts and the sciences. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, his brother (?) and Sir J. C. Bose have risen each in his own sphere to an international reputation. Indeed, Italy and Germany during the darkest days of their political history produced men who in the domain of arts, literature and science had no equals. More than one of the European peoples who secured their independence at the conclusion of the Great War have thrown up men and women, whose genius has given them an international reputation."

We do not say that progress in every other direction depends *entirely* on political progress : but we do assert that progress in any direction is generally dependent on progress in every other direction. We cannot here pause to prove our proposition, but we will simply ask a question or two. India is equal in area to Europe *minus* Russia, and Europe is mostly practically free, India not free. During the last 25 or 50 years, how many men of international reputation in literature, art and science has Europe *minus* Russia produced, and how many such men has India produced ? Nay, leaving aside such a big Western area, let us take comparatively small regions like England, France, Norway, Denmark, Italy, etc. During the period named above, how many men of international reputation has each of these small countries produced, and how many has India produced ? Some time ago, we had occasion to consult a voluminous list of original papers in chemistry contributed by chemists in different countries of the world, and we were humiliated to find how very few India's contributions were. Such or perhaps worse is the case in other branches of science. *The Indian Daily Mail* refers in the course of its article to the Nobel Prize. If the award of that prize be taken as a test, it will be found that it has gone to one Indian out of 320 millions of Indians only once and that only for literature. Much smaller countries than India have won it more than once for literature, science, etc. Leaving aside the case of a few exceptional men, progress of the body of the people in literature, art and science depends on ample educational facilities, including libraries, laboratories, museums, etc., and it is only a politically free people who can provide these for themselves adequately. We confess we do

not derive much comfort in our present backward intellectual condition from the repetition of the names of Tagore and Bose as a "certain worthy old body was said to draw from the word Mesopotamia, though perhaps we have always written as much about them as any other journalist, and we hope not in unduly unappreciative terms.

Rabindranath Tagore's Return

Rabindranath Tagore returned to Bombay on the 18th and to Calcutta on the 23rd February last.

"In a special interview, which he gave a representative of *The Indian Daily Mail*, he explained the circumstances which led to his visit and stated some of his impressions. When he was in Kobe during his visit to Japan last year he was approached by the Ministers of Peru and Mexico with invitations from their respective Governments to visit those countries. The representative of the Government of Peru was particularly anxious that his visit should coincide with the centenary of South American independence and that he should take part in the celebrations. The event at which he was invited to be present as a representative not only of India but also of the whole of Asia was of such significance that he was obliged to accept the invitation in spite of his indifferent health.

"He returned from his far eastern tour feeling greatly run down after his strenuous work in China and Japan. As the date of the centenary celebrations was approaching he was unable to stay in India long enough to regain his health. His friends and admirers were greatly perturbed at the prospect of a long journey and the risk which he was taking but he could not be persuaded to abandon the tour. He set out on his journey via Colombo. On reaching Marseilles he abandoned his original intention of staying for a time in Europe and failing to get a direct passage to Peru, proceeded to Buenos-Aires, the capital of the Argentine Republic. The reception accorded to him on his arrival there by the people and the Government was enthusiastic beyond description. He was greatly moved by the genuineness of the hospitality shown to him. What was more remarkable and gratifying was the interest which the people of Argentine seemed to have taken in his works, almost all of which have been translated into Spanish. He got an idea of this even on board the steamer. For no sooner the passengers came to know of his presence than almost every one of them brought out some volume or other of his works in order to get his autograph on it.

"His health became so bad at Buenos-Aires that the doctors who were consulted declined to permit him to undertake the journey to Peru either by land or by sea. He had therefore to leave South America greatly disappointed that he could not fulfil his engagements. On his return he availed himself of the invitation he had from Italy and went to Milan where he was enthusiastically welcomed by the people. He delivered some public lectures and fulfilled several engagements. The strain of these functions was so great that he again fell ill and had to cancel his visit to Turin, Venice, Florence and Rome. When he recovered sufficiently

he set out to India and arrived in Bombay. He said that he had promised his Italian friend to visit their country again as soon as he was well enough. He also added that some friends were arranging to get a house for him near Lake Como in order to enable him to spend the summer months there every year. In conclusion he observed that his health was still so bad that he would not be able to take part in any public engagements for some considerable time."

The Women of Egypt

The Woman Citizen of New York records.—

"The women of Egypt have issued an 'Appeal to public opinion of the world' on behalf of Egypt in its present differences with Great Britain.

"It is one of the most interesting facts in history that whenever a nation is in trouble with another, the women rally to its support and the government is overwilling to receive any favors or service the women can perform. The women of Egypt are following the example of the women of all nations in making this appeal. The questions involved, however, are between Egypt and Great Britain. Public opinion elsewhere can exert much pressure upon nations involved in difficulties, and doubtless will in this event.

"The women of Egypt charge Great Britain with exercising tyranny in order that she may force the Egyptian Government to yield new rights over Egypt and the Sudan. These women appeal to public opinion to come to the aid of the 'cradle of civilization,' which they call the 'Hyphen between the Orient and the Occident'. They declare that assistance to the 'Hyphen' will facilitate good relations between East and West and bring nearer the peace of the world."

Indian Ladies' Academic Distinctions

Last month we had the pleasure to record the academic distinction won by Miss Nirmala Bose. In this issue we are pleased to record the achievement of a married Hindu lady named Sunitibala Chanda, who was married in 1912, and has passed all her University examinations since then, taking the M. A. degree of the Calcutta University in Indian Vernaculars and standing second in order of merit. We also read in *Stridharma* :

It is noteworthy that a Muslim lady Furuhi Sultan Muayidzada has stood first in the list in the subject of Persian in the M. A. Degree examination of the Calcutta University. She is the daughter of His Eminence Aga Muayedul Islam, Editor of the well-known weekly journal *Habul Mattin*. Though brought up in purdah, she has had a brilliant University career. She is accomplished both in Oriental and Western languages, knowing Arabic, Persian Urdu, French and English. Her eldest sister Begum Sultan, stood first in the Preliminary Law examination and her younger sister Khawer Sultan secured first-class Honours in History in the B. A. examination.

At the Convocation of the Hindu University, Benares, great applause was given to a lady, Miss Asha Adhicari who received her M. A. degree.

Miss S. B. Hazra, has the unique honour of being the only lady in India who has so far been elected as a member of the Senate of a University. She is a Senator of the Patna University and she practises in the High Court as a Vakil. She has also been elected a member of the Syndicate of the University (Patna), but this honour has first been obtained by Mrs. Radhabai. B. A., Zemindari of Coomaramangalam, in her election six months ago, for the Syndicate of the University of Madras.

The Age of Consent Bill

The Select Committee on the Age of Consent Bill has proposed to lower the age of 14, as fixed in the Bill, to 13 years in the case of married girls. We are entirely against this lowering. As *New India* observes :—

"Fourteen is low enough to wreck the bodies of the unfortunate girls who become mothers at that age, but no words can be strong enough to condemn sufficiently the heartlessness of husbands who can sacrifice their child-wives to the Moloch of their lust at even a lower age than that. To talk of consent in the case of a child of thirteen is a frightful abuse of language. We should have imagined that the age for married girls might have been made 14 on even stronger grounds than the age for their unmarried sisters; for violation of the latter has more chances of being brought to the notice of the law than compulsion of wives... Marriage or no marriage, the cruelty of forcing motherhood on a tender girl unfit for it is the same.

CHILD-MOTHERHOOD

It has been observed in statistics mortality in India that in the case of the female population there is a sudden leap upwards of the number of deaths at the age of 15. The only factor to account for it is the giving birth to children. If we could have some graphical illustrations broadcasted of the agonies suffered by girl-mothers in delivery, the deaths that result in the case of some, and the permanent weakening of the body and the consequent life-long depression in spirit in the case of the surviving, the degeneracy of the children born of such mothers, and of the race-stock due to the birth of such children, and the effect also of the training given to them by the mothers, who can possibly have no notions on the subject, perhaps the public conscience would awake.

Physiologically no age lower than sixteen in the case of married girls ought to be fixed as the age of consent to sexual life in the case of their husbands, and in the case of any person who is not related to a girl as her husband, the age of consent should be higher still, say 18 or 21.

"How an Indian Nationality Can be Formed"

The history of Aurangzib which Professor

Jadunath Sarkar began twenty years ago, is now complete. The fifth and last volume has been published. Its publication at this time, when the problem of Hindu-Moslem unity is being discussed, is very opportune. For just as Akbar has been generally looked upon by historians as a conscious or unconscious builder-up of an Indian nationality, his great-grandson Aurangzib has been considered as the destroyer in that age of all hopes of the growth of a united Indian nation. The history of his life should, therefore, have its lessons to teach us who are now seeking to solve the problem of nation-building.

As Professor Jadunath Sarkar is not engaged in the game of politics but is only a critical onlooker of informed and mature judgment, his words should carry weight. Contemporary politics may warp our judgment, but the student of history, which is in one of its aspects the politics of the past, is in a position to take a more dispassionate view of things. That Professor Jadunath Sarkar is competent and qualified to take such a view appears incidentally from the fact that the Hindus in Maharashtra have sometimes complained that he is biased in favour of the Persian historical records left mostly by Musalman writers, whereas Moslems and some interested Anglo-Indians have complained that he is prejudiced against Musalmans and is in favour of Hindus!

Professor Sarkar has done full justice to the character of Aurangzib. He has dwelt on his courage and coolness and his learning and self-preparation.

"In addition to possessing constitutional courage and coolness, he had early in life chosen the perils and labour of kingship as his vocation and prepared himself for his sovereign office by self-reverence, self-knowledge, and self-control. Unlike other sons of monarchs, Aurangzib was a widely read and accurate scholar, and he kept up his love of books to his dying day."

"Besides book-learning, Aurangzib had from his boyhood cultivated control of speech and action, and tact in dealing with others; and even the dizzy eminence of the Peacock Throne and lordship over nine hundred thousand horsemen did not intoxicate him into losing the curb over his tongue, temper and heart for a single day during an exceptionally long life. As a prince, his tact, sagacity and humility made the highest nobles of his father's Court his friends; and as Emperor he displayed the same qualities in a degree which would have been remarkable in a subject. No wonder his contemporaries called him 'the darvish in purple.'"

Of Aurangzib's industry, moral purity and simplicity of life, his historian writes :—

"His private life,—dress, food and recreations—were all extremely simple, but well ordered. He

was absolutely free from vice and even from the more innocent pleasures of the idle rich. The number of his wives fell short even of the Quranic allowance of four, and he was scrupulously faithful to wedded love. The only delicacies he relished,—the reader will smile to hear,—were the acid fruit *corinda* (*Carissa carandas*) and a sort of chewing gum called *Khardali*.

"His industry in administration was marvellous."

These few extracts from Professor Sarkar's description of Aurangzib's character and habits, show that he has not written of him as a carping critic but as one who appreciates the subject of his voluminous work to the full. Such a historian has devoted the last chapter of his work, chapter lxiii, to the theme "Aurangzib and Indian Nationality". We cannot here either reproduce or summarise that chapter, but shall reproduce the last section thereof, entitled, "*The significance of Aurangzib's reign : how an Indian nationality can be formed*" :—

"The detailed study of this long and strenuous reign of fifty years that we have pursued through five volumes, therefore, drives one truth home into our minds. If India is ever to be the home of a nation able to keep peace within and guard the frontiers, develop the economic resources of the country and promote art and science, then both Hinduism and Islam must die and be born again. Each of these creeds must pass through a rigorous vigil and penance, each must be purified and rejuvenated under the sway of reason and science. That such a rebirth of Islam is not impossible, has been demonstrated in our own days by the conqueror of Smyrna. Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha has proved that the greatest Muslim State of the age can secularise its constitution, abolish polygamy and the servile seclusion of women, grant political equality to all creeds, and yet not cease to be a land of Islam.

"But Aurangzib did not attempt such an ideal, even though his subjects formed a very composite population, even though the Indian world lay at his feet and he had no European rivals hungrily watching to destroy his kingdom. On the contrary, he deliberately undid the beginnings of such a national and rational policy which Akbar had set on foot.

"History when rightly read is a justification of Providence, a revelation of a great purpose fulfilled in time.* The failure of an ideal Muslim king like Aurangzib with all the advantages he possessed at his accession and his high moral character and training,—is, therefore, the clearest proof the world can afford of the eternal truth that there cannot be a great or lasting empire without a great people,

* The English conquest of the Mughal empire is only part of the inevitable domination of all Africa and Asia by the European nations, which is only another way of saying that the progressive races are supplanting the conservative ones, just as enterprising families are constantly replacing sleepy self-satisfied ones in the leadership of our own society." Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, 2nd ed., p. 255.

that no people can be great unless it learns to form a compact nation with equal rights and opportunities for all,—a nation the component parts of which are homogeneous, agreeing in all essential points of life and thought, but freely tolerating individual differences in minor points and private life, recognising individual liberty as the basis of communal liberty,—a nation whose administration is solely bent upon promoting national, as opposed to provincial or sectarian interests, and a society which pursues knowledge without fears, without cessation, without bounds. It is only in that full light of goodness and truth that an Indian nationality can grow to the full height of its being."

Professor Sarkar has no doubt pointed out in his work how and to what extent Aurangzib himself and Muslim society made the fusion of Hindus and Muhammadans and the consequent birth of an Indian nationality impossible. But he has also shown how, owing to the condition of Hindu society too, such a consummation became an impossibility. Take, for instance, the following paragraphs among others descriptive of the Hindus, from his work :—

"The Hindus of mediaeval India presented an equally unhappy spectacle. They could not possibly form a nation, or even one compact sect. A social solidarity like that of the Muhammadans was inconceivable among a people divided into countless mutually exclusive castes, with their rancorous disputes about rights to the sacred thread and the Vedic chant, access to public water supplies, besides *touchability*," and in Southern India also *approachability*. And time and prosperity seemed only to aggravate these differences. 'Caste grows by fission', and the multiplication of new subcastes was in active progress through the operation of internal forces during Muhammadar rule, dividing and weakening Hindu society still further. A Hindu revival like the empire of the Peshwas, instead of uniting them only embittered caste bickerings by intensifying orthodoxy, leading to a stricter repression of the lower castes by the forces of the State, and provoking more widespread and organised caste feuds, like those between the different subdivisions of the Deccani Brahmans or between the only two literate and well-to-do castes of Maharashtra, *viz.*, the Brahmans and the Prabhus.

"No enlightened or patriotic priesthood arose to save the Hindu peoples. The separatist tendency is as strong in their religion as in their society and, indeed, an organised priesthood or State Church is opposed to the root principles of the Hindu scheme of salvation. Stray sheep running after stray shepherds fall easy victims to the quack and the voluptuary. Even if we pass over the degrading forms of man-worship that marked the religious practices of the Vallabhacharya, Kartabhaja and other sects of *guru*-adorners, or the licentiousness promoted by temple-dancers (*devadasis* or *muralis*) and small prurient esoteric sects, and turn our eyes to the ordinary idol-worship of the millions, we find the priesthood bringing their worshippers down to the lowest intellectual level by holding up to their adoration a god who eats, sleeps, falls ill of fever (as

Jagannath does for a week every year or pursues amorous dalliances which a Nawab of Oudh might envy or a Qutb Shah imitate in his own harem. Reform was possible only outside the regular Hindu church followed by the masses, i. e., among the small non-conforming sects, where men were prepared to leave all things and follow truth: but even there only during the first generation or two after their foundation, before they too sank into gross *guru*-worship."

Sir Gokuldas Kahandas Parekh

By the death of Sir Gokuldas Parekh the country loses one of the stalwarts of the older generation. He led a simple unostentatious life and was noted for his quiet determined character. He was a man of solid attainments, and had made himself master of the land revenue question. It was not a little due to his efforts that ryots in the Bombay Presidency obtained some relief, though at one time the Government of that province was unwilling to grant any remission of revenue even in times of famine. Sir Gokuldas was also an authority on excise and during the long period that he was a member of the legislative council of his province, he strenuously fought the people's battles against the drink and drugs traffic. He was also well known for his labours in the cause of social reform.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola

The unanimous election of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola to the presidential chair of the Bombay Legislative Council shows that the country is not so creed-ridden as to make it impossible for a man of tried ability and public spirit to be elected unanimously by men of all sects. This is a welcome sign. Would that public life in the Panjab and Bengal were like that in Bombay in this respect.

The Budgets of Bengal and Bombay

Of the taxes collected in Bengal, eleven crores in round numbers are at its disposal. Of the taxes collected in Bombay, fifteen crores in round numbers are at its disposal. Bengal has a population of 47,592,462; Bombay a population of 26,757,648. It is clear, therefore, that Bengal can spend for the health, enlightenment and prosperity of its inhabitants, both per head and in the aggregate, much less than Bombay can. In fact, Bengal can spend per head of its population less than half of what Bombay can. Yet Bengal is not inferior to Bombay either in fertility or in natural resources. Nor is the total amount of the

revenues collected in Bengal less than that collected in Bombay. There is therefore, no just reason why Bengal should not have enough money for the improvement of its health, education, agriculture, industries, etc. We are not advocating the principle of robbing Peter to pay Paul. What we say is that the Central Government should cut down some of its extravagant expenditure and leave to all provinces an equitable share of the revenues collected therein. It is, neither just nor humane that the people of Bengal should die of malaria, Kala-azar, tuberculosis, etc., while crores of revenue raised here are spent in building a new Delhi and in Frontier expeditions, etc., which may be quite necessary, but certainly not more necessary than saving millions of people in Bengal from preventable death and debilitation, than the spread of education, or than the improvement of agriculture and the establishment of new, and revival of old, industries.

Production and the Taxation Enquiry

Though owing to the many curious proposals made by some witnesses for bringing more money to the public treasury, the taxation enquiry seems at times to usurp the function of a variety entertainment, it is to be hoped that the main conditions precedent to the raising of the taxable capacity of the people will be steadily kept in view. People can pay more taxes only if they are more prosperous, and they can be more prosperous only if there be greater production. The first thing necessary, therefore, is to ascertain the relative productivity of India, to find out the causes of low production, to take steps to remove those causes, and to bring about conditions which will ensure greater production.

In doing all this the members of the Committee and the witnesses appearing before it, will receive much help from Professor Dr. Rajani Kanta Das's new book, *Production in India* (Visva-bharati Bookshop, 10 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta). It is a comparative study in national productivity with special reference to the prosperity or material welfare of the people. How the productivity of India has grown within recent years and how it compares at present with that of other countries and affects the prosperity of the people, form the subject-matter of this study. Resources, Industries and Productivity are the main heads under which the author considers his subject.

Under resources, arable land, forests, fisheries, mines, etc., are dealt with. Under industries he has dealt with forestry, fishing, mining, agriculture, manufacture, transport, banking and commerce. Under productivity, growth, condition, wastage and prosperity are dealt with.

The book contains 105 tables compiled from various sources many of which are not available in India. In fact, practically all the work was done in the Bibliotheque de la Direction de la Statistique Generale de la France in Paris.

His conclusion is that the fundamental cause of India's poverty is her industrial inefficiency. This must not be mistaken for the alleged inefficiency of individual workers, due, it is said, to our racial inferiority. In his work on "Factory Labour in India" the author has refuted the prevalent notion that three factory employees in India are equal to one in Great Britain, on the ground that there does not exist the equality of working conditions for such comparison. In another work of his, "Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast", the author produces evidence from American and Canadian employers to show that Indian workers in California and British Columbia are as good as Chinese, Japanese, American and Canadian workers. The inability of India to produce all that it is possible for her to do is due to causes other than racial, etc., which can and ought to be discovered and removed.

Sir Mahomed Yusuf's Marine School.

Under the caption "a remarkable institution", *The Bombay Chronicle* has published the following note and has thereby drawn public attention to a really very useful institution :—

"Within an hour's sail of Bombay is a picturesque little island of the name of Novha, a possession of Sir Mahomed Yusuf, the well-known Muslim philanthropist. Modesty is a virtue invented by the ugly, and it is a pity that Sir Mahomed should be content to leave his excellent work unadvertised. He maintains a Marine School on the island where boys are given elementary lessons in navigation and seamanship. Besides the Marine School the visitor will find a number of industrial institutions where boys are taught useful crafts and trained to become efficient units of society. All over the island there is the evidence of method, neatness and discipline and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola who presided over the Prize Distribution spoke on behalf of all the guests when he expressed his pleasant surprise at the efficient management of the whole enterprise. It is a work of benevolence upon which Sir Mahomed spends a sum of one lakh every year. The recurring outlay of one lakh is

over and above the large capital expenditure borne by Sir Mahomed for organising the schools and equipping them with all the paraphernalia of vocational culture. It is to be hoped that the Government will endeavour to help him in his ambition to extend the courses by the grant of a training ship. The work is wholly disinterested in its character and the boys require better scope of scientific preparation enabling them to aspire to all the prizes of a nautical career. To Sir Leslie Wilson, the benefactor ought to be wellknown because Sir Mahomed gave the endowment for the establishment of the Islamia College of Andheri whose foundation-stone was laid by the Governor of Bombay. We hope the work on Novha Island will be encouraged and that it will be possible for the nautical school to gain wider scope of usefulness through the good offices of Sir Leslie Wilson."

The Communal Craze.

On the 28th of January last the Governor of the Punjab received addresses of welcome from some public bodies in Lahore, and before proceeding to deal with matters of local interest discussed in the addresses, he indicated that he had one remark to make regarding them.

"I notice", said His Excellency "that some of these addresses are worded in a somewhat unusual tone of acerbity in regard to the communal matter. This is somewhat astonishing to me since I am not aware of any incident in your recent history such as the outbreak of communal disturbances which would warrant this display of feelings, nor indeed am I aware how far it can be justified on other grounds. Both Hindus and Mahomedans have complained to me of inadequate representation in your local bodies. They cannot both be right. I beg of you to give less thought to these things and to bend yourselves to the task of improving your own communities within their own sphere, for the real solution of communal differences lies rather in bringing each community to a level with its neighbours in point of intellectual and material advance than in attempts to obtain political advantages or one section of the public over another. That is a word of friendly warning to all. It is no benefit to the administration of this country to see the great communities disunited. Our object (and it should be yours also) is to see a common and harmonious advance throughout the province, benefiting all communities alike and working to its general betterment without distinction of sect or creed."

Recruitment of Sikhs in the Army.

The Hindustan Times of Delhi has published a secret memorandum issued by the Adjutant-General in India regarding the recruitment of Sikhs in the army. According to that memorandum, "the recruitment of Sikhs for the Army will be entirely closed in villages which have taken an active part in the Akali movement," and "no Sikh will be admitted to the Army, who has, either by himself, or through his family, been in any

way connected with the Akali organisation." This is no doubt meant to crush the Akali movement. But from news received from the Punjab up to date it does not appear that the organisation is about to collapse, though the memorandum was issued more than six months ago. The movement will yet take a good deal of crushing, it seems; and the order can only stiffen the back of a community which has survived the terrible persecution of the Mughals and has seen their downfall.

"*Kajer samay kaji, kaj phuralei paji*", so runs a Bengali adage, which means, "one is considered a very useful man so long as you want to get something done by him; but when that thing has been done, the man is dubbed a rascal". The Sikhs stood by the British Government during the Sepoy War, and have fought the battles of the British empire in many quarters of the globe, helping to extend and consolidate it. But now that they have become politically and otherwise self-conscious and therefore self-respecting and self-assertive, the only form which political gratitude can take is to shut them out from military careers.

There are other communities, *e. g.*, the Telengas, the Bengalis, which fought for the East India Company, but which subsequently, with the spread of education and growth of patriotism among them, have been classed as non-military.

First Separate Railway Budget

The Railway Budget for 1925-26 presented last month by the Commerce and Railway member, is the first separate railway budget.

It provides for the construction of over two thousand miles of new lines. As railways have not been an unmixed good in India, we cannot welcome this programme of extension without knowing where the lines will be laid, what will be the alignment, whether they will kill water-ways by competition, whether sufficient care will be taken not to obstruct natural drainage, and so on. The good which railways have done cannot be denied. But they have in many a region helped to kill indigenous industries, been the indirect cause of neglect of water-ways, have made many tracts malarious, and have been the means of rapid spread of some epidemics. So though we must keep pace

with the times by having all the improved means of transport and communication which other countries have, we must guard against the evils noted above.

Sir Charles Innes's observations on the Indianisation of the superior and subordinate railway staff constituted a lame defence of the present state of things. That "it is only in recent years that Indians have joined the gazetted ranks of railway officers in any number" and therefore it would take time for them to rise to high posts, is obvious; but it was not the fault of Indians that they were not from the very beginning given facilities for adequate training and opportunities for joining these superior ranks.

To class Anglo-Indians as Indians and then argue that "to a very large extent the subordinate railway service is already Indianised in that the posts are largely held by Anglo-Indians" is an example of unconscious (?) humour. These men are Indians when it is necessary to consider them so. But when they had to be given reserved accommodation in railways, or to be enlisted as volunteers, etc., they were classed with Europeans.

Sir Charles tried to justify the reduction of 1st and 2nd class fares and the non-reduction of third class fares, on the ground that owing to the enhanced fares there was a decline both in 1st and 2nd class passengers and in earnings, but that, in spite of increased third class fares, there was a progressive increase both in passengers and earnings. But this only shows that many of the upper class passengers travel for pleasure, but that third class passengers travel of necessity and also that increase in upper class fares had compelled many to travel who would not otherwise have done so. The railway administration ought not to take advantage of the necessities of poor men and penalise them therefor. It is no excuse to say that the railways would not be able to cope with the increased traffic if third class fares were reduced. Why are and were not more 3rd class carriages built by extending the present workshops and opening new ones? Instead of opening new lines, the Railway Board ought first to remove the inconveniences of third class passengers in the lines already open, because it is chiefly they who maintain the railways.



WORSHIP OF BUDDHA

By the courtesy of the artist, Srimati Pratima Devi

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THE PLACE OF SCIENCE

(Farewell Lecture Delivered in Japan)

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

I want to forget the formal conventions of the present-day world and the modern aspects of its people, and to imagine myself back in those days when the spirit of India travelled across distances and found its nest in the warm heart of your people. I wish I could realise that spirit fully within me and accept your welcome in the same manner. Unfortunately I have not that genius. Possibly times have changed; possibly you are not ready to welcome an idealism that has nothing to do with efficiency and, what is called in modern language, 'progress'.

When those pilgrims in ancient days came bearing their ideas from one country to another, they had at the same time a gift of sympathy and simplicity of mind which made it possible for them to understand the genius of the people among whom they travelled. Because they understood this genius, it gladly opened to them its wealth of beauty,—universal wealth which every visitor from outside could appreciate.

It is possible that you had no direct communication with India, but through Korea and China, India's gift reached you. But the fact that this gift was accepted by your people shows that their genius was in harmony with what was brought to it; also that the manner of offering it to you was not at all discordant with your own way of life and thought and your self-respect. This is the most important thing in the communication of truth.

When some missionaries bring their truth to a strange land, unless they bring it in the form of homage, it is not accepted and should not be. The giver must have the feeling of respect towards him to whom he offers the best that he has. This giving should never be in the spirit of a donor, who has come into touch with some indigent beggar. I feel certain that in those ancient days, the messengers of truth did not come with the modern missionary spirit, with the consciousness of sectarian superiority. They came humbly, because bearers of truth should be humble concerning the truth which is immensely greater than themselves.

Missionaries from all parts of the world still come to-day, but they rarely have any respect for the people among whom they travel. They often malign them and exaggerate their defects, or what they imagine to be defects. When they come in this spirit of superciliousness, they can never understand, truly, the people whom they desire to help. Their task should be to realise the greatness of the human soul and to find the presence of the spirit of man in the innermost shrine of the country which they choose for their mission. Their message should be offered in a spirit of sacrifice and service and not in the unctuous manner of doing one's duty.

I feel certain that in those old days there was that spirit. They were simple people and their heart overflowed with the truth that they

were bearing and the love that they came to offer with that truth. They never imagined Truth to be specially under their patronage and protection. Never having any insolence of race pride it was as natural for them to communicate truth as it is for the breeze to spread the smell of the lotus.

This is the thought which I had in my mind when I came to you. I never took upon myself the task of bettering your condition or improving your mind. I wanted simply to come to seek my home among others of the human race. I came with a hunger in my heart to find your sympathy and to offer you mine.

And to-day when my stay among you has come to an end, I can confess to you in all sincerity that I feel that my desire has been fulfilled. I go away with the consciousness that I have been able to love you as a great people of Asia, to entertain a real respect for your genius. I am able to love you, not because I find some similarity in you with my people, but because you have your own greatness, because your Japanese genius is something unique in the world.

Because I have felt this, I also feel a deep anxiety that you should keep pure what is profoundly your own,—the character which has made your country great. It should not allow itself to be smothered under borrowed things which do not suit you. Your mind should remain strong with a consciousness of its own value for this world. For you must realize that you have a great mission and that you have to contribute your share of homage to the civilization of man.

It lies in you to help Asia to rise from where she has fallen to her former position in the world. Through you let Asia find her illumination. That can never happen if you are merely wealthy and politically powerful. But, if you can offer the wealth of your spirit in the service of mankind, if you can find in your voice the voice of greater Asia, then Asia will bless you, and the whole world of man will be indebted to you.

It is a great and significant fact that you, of all Asiatic countries to-day, have awakened from your age-long slumber. Surely that has some meaning for the world, and the meaning must be that you are the trustee of some great truth which has to be unfolded to it. The bud blossoms in the morning. This is not mere play, not some idle fooling of Nature; it comes to happen

because it carries the promise of that fruit which gives to the tree its immortality.

Your soul has opened its heart to-day in the morning light of the present age. It too must have its promise of fruit, a fruit which only it can bear, and none else, and for which the whole world is waiting. You have to be conscious of this, that you are carrying a great responsibility. For the sleeper has no responsibility. It is the man who has been roused from his sleep who has the responsibility of the conscious life.

Never think that your mission to-day is to imitate the West. I do not belittle any lesson that you may accept from western countries. They have also in their keeping some aspects of truth which are most valuable, and truth should be accepted from all sources. Science is valuable,—but the mind which makes use of it for a particular purpose may not be so.

Transmission of light from one lamp to another is not imitation,—only the use to which the light is put can be imitated. If it is used for arson and robbery, then the sacredness of light is violated. I entreat you to let this light lighten your beautiful homes, let it shine at the joyful festival of your life and let this light show all that is great and tender in your character. Let science be used to bring out the greatness you have and not the baser passions of greed and race hatred.

We have seen how the mind that is obsessed, not by the divine inspiration of science but by the temptation that science offers, has got into the attitude which puts its own self-interest before everything else. This has become possible because self-aggrandisement has grown almost sublime in its attainment of bulk in the present age. During the late European war we heard one statesman talking of applying the standard of moral law to politics. Just when for this miracle we were about to be grateful we saw how his mission failed. Can we not expect this idealism to be realized through your politics and commerce, knowing that the whole world is waiting for just this?

This science is a great thing. It has come to man as a magnificent wealth. But directly it appeared to bless the human world, the devil got hold of it. He is making full use of it, in the shape of destructive weapons, poison gas and the engines of exploitation.

Through this contact with the spirit of evil, the face of science has been distorted, its gestures have become satanic. Let it be for you to prove that it is an angel of light, beautiful and serene. You have to rescue this great truth of the present age from misappropriation by the evil spirit of man.

It is well known that by your great natural talent you have been able to learn the lessons of science within a short period of time and that you are able to make use of it in a most dexterous and sometimes disastrous manner, even with more efficiency than is seen in the West. Therefore it rests with you, through the moral power that you have inherited from your forefathers, the spirit of *bushido*, to take up this truth that you have received from the West and restore it to its purity of greatness. It is you who can do it, because you have this western intelligence, this energy, this efficiency of workmanship, and at the same time your eastern nature, which has its respect for ideals, its love of honour, the eastern mind which sets more value on the spirit of man and its fulfilment than on any external success.

This concentration of gifts of mind of East and West in your character should enable you to perform the greatest mission of this age, which is to drag out the divine chariot of truth from the mud of evil passion. There has happened an event in your modern history which has an epic grandeur, instinct with the spirit of the old-world heroes. I am referring to the giving up of power by those in your political world, who had divided the kingly power into fractions and had enjoyed it for centuries. At a moment's notice they surrendered all that they had owned for years. Such sacrifice is unique in these modern days, when men do everything to retain the power which they believe to be legitimately theirs. Those great-hearted heroes did not bring about a bloody revolution in your country but gave up their privilege, as a tree gives up its fruit when it is ripe.

The power of sacrifice which you so gracefully exercised for the cause of your country can also be claimed for the cause of humanity. Give up your luxury, make your life simple, so that the grip of greed may weaken in your society, the greed which has become universal to-day driving men to lies and cruelty. The society which allows its needs to multiply without end must necessarily use unscrupulous means to gain its object. For though the passion of greed has no limit,

human power has, and this power seeks alliance with devil when it must have more than is normally available. It is this universal greed which is soiling science, which is making civilization sordid.

Therefore I appeal to your power of sacrifice to put off your lust for self-indulgence to accept a life of mutual exchange of services such as there was in your towns and villages when the obligation of human relationship was considered to be more valuable than the acquisition of things for exclusive enjoyment.

There are some in my country who are afraid of science. They know that science gives power and they are afraid of power. They are therefore willing to sacrifice science itself to save man from temptation. It is like advocating suicide because the body is liable to fall ill. But the wise try to know the law of health and the cure for illness. The power of self-sacrifice and of self-control must have its richness of content, it must not be negative. If the content is lacking, then the purity of emptiness is nothing but pure poverty. Nobody need be afraid of truth. Men should only be afraid of their own weakness.

For two centuries at least, no great voice has been heard in the world. In the fields of religion, of philosophy and of politics no great universal message has come from the depths of the human heart. We cannot afford to live in such an inarticulate, uncreative world. Have faith in yourselves and aspiration for the seemingly unattainable. If you look at great civilizations and compare their commencement with their maturity you will admit that men have become great by bravely pushing across the field of possibility into the unexplored which had inscribed on its gate the word 'Impossible'.

Our greatest men are they who have asked us to attain what we think impossible and, by so asking, have shown respect to our power that still lies dormant. The voice of the great is not yet dead, it is in the air,—like the spring breeze it carries seeds of great life from the past to their fruitage in the future. It is this voice which knocks at our gate in the early dawn of this new age with its cry: "Heroes, march to the impossible across the path of derision and death."

I appeal to you never to kill that bloom of simplicity which carries in its mother heart the faith of youth. Do not accept the cruel laughter of the senile civilization of the West that scorches all green beauty into a grey barrenness.

Be like children who instinctively believe in the future. Never give truth a name that implies ridicule and then laugh at it. If you think that it is clever to say that strife and greed are eternally true, and not goodness, you trample under your contempt the very seed of life.

But the seed is there, it is living. What is wrong, is your refusal to irrigate your life with faith. Your land is the land of the rising sun; let it always have the

freshness of the morning light. Never grow tired of truth and languid at heart. In the freshness of light and life will be born your power and a voice which will usher in the future of salvation.

With these words of farewell I set out for home carrying with me beautiful memories of my stay among you and also of something I have realized during my stay which brings me the deepest satisfaction.

THEORIES OF MONEY OLD AND NEW

By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

I

THEORETICALLY the most important problem in the theory of money is the question of the relation between money and price, the amount of money and the price-schedule, in other words, the quantitative aspect of money.

The eternal law is well known that supply and demand determine the prices of all markets—whether of goods and labour, or stocks and currencies. This, however, although analyzed by economists in all its details with special reference to the elasticity and rigidity of goods and monies, is not enough. Two more questions remain yet to be attacked. First, how do the goods stand in relation to one another? In other words, what is the theory of price-relation? In the second place, what is absolute price, i.e., how does money stand in relation to all commodities?

An equally important problem in the theory of money is that bearing on price as a function of deferred payment. This however is but an aspect of the larger question of loans.

How is debt contracted in gold marks previous to the Great War or in silver talers previous to 1870 to be repaid in Germany to-day? The fall, of the paper-mark compared to the par of 1913 is well known. The value of the gold mark, compared to the silver taler of 1870 had also fallen two-thirds. In German courts of justice the prevailing judgment has been to the effect that the debts

are to be paid back in the currency obtaining on the day of payment. The law of debts does not recognize the changes in the purchasing power or value of the money. In other words loans according to the state or Governmental practice are not "real" but "nominal".

If the loans can be conceded to nominal what then is the unit of value? What then is money? These and other questions are discussed in a volume of about 400 pages entitled *Allgemeine Geldlehre* (General Principles of Money) by Professor Ernst Wagemann of Berlin (published, 1923, by H. R. Engelmann, Berlin).

The book is essentially a contribution to the analysis of economic concepts. Every term that has been employed in economics since the birth of the science specially in the related fields of money and price has received a critical and constructive treatment at the hands of the author. One is once more led to the conviction that philosophy, and in so far as the science of money has a philosophic bearing, is fundamentally a structure of definitions.

In recent times economics has grown more and more into a discipline in facts and figures. For all practical purposes one need not go beyond the reports of banks and factories, the statistics of prices, wages, interest and discount, or the bulletins on exports and imports in order to master the mechanism of the forces and laws that regulate economic development. Wagemann has to his credit

such a descriptive and statistical work, for example, the one on Chile entitled *Wirtschafts-Verfassung der Republik Chile*. But the author's present work on money like *Inflation et Deflation* by Yves-Guyot and Raffalovich of the *Societe d'Economie Politique* of Paris is all the more valuable since it emphasises the part that pure theory has always played and in still playing in banking currency and monetary problems.

II

Several circumstances have contributed to a revolution in the attitude of science to the problem of money during the last three or four decades.

In the first place, as is well known, altogether new phenomena have presented themselves before students of money in and through the tremendous development of notes and bank accounts.

Certain special incidents have also called for notice. For instance, during the seventies of the last century both in Austria and Russia, while the silver currency was depreciating, the paper money seemed hardly to be affected by the circumstance. This curious anomaly had to be attacked by theorists as a novel case.

In the meantime, in sociology, in jurisprudence, in general economics as well as in other branches of human science new tendencies have manifested themselves. Their impact on the nature of money could hardly be resisted with success, says Wagemann.

Then came the great war, with its world-wide economic readjustments. One has had the opportunity to observe on a telescopic and hemispheroidal scale the monetary facts and relations such as cannot fail to endow the science with objectivity and precision, wherever they may have been needed.

Paper money and inflation, these are the two legacies of the war which are patent even to the layman. In addition there has arisen an interesting problem. During the war period, although the production of gold fell off, the world prices in terms of gold did not fail to rise! And this rise has taken place two to three hundred per cent in a few years.

When one remembers how it took decades for prices to reach the same heights under the influence of the constantly increasing production of gold and silver after the discovery of America, one wonders if the relations between money and economic transactions or between gold and money

have not undergone a thorough transformation in recent years. One is therefore led to ask indeed with Wicksell, Hahn, Wagemann and other theorists if gold can still be conceded the old role as the material for money.

Then there remain the great facts of inter-allied war-debts to America and German reparation payments to the allies. The theory of money has to tackle these problems independently of their bearing on politics and general economic development.

One of the latest contributions—theoretical albeit—to the problem is furnished in J.M. Keynes' *Tract on Monetary Reform*, which is being highly appraised by "German Science" (cf. *Welt-wirtschaftliches Archiv*, Kiel). The author begins with the hypothesis that gold standard has virtually been abandoned everywhere and establishes the thesis that so far as England is concerned it should be unwise to return to the gold standard. In regard to the United States, we are told that for the past two years this country has pretended to maintain a gold standard. In fact, it has established, a dollar standard, and, instead of ensuring that the value of the dollar shall conform to that of gold, it makes provision, at great expense, that the value of gold shall conform to that of the dollar.

Anthropological data bearing on economic development as well as historical statistics of our own times are thus co-operating to inaugurate a transvaluation of values in the interpretation of money. For one thing, the majesty of gold and with it the superstition of mankind regarding the metallic basis of money has been profoundly shaken not only among the masses in Central Europe and Soviet Russia, but also among philosophers and money-politicians. The analyses of monetary theories such as we find in Wagemann's treatise will therefore be of extraordinary significance in the understanding of modern culture and the trend of philosophical reconstruction.

III

In the question of money, says Knapp, human beings are naturally "metallists," i. e. they are disposed to identifying money with gold. But the scientist is forced to be a "nominalist" because it is not generally possible to define the "unit of value" as a certain "amount of metal". Thus comes the paradox: Money has validity but no value.

In all civilized States the "unit of value" has long grown into something nominal. It

is a historically defined idea which belongs as a part to the legal system of the land.

According to German theorists the publication, in 1905 of *Die Staatliche Theorie des Geldes* (The Political Theory of Money) in which Knapp makes the above statement constitutes a landmark in the history of monetary theories.

Since then, several important publications, e. g. Benedixen's *Das Wesen des Geldes* (1908 The Nature of Money), Singer's *Das Geld als Zeichen* (1920, Money as Sign) and others have contributed to develop the core of Knapp's contentions.

Nominalism as a theory, such as is being propagated in prevailing economic circles in Germany to-day, adumbrates two simple propositions.

I. Gold = goods.

II. Money = sign of value.

In German science, this, however, is not a novelty. Historians can point back even to the philosopher Kant who in 1797 taught that money is but a means to an end and that it has no value in itself. Among specific economists may be cited Adam Mueller in whose *Versuch einer neuen Theorie des Geldes* (1816, Attempt at a New Theory of Money) occur the concept that a piece of metal becomes a coin not because of its weight and fineness but because of its "localisation", i. e., marriage or association with the law of a country. In other words, it is the fiat of the State that dubs metal money. "No state, no money."

In the same strain Hufeland had pronounced in *Die Lehre vom Geld und Geldumlauf* (1819, The Theory of Money and Circulation of Money) that money is but goods which have "value only for exchange". This value of money as medium of exchange however, does not depend on the price of the metal itself nor on its value as a commodity for consumption but "on a social fact". Oppenheim's *Natur des Geldes* (1855, Nature of Money) also establishes the same thought that money is independent of its metallic content.

In all "dignified" volumes such as Roscher's *Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie* (1854, Principles of Political Economy) such ideas were treated as mere curios of science. On the other hand, even in socialistic revolutionary economics they formed but the butt of ridicule, for instance, in Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* (1867).

All the same, the nominalistic tendency

has ever and ever reappeared. Heyn's *Papierwährung mit Goldreserve fuer den Auslandsverkehr* (1894) Paper-money with Gold-reserve for Foreign Transactions) and other contributions have been well digested by Knapp. And Mark's *Das Gold nicht mehr Geld* (1897, Gold no longer Money) has not been less suggestive and convincing to the systematizer of the new theory.

IV

According to Professor Wagemann the new theory is trying to construct a synthesis out of two conflicting theories, namely: symbolism and metallism. In the first place the contention of nominalists that gold is not equivalent to money, but is only goods, has been the idea of the metallists as opposed to that of the symbolists. Secondly, the nominalist theory of money as being nothing but a sign is a cardinal point in the thinking of the symbolists but quite at variance with that of the metallists, according to whom money has an inner value, i. e. objective worth.

The entire symbolist position may be thus indicated:

money = gold
= symbol of value.

Symbolistic tendencies are to be found in Bodin's *Les livres de la republique* (1568), Locke's *Some considerations of the consequences of the lowering of interest and raising the value of money* (1691), Law's *Memoires sur les banques* (1705), Justi's *Staatswirtschaft* (1758), Steuart's *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy* (1767). These and other writings of the "mercantile" school are the representatives of symbolism.

Among the "metallists" in money are to be mentioned the entire "classical" school beginning with Adam Smith, Ricardo, Senior, Mill and including Walker, Jevons, Keynes, Leroy-Beaulieu, Diehi, Laughlin, Wagner and others. Karl Marx and his followers, as well as to a certain extent the historical and Austrian schools are representatives of metallism.

According to metallists the philosophy of money would consist of the two following equations.

money = gold
gold money = goods

But have the nominalists succeeded in overpowering the antitheses? Wagemann thinks that they have not, especially since the "economic theory" of money has not

been placed as yet on a firm basis. To this task, however, his own studies address themselves, and we are promised a second volume of the present treatise.

V

In the phenomena of money there are two concepts. One is the legal, viz, that the State compels obligations to be discharged through certain media. The other concept is economic. So far as the legal aspect is concerned, Wagemann concedes that Knapp can be accepted by everybody. But the economic aspect of money has been virtually neglected by Knapp. And his followers, instead of supplementing him, have only rendered the theory untenable. For instance, when Liefmann in his *Geld and Gold* (1916) declares that money is nothing but a psychological abstraction which is even independent of the State and draws its existence solely from the circumstances of exchanges, the theorist bids adieu not only to the problem of value but also to the whole conjecture of social life.

In mercantile thought, so far a theory of money is discernible, for instance, in Stuart's *Inquiry*, money is essentially a symbol. But the picture of mercantilism with which students are familiar in Adam Smith's work, namely that money is identical with wealth is really a *degenerate* form of mercantile thought, says Wagemann. The process of degeneration by which a symbol is taken to be equivalent to the fact, the sign to the

essence, in other words, the "materializing" of a symbol is psychologically quite a normal phenomenon and has played a great part in the early culture history of all nations, as anthropology teaches us. The concept that money = wealth is according to Wagemann but part of the same consciousness which produced, for instance, the dogma of transubstantiation, the realism of mediæval scholastics, and the doctrine of the State being identified with the person bearing the crown (*L'état c'est moi*).

If the materializing of the symbol turned out to be the extreme to which the mercantilists were running, the danger of metallism has lain in the direction in which the theorist is tempted to consider money as a certain lump (in weight) of gold. Whenever the metallist thinks of money, he can hardly resist envisaging, first, some solid piece of metal passing from hand to hand, and secondly, something like a tape or a rod which serves as a unit of measure. For, otherwise he cannot conceive the mechanism by which prices are adjusted.

It must be acknowledged that it is on the metallistic theory that the money and currency as well as note banks of all modern States have been founded. The theory has played the same role in socio-economic life and political science as the atomic theory in chemistry and the theory of ether in physics. But like both these theories, this is only a fiction, says Wagemann, although it has been quite fruitful as a working hypothesis.

"SANNYASI" IN CHINA

RABINDRANATH Tagor's play "Sannyasi" (English version of *Prakitir Pratisodha*) was recently performed in China at the Summer Theatre by the Sansi Tayuanfu School of Foreign Languages.

The subject-matter of the play is as follows:—

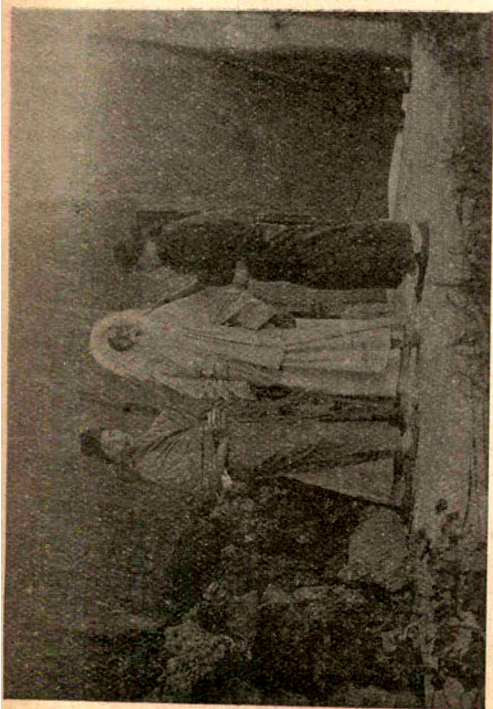
A certain Sannyasi who had renounced the world sits outside a cave, contemplating the nature of the Universe. At one time the world was wetted with his tears, so cruel it seemed to him. So he took the oath that he would avenge himself on her, and with that end in view he took shelter in the darkness of the cave. Now he was free from fear and

desire and his reason was shining clear. Master of his own self, he is now exulting over his mastery of the—world too.

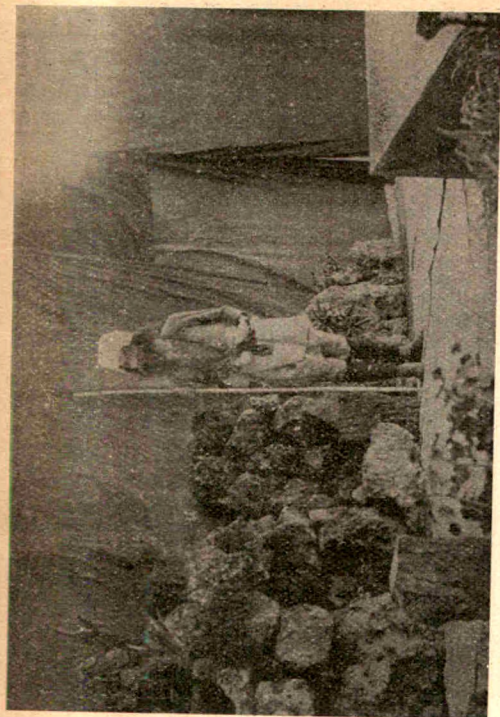
In the Second Scene the Sannyasi sits by the roadside watching the crowd and pondering over their conduct. A villager enters the scene with two women. The old man says: "There are fools who judge men by their outside." To this the first woman replies "How sad! we have been watching your outside from our infancy. It is just the same all through these years."

Village Elder—Like the morning sun

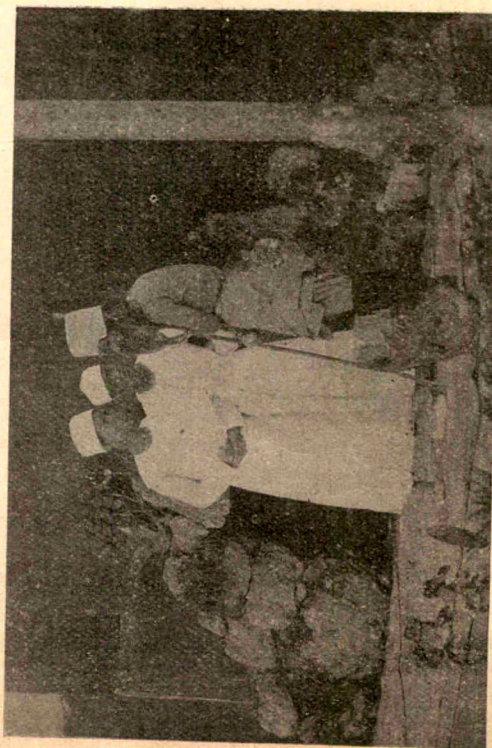
First woman—Yes, like the morning sun in its shining boldness



China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi," No. 2 "Like the morning sun in its shining baldness".



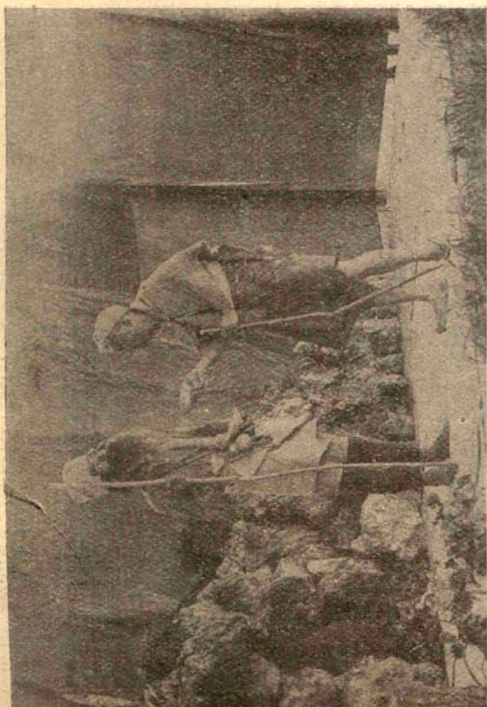
China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi," No. 1 Sannyasi.



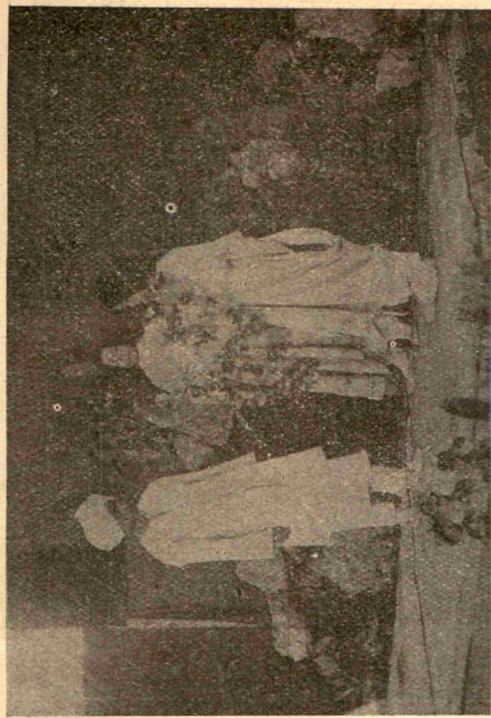
China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi," No. 4—"Neither? Well, that sounds satisfactory".



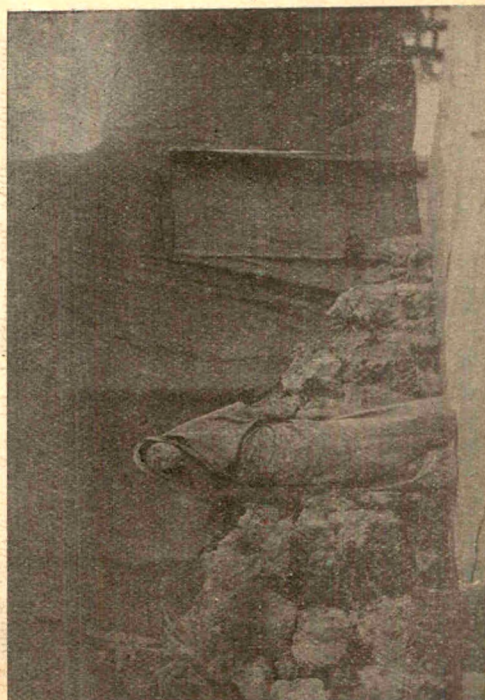
China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi," No. 3. "I will drive my ploughshare over his household."



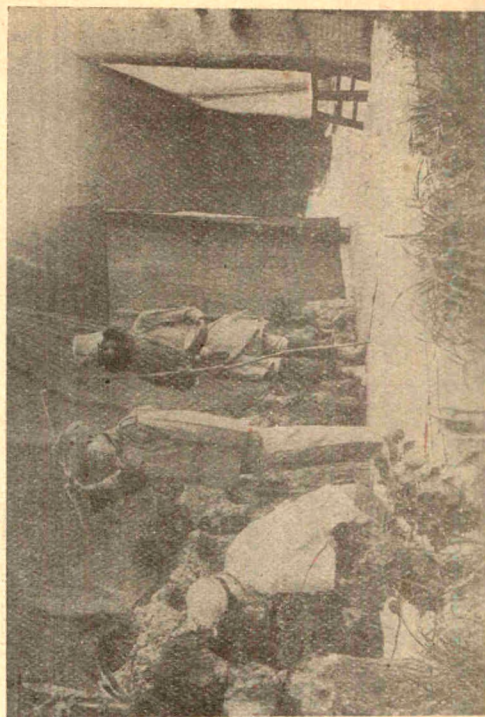
China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 6 "May God prosper you."



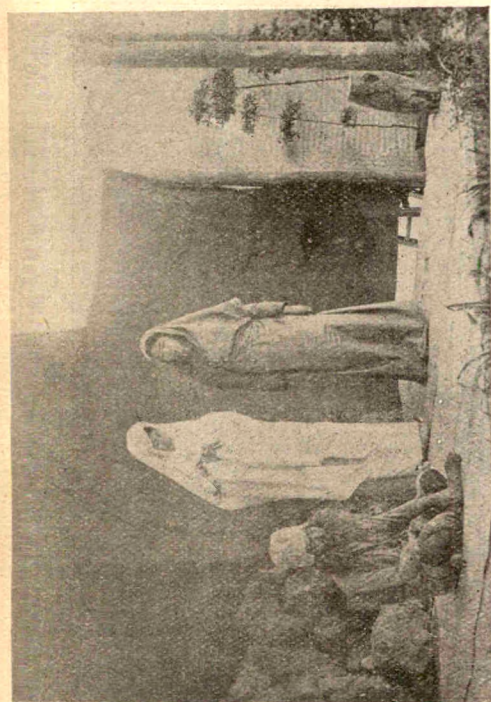
China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 5 "Why such regret, my darlings?"



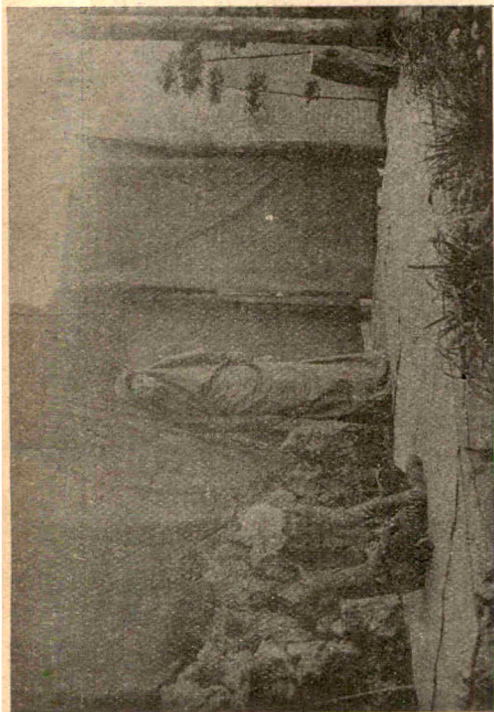
China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 8 Vasanti



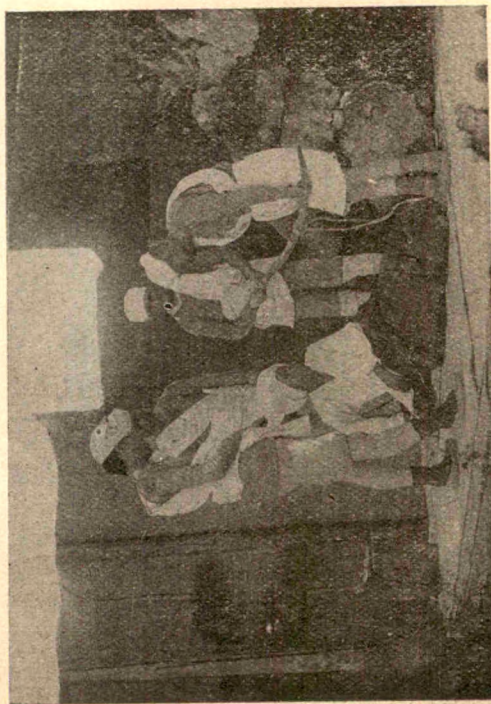
China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 7 "Move away. Don't you see the Minister's son is coming?"



China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 10 "I assure you, your cloth did not touch me."



China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 9 Vasanti observes Sannyasi.



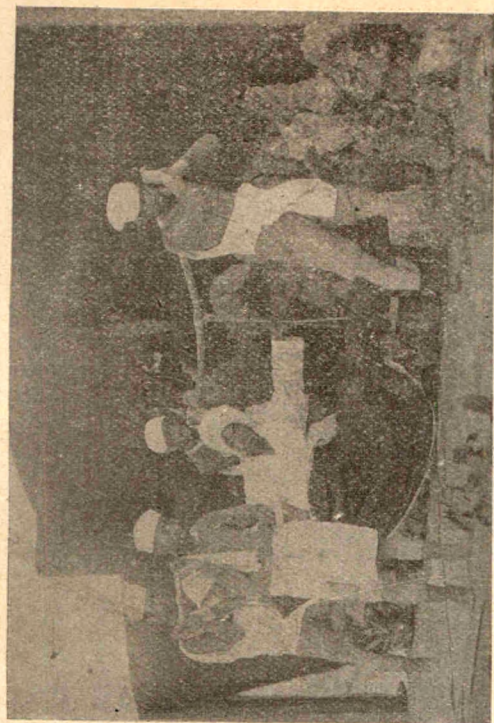
China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 12 "Can't you keep quiet, like all decent dead people?"



China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 11 "God bless you, child, but I cannot stay."



China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 14 "Let me explain it to you."



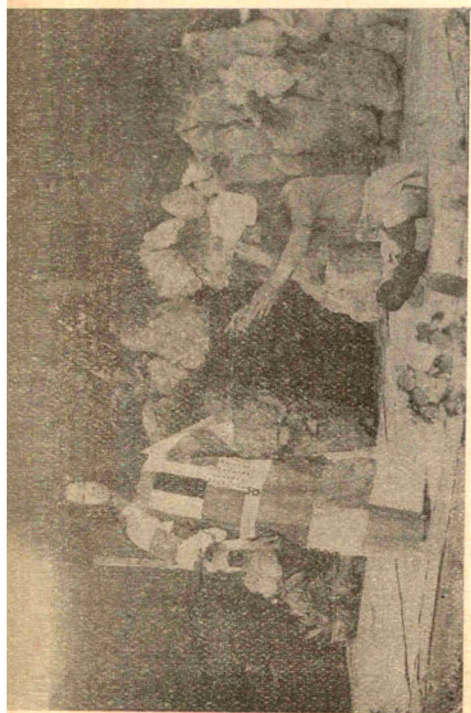
China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 13 "I swear by your beard, my brother I am as alive as any of you."



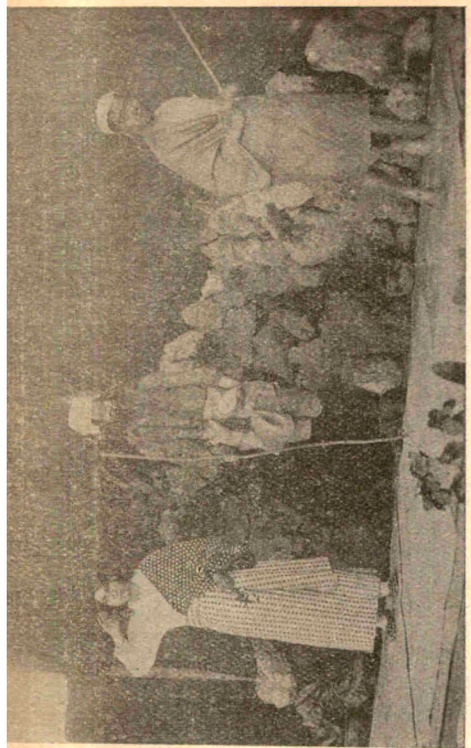
China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 16 "No, no, the beautiful is! mere phantasy."



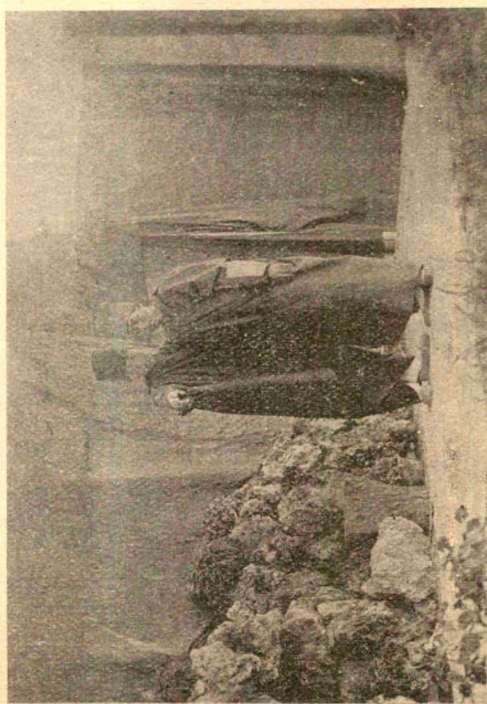
China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 15 "Father, this creeper trailing on the grass.....is my creeper."



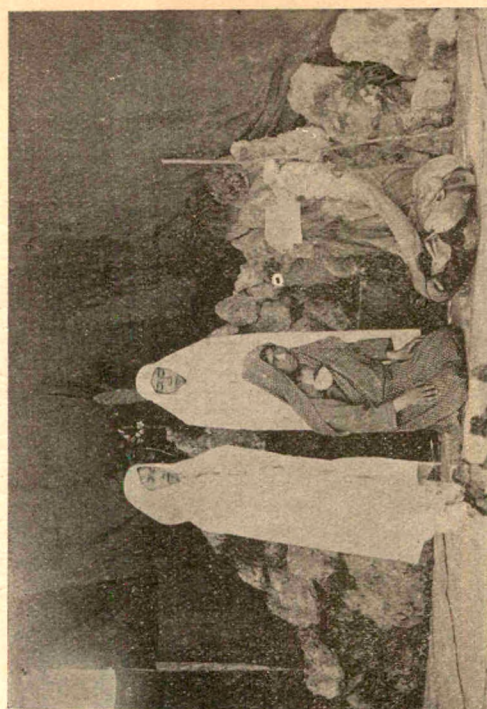
China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 18 "Let me give you my kiss of blessing before you go."



China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 17 "The music comes from across the dark river and calls me."



China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 20 "Can you see that faint glimmer of the water in the dark.....?"



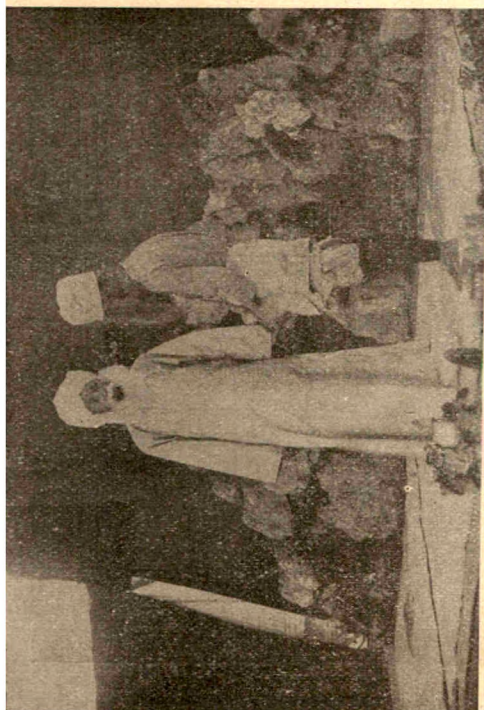
China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 19 "My man goes to the field, and I have my house to look after."



China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 21 "That light is the last farewell look of our past days upon their parting guest."



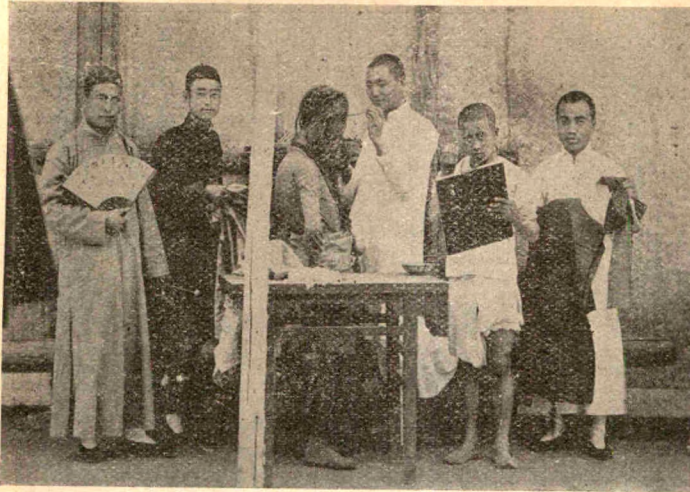
China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 23 "But we are sure that she is not the bride for our prince."



China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 22 "She has left her village, and we are glad."



China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindranath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 24 "Raghu's daughter? She is dead."



China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindra-nath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 25. Behind the stage

With their exit enter three villagers. The first villager has been insulted and he is frothing and fretting for revenge. The others go on whetting his wrath and he bursts out with one of his plans of revenge—"I will drive my ploughshare over his household."

They go out and in come two students disputing with each other the success of their respective professors in a certain debate. The point at issue was whether the subtle was the outcome of the gross or the origin of the gross. The first student then asks the Sannyasi, "which is the original, the subtle or the gross." Sannyasi answers—"Neither." This is helpful to the self-complacence of the second student and he accordingly says: "Neither, well, that sounds satisfactory."

They depart and two flower girls make their appearance, singing. They are pining for their lovers and regretting that the garlands are not ready. A wayfarer who is intimate with them remarks:—

Why such regret, my darilngs? When the garlands are ready, the necks will not be wanting.

After some other jokes they go out of the stage and

in comes an old beggar a-begging. "May God prosper you" he says in the act of begging. A soldier follows shortly and rebukes the beggar thus:—

Move away. Don't you see the Minister's son is coming?

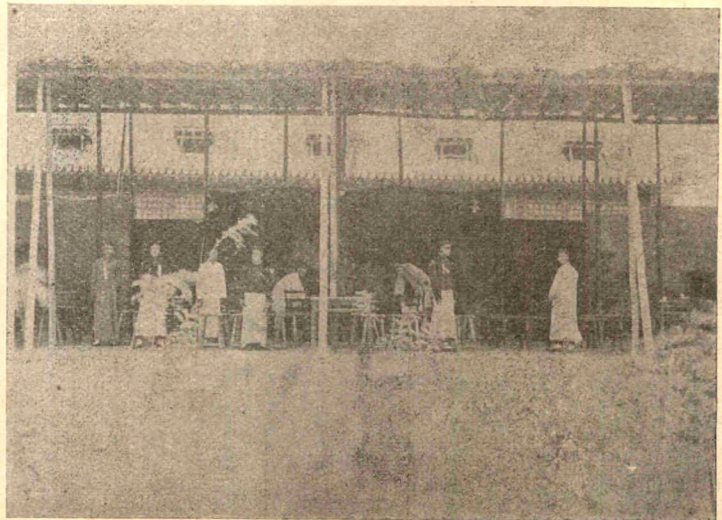
The Sannyasi watches these sights of common life and reflects:

Can I ever again shrink back into the smallness of these creatures and become one of them? No, I am free.

At this point, enters the girl Vasanti daughter of out-casted Raghu. Her very touch is pollution to other people. After meeting with rebuffs from common people she sees the Sannyasi. When about to approach him, she is met by a village woman who upbraids her for having touched her cloth-end. The girl gently protests, "I assure you, your cloth-end did not touch me." While engaged in conversation about the ways of the world, they are met by a traveller who wants some shelter. Vasanti offers to take him to her hut, but when he comes to know that she is Raghu's daughter, he declines the offer thus:—

"God bless you, child, but I cannot stay."

The traveller departs but some men come



China Shansi Taiyuanfu School of Foreign Languages—Rabindra-nath Tagore's "Sannyasi" No. 26. The Summer Theatre

in bearing some one on a bed. Binde the weaver was sleeping as one dead and by way of fun these people were taking him away as if to the burning ground. Binde wakes up some time after and protests against such treatment. Upon this he is told to keep quiet like all decent dead people. They still pretend not to believe him. At this Binde says "I swear by your beard, my brother, I am as alive as any of you."

The Sannyasi was watching all these scenes from common life. The girl in the meantime had fallen asleep, with her arm beneath her head. The Sannyasi thinks of fleeing from her in that condition, but desists from doing so, thinking it would be an act of cowardice, and the girl also wakes up with the apprehension that she has been deserted already.

Then enters a young woman, followed by men. The woman protests that they should not speak to her of love, because men have hearts of stone. One of the men then asks the others:—

"Let me explain it to you. She said, we men have hearts of stone, didn't she? Well, I said in answer, if our hearts were truly of stone, how could Cupid's darts damage them? You understand?"

The rest of the Scene is occupied with the conversation between the Sannyasi and the girl. The latter tries to attract the mind of the former to the beauties of the world. She points to a creeper and says:—

"Father, this creeper trailing on the grass, seeking some tree to twine itself round is my creeper try."

Met with these blandishments of beauty, the Sannyasi cries out:—

"No, no, the beautiful is mere phantasy."

Tearing the creeper he rises up and convinced that he has not been able to rise above the appeal to the senses, he suddenly runs away from there, leaving the girl alone.

The next scene reveals the Sannyasi, sitting upon a boulder in a mountain path. A band of shepherd girls passes by singing:—

The music comes from across the dark river and calls me.

The beauty of the evening touches his mind and he begins to think of the little girl from whom he has fled away. Another girl in tattered clothes enters the stage. Her father gathers sticks from the forest and she has no mother. She hastens to meet her father in search of whom she came there.

The Sannyasi, whose mind has now begun to respond to the call of earthly love and affection says to her:—

"Let me give you my kiss of blessing before you go."

After her departure, a mother enters the scene with two children, remonstrating with them for not having grown as fat as those of her neighbour. The Sannyasi becomes interested in her relations and how she spends her days. In response to one such question of his, the mother replies:—

My man goes to the field, and I have my house to look after.

They go away after having taken the blessings of the Sannyasi and are followed by two men friends to each other who are about to part after having gone some distance away from their home. One of them says to the other:—

"Can you see that faint glimmer of the water in the dark?"

The light of their own homes is burning there and they take farewell of that last glimpse of light, remarking:—

"That light is the last farewell look of our past days upon their parting guest."

All these tender scenes from life have their effect on the mind of the Sannyasi and stir memories of the little girl from whom he tore himself away.

The last scene shows the Sannyasi in the village path. He has now come back to the world which he once renounced. The girl whom he had deserted appears to him as the embodiment of the world and he goes about seeking her. He meets a village elder and asks the latter if he knows where Raghu's daughter is. The elder replies:—

"She has left the village, and we are glad," and then moves on. A crowd of villagers enters with their prattle of the prospective marriage of the king's son. The Sannyasi asks them also about Raghu's daughter. They cannot tell where she has gone and one of them jocosely remarks:—

"But we are sure that she is not the bride for our prince."

A woman enters last with his son who is sick. She wants the blessings of the Sannyasi by throwing the child at his feet, and is told that he is no longer a Sannyasi and does not like to be mocked with such salutation. He says that he is seeking his lost world back. He

asks her if he knows Raghu's daughter. The woman replies, "Raghu's daughter? She is dead."

But the Sannyasi refuses to believe that she is dead. Her death would be death to all and she can never be dead. X



ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

BY TARAKNATH DAS, M.A., PH.D.

I. CHINA

IN all the intricacies of international relations between Western nations and the Orient during the nineteenth century, two broad features become at once manifest. The European nations on general principle co-operated amongst themselves against the Oriental nations, particularly in China, to enforce their demands to secure commercial and other privileges. This might be termed as the *Principle of European Concert against the Orient*. The other mode of operation is rather complicated. The European nations, although agreeing to assert their supramacy over the people of the Orient at times, quarrelled amongst themselves, because of mutual jealousy and other reasons. This policy may be termed as *Rivalry among the European Nations on Oriental Questions*. To defeat their rivals, the Western powers often sided with the Oriental rulers, but this co-operation has been invariably utilised to promote their own interest.

Many instances could be offered to verify the application of the theory of European Concert in the affairs of the Orient, particularly China. The Opium War against China is probably the most indefensible act that has happened in the history of international morality*. But it is a fact that not even

one European Government on friendly terms

home" (Morse: *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, Vol. I, Page 175). For the first 20 years of the prohibition, no attention was paid to the edict (*Ibid*, page 177). "The supply came exclusively from India and every chest bore upon it the stamp of the East India Company, as its sale in India was a Government monopoly. The trade was encouraged by the Company, regardless of the fact that it had been made unlawful by imperial edict, and British ships were mainly used in its transportation, although those of other nationalities were to a limited extent engaged in it. Between 1820 to 1830, the importation to China had risen to 17,000 chests, and smuggling was conducted along the coast from Tientsin to Hianan." (Foster: *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, page 66). At this period, it would seem that the unlawful importation had become so open and so notorious that the opium, which had in previous years been smuggled into the province from Lintin, at the mouth of the river, was now being brought into the foreign factories, and its introduction effected with the knowledge of the officials". (*Ibid*, page 67-68) China objected to this contraband trade (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 20, 1911, page 130) and it resulted in an Opium War, waged by the British Government without declaration of war and in violation of International Law. "In the opening up of China to European merchants and missionaries an important stride was made in 1840 when the so-called Opium War was waged by Great Britain against China. It grew out of a quarrel between the Chinese Government, which had prohibited the importation of opium, and the British traders at Canton, who insisted on smuggling opium from India into China". (Hayes, Carlton. W.: *Political and Social History of Europe*, Vol. 2, pages 562-564) And after the war the illicit practice continued, to the physical and moral injury of the Chinese and to the financial profit of the British (*Vide* Montgomery Martin's "China", Chap. VI) The British Government's opium policy has done more harm to China than anything the other powers have done to her, because it has degenerated the manhood and womanhood of the great people. Prof. Ross of the University of Wisconsin, holds that over \$4,000,000,000 worth of opium has been sold by the British in China since the days of the East India Company. And the Hon. William Jennings Bryan, while Secretary of State of the United States spoke about this affair in the following way:—

"The economic burden imposed upon the Chinese by the abuse of opium was well-nigh unbearable. It has been stated on the highest authority that up to the time the opium reform movement began the Chinese people expended over \$150,000,000 a year.

* "Opium was introduced into China in the thirteenth century by the Arabs, but its use was confined exclusively to medicinal purposes, as in most other countries, and when the European ships began to visit the East, it had no importance as merchandise. As late as 1773, when the Portuguese were supplanted in the supremacy of the market by the English, the importation of the drug had never exceeded 200 chests annually. As a result of the victory of Clive at Plassy, the British East India Company secured exclusive privilege of opium cultivation. Three years after the East India Company obtained this monopoly, its importation to China increased fivefold, and in 1790 it had mounted up to 4000 chests or twenty-fold."—Foster, John W.: *American Diplomacy in the Orient*. Houghton Mifflin (N. Y.), 1903, pages 64-65.

As early as 1800 the Chinese Government tried to stop the curse of opium traffic. "In 1800, the final step was taken and the Emperor Kianking issued the edict prohibiting the importation of opium from abroad, and cultivation of poppy at

with China sided with her or gave her moral support.*

The Opium War (1840-42) was really a stepping stone towards further penetration in China by the Western powers; and the successful Arrow War of 1856 which followed in its wake helped the European nations to realise that they could extract valuable concessions from China. In fact, it is after the Opium War that the concessions of extra-territoriality were extracted from China. And undoubtedly there was a concerted European action in this matter. The British success in acquiring Hongkong and a large indemnity as a result of the Opium War, really spurred the French and the Spaniards to attack and annex Indo-China on the pretext of punishing the people for their attitude against the missionaries. Prof. Gibbon writes:

"Until the Far East became commercially attractive to the French and they saw the British deriving

on the consumption of foreign and native opium, that the value of the land given over to the production of native opium, were it planted with wheat or other useful crops, would yield to the Chinese people an annual return in the neighbourhood of \$100,000,000; that the average earning capacity of the millions who were addicted to the habit of opium smoking was reduced to one-quarter, resulting in an annual loss in productive power of nearly \$300,000,000, or a total loss to China of about \$350,000,000. In this calculation, no account is taken of the capital loss involved".

Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Sixty-Seventh Congress. Fourth Session on the Resolutions H. J. Res. 430 and H. J. Res. 453. Washington Govt. Printing Office 1923, page 84.

* Of course, the opinion of America was opposed to Opium trade.

The attitude of the American people had been well expressed by Caleb Cushing in his speech regarding the situation in the House of Representatives, March 16, 1840. He condemned the British policy in the following unmistakable terms: "But God forbid that I should entertain the idea of co-operating with the British Government in the purpose, its purpose it has, of upholding the base cupidity and violence and high-handed infraction of all laws, human and divine, which have characterized the operations of the British individually and collectively in the Seas of China.....I trust the idea will be no longer entertained in England that she will receive aid or countenance from the United States in that nefarious enterprise."

—Dennet, Tyler: *Americans in Eastern Asia*, New York Macmillan, 1923, page 104-105.

But men like John Quincy Adams and others held that Britain was fighting on behalf of all Western powers to force China to recognise the equality of Western nations before China and renounce "Kow Tow". The Opium trade was merely an incident. (*Ibid.*, p. 107) So far as the official action of the United States was concerned, she did not take any positive stand in favour of China against Great Britain.

advantages from the possession of Hongkong, the anti-Christian attitude of the Cochin-Chinese, did not trouble Paris.....In 1858, when the French combined with the British against China, a Franco-Spanish fleet captured the Port of Tourane. In 1858 the French seized Saigon, opposed by the Anamese, war followed with their country; and in 1862 Anam concluded a treaty with France and Spain, recognizing the cession of three provinces of Cochin China to France, promised security to French and Spanish missionaries, and agreed to pay an indemnity to the two powers.....In 1863, Cambodia accepted the protectorate of France, and in 1867 the other provinces of Cochin China left to Anam by the Treaty of 1862 were annexed."*

In fact, Great Britain was the staunchest supporter of French aggression in China during this period and the two nations co-operated in this attempt at extracting various concessions from China. We find that "availing herself of the co-operation with Great Britain in the Crimean war (1854-1856) which had just drawn to its close at that time, she (France) proposed to Great Britain that the two Allies should continue their co-operation and make war in common on China, to which the British readily assented. The primary motive of the French was to protect Catholic missionaries in China; that of Great Britain to obtain treaty revision." At this time, the unfortunate Lorcha-Arrow incident occurred and the two powers declared war on China.

"The war would have commenced earlier, had not the Indian Mutiny intervened on May 13, 1857, which necessitated the temporary diversion of British land forces. The naval warfare, however, began in the summer of 1857. The Allies won the war. As a consequence, Great Britain concluded the treaty of Tientsin, June 26, 1858; France June 27; Russia on June 13; and the United States on June 18. These four treaties were, in general, approximately the same, and because of the most favored nation clause, the privileges conceded to one were extended to all."†

* Gibbons, Herbert Adams: *An Introduction to World Politics*, N. Y. Century Co. 1922, page 60.

† Bau, M. J. *Foreign Relations of China* (New York City, Fleming H. Revell Co.) Revised and Enlarged Edition. 1922, pages 11-12.

It is very interesting to note that very shortly after the conclusion of the Crimean War, Russia supported Britain against China. "The efforts of the English Ministers to pave the way for a political understanding with Russia, have found shape during the (Grand Duke Constantine's) visit in 1857 in some remarkable declarations. Practically, however, it is only on the Chinese question that this revival of mutual confidence has hitherto made itself manifest. England has communicated Lord Elgin's instructions to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, and accompanied the communication of them with the request to support the mission at Peking. The Russian Cabinet has sent a reply couched in friendly terms of thanks. They will most willingly

In 1860, the Anglo-French forces took Peking and burnt the Summer Palace. There was no opposition to this by any European power, because others were busy in carrying out the policy of dismemberment of other Asiatic nations in India, Turkey, Persia and China. Further signs of European concert in China are evident when we find that after the Sino-Japanese War (1895), the European nations did not allow victorious Japan to take any continental possessions of China. But immediately after this, they themselves started to partition China by establishing spheres of influence and leasing territories. Further evidence of concerted action of European powers against China can be found in the way they carried on the suppression of the Boxer Uprising (I am not upholding the Boxer Uprising) with abominable excesses; there was no protest from any one of the nations. On the other hand, they, in concert, agreed to impose an exorbitant indemnity and exacted control of maritime customs as guarantee.*

The greed and rivalries of powers including Japan divided China into so many spheres of influence. After the Sino-Japanese war, France, Russia and Germany championed the cause of China against Japan and forced the latter to give up the Liatung peninsula ceded to her by China by the first treaty of Shimonoseki. It was really a combination due to rivalry of one group of powers against the other, not only to acquire a dominating influence over China, but to secure further territories ousting the latter. Japan tried to secure Anglo-American support against the Franco-Russian-German combination against her; but England and America, though opposed to Franco-Russian-German policy in China, did not extend any aid to Japan. It may be said that although Great Britain and America preferred the policy of open door in

China they did not oppose the doctrine of spheres of influence.*

We have noted that at the middle of the nineteenth century there was actual co-operation between France and Great Britain against China. But we are soon to discover that there existed a strong rivalry between France and Great Britain in Eastern Asia during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The germ of this rivalry lay in the greed of the two nations to get as much territory as possible under their control. But the actual conflict of interest did not originate suddenly in Asia. France and Great Britain joined with the heathen and "unspeakable Turks" against Russia in the Crimean War.† It was because of the expansionist policy of France under Napoleon III and the British efforts to check it that a new rivalry began. The most significant incident that brought about the climax of the Anglo-French rivalry in world politics after the middle of the nineteenth century was the French attempt to build the Suez Canal. It was opened in 1869. And through the clever manipulation of British statesmanship, the French-built canal was brought under British control in 1875 through the purchase of the Khedive's shares of stock. The reflex of the Anglo-French rivalry spread

* Tomimas, Shutaro: *The Open Door Policy and the Territorial Integrity of China* (New York. A. G. Selser), 1919, pages 47-49.

† Palmerston's Foreign Policy regarding the Crimean war can be summed up as follows:—"It would be a mistake, however, to count Palmerston among the blind enemies of Russia. He was now nearly seventy years old, and was anxious to become at length Prime Minister, and during his life-time, if possible, to have peace in the East. His efforts, of course, did not go to the length of launching on a war of extermination against Russia. He merely hoped with Napoleon's assistance, to curb Russian ambition for fifty years, as he said, meaning in reality for his own life-time. For the independence of Turkey he cared nothing, only it seemed to him advisable, especially as there was then no Suez Canal, to have a sentry on the Bosphorus who could guard that passage in the interests of England."

St. Petersburg and London in the Years 1852-1864; *Reminiscences of Count Charles Frederick Vitzthum von Eckstaedt*, late Saxon Minister at the Court of St. James, edited by Henry Reeve, C.B., D.C.L. Vol. 1, London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1887, page 69.

"Nothing was more erroneous than to think that Napoleon III had consented to pull the chestnut out of the fire for England in the East. On the contrary he outwitted the English and made them involuntarily subservient to his aims (re-shaping Europe on Napoleonic plan after humiliation of Russia). *Ibid*, page 70.

support the efforts of England in favour of European trade and their fellow-Christians....."

—St. Petersburg and London in the Years 1852-1864; *Reminiscences of Count Charles Frederick Vitzthum von Eckstaedt*, late Saxon Minister at the Court of St. James, edited by Henry Reeve, C.B., D.C.L. Vol. 2; London, Longmans Green & Co., 1887, p. 222.

* We find the European Concert active even during the World War. When the Allied Powers were anxious to lead China to War against Germany, they made an agreement with Japan promising her the German rights in Shantung to possibly avoid establishing a precedent of retrocession of the leased territories to China.

all over the world and particularly wherever they had contiguous colonial empires; since then, any efforts at colonial expansion by France was looked upon with suspicion by the British and vice versa.*

The Anglo-French rivalry in the eighties of the nineteenth century was so acute that Lord Salisbury would not have been sorry at all to see another Franco-German War, ending of course in favor of Germany. Lord Salisbury in a reply to a letter to Lord Lyons, who was at that time British Ambassador at Paris, wrote on July 20, 1887:—

"I am afraid the temper of the French will not make the settlement of the Egyptian Question more easy. I do not know how we are to devise a middle term that will satisfy them. We cannot leave the Khedive to take his chance of foreign attack or native riot. The French refuse to let us exercise the necessary power of defence, unless we do it by continuing our military occupation. I see nothing for it, but to sit still and drift awhile, a little further on in the history of Europe the conditions may be changed, and we may be able to get some agreement arrived at which will justify evacuation. Our relations with France are not pleasant at present. There are five or six different places where we are at odds: 1. She has destroyed the Convention at Constantinople. 2. She will allow no Press law to pass. 3. She is trying to back out of the arrangement on the Somali Coast. 4. She still occupies the New Hebrides. 5. She destroys our fishing tackle, etc. 6. She is trying to elbow us out of at least two unpronounceable places on the West Coast of Africa. Can you wonder that there is, to my eyes, a silver lining even to the great black cloud of a Franco-German War?"†.

The significance of the conflict of colonial empires of Great Britain and France in the Far East at this period can be fully realised when we find that during the period of 1862 to 1885 through aggression and force of arms France acquired from China sovereignty over Cochin-China and established protectorate over Cambodia and Anam including Tonkin, comprising the entire eastern half of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The British Government on the other hand after completing the conquest of India marched eastward to destroy the sovereignty of South Western China

with all the persistency of British expansion. Burma was annexed completely step by step as a counter-measure against French expansion in the Far East.*

It seems certain that altho, the Franco-Russian secret alliance which came into existence about 1892 was directed against Germany, yet it had a decided bearing on Franco-Russian policy against Great Britain. This was so because France and Russia had a common interest against Great Britain. "France was humiliated in the affairs of Egypt. She had always regarded that country as a dependency, and could not forget that the Suez Canal had been constructed with French capital in the teeth of English opposition. An attempt at dual control was destroyed by the bombardment of Alexandria and the suppression of Arabi Pasha's rebellion (1882). Thenceforward England ruled supreme in Egypt; and her rival smarted under a check which her own want of resolution had produced†.

Russia was in need of an assurance that there would not occur another combination against her led by Great Britain or Germany as it was the case during the Crimean War. England for a century had stood in the way of Russia realizing her traditional warm water policy.

"She it was who had prevented Russia from enjoying the fruits of her victory over Turkey in the war of 1878. She held the key to the Persian Gulf and stopped her progress southwards in Central Asia. France had similar grievances against her, not only in Asia, but in the Levant and Egypt. Russia and France, in short, had a common enemy. Hence, their reapproachment.‡

The British attitude against the Franco-Russian Alliance was so acute that she was willing to extend support to the Triple Alliance.

"The New Triple Alliance received moral support from England, owing to her rivalry with Russia and France in the East, and the two powers whom it appeared to menace instinctively drew closer together. Their union was cemented by financial considerations which weigh as heavily with States as with individuals."***

Anglo-French relations during the period of the conclusion of the Dual Alliance between

* One of the principal characteristics of the rivalries of colonial imperialisms is that, should there arise a question of dispute in one part of the world, it spreads in other parts of the world in the antagonists often trying to take advantage of one another in any part of the world, following the maxim "every means is fair in case of war".

† *Vice Economic Imperialism and International Relations during the Last Fifty Years*, by Prof. Achille Vialatte, New York, Macmillan & Co. 1923.

‡ Barclay, Sir Thomas: *Thirty Years' Anglo-French Reminiscences*, (1876-1906)—New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1914 pp. 91-92.

* Hays, Carlton: *History of Modern Europe*, Vol. II, New York, Macmillan & Co. 1917, pp. 568-570.

† Skrine, Francis Henry. *The Expansion of Russia* (1815-1900). Pp. 297-98.

‡ Barclay, Sir Thomas; *Thirty Years' Anglo-French Reminiscences*, p. 11.

*** Skrine, Francis Henry: *The Expansion of Russia* (1815-1900), p. 29.

France and Russia and the Anglo-French Entente were tense on various occasions. One of the causes of these tensions is the vigorous effort of the Third Republic to establish a vast colonial empire. This effort found definite expressions in South-Eastern Asia. France not only challenged British supremacy in South China, but in Upper Burma and Siam. The French twice before tried to found an empire overseas to rival that of Great Britain—once in India and once in Canada. Indo-China represents the third attempt.* These two nations were on the verge of war, because Great Britain did not like the French encroachment in South Eastern Asia, which might eventually be a menace to India.†

The attitude of many French statesmen of weight, at that time, was that it was in Asia once more where would be decided the destinies of the world. In Asia would be founded great empires. Whoever succeeded in making his voice heeded in the Far East would be able also to speak in dominating accents to Europe. "Be Asiatic—there lies the future."§

This attitude of the French statesmen was in direct conflict with British interests in the Far East.

"In 1893 out of the 3340 vessels that passed through the Suez Canal, no fewer than 2400 were British, while the next on the list came the Germans with 270, the French with 190, and the Dutch with 180. This gives an idea of the extent to which there existed British ascendancy in Eastern waters. Maintenance of this supremacy was vital, not merely for the sake of our Empire, but for the sustenance of the British people. It was only in the East, and especially in the Far East, that the British exerted to keep and to create open markets for her manufactures. So British feeling was that "Every port, every town and every village that passes into French or Russian hands, is an outlet lost to Manchester, Bradford or Bombay."**

The spirit of Anglo-French rivalry grew bitter when the French, after the annexation of Tongking and the establishment of a protectorate over Anam and the signing of the Franco-Chinese Treaty of Tientsin in June 1885, imposed differential duties in favor

of France and against English goods.* The British Government saw in the French action of differential treatment to British goods entering by land route and also in securing railroad concessions monopolistic measures aimed to hurt British interests. The British Government started to counteract the situation by demanding from China counter-concessions to be granted to England. She thus secured a series of concessions in the regions near by. Great Britain started her new march towards South Eastern China by annexation of Burma, which was confirmed by the so-called O'Connor Convention of July 24, 1886.

"By the article II, China agreed that in all matters whatever appertaining to the authority and rule which England is exercising in Burma, England shall be free to do whatever she deems fit and proper."†

In 1890 Great Britain annexed Sikkim, which was a tributary to China.

On March 1, 1894 Great Britain signed the Anglo-Chinese Treaty, which fixed the boundary between Burma and China,—transferring to the latter the territory east of the Mekong River. Great Britain specially stipulated that the territory turned over to China should remain under Chinese sovereignty. This measure was adopted by Great Britain because of the French aggressions in Siam and the signing of the Franco-Siamese treaty in 1893 by which France extended her frontier to the Mekong. The British plan failed because on June 20, 1895 China signed a treaty with France by which the territory turned over by Great Britain was acquired by France with special mining rights and concessions for building railways in the Kiangsi and Yunan provinces. Great Britain protested against this. However, she instead of holding to the principle of "no special privilege for any power in China" demanded special concessions for herself as a matter of compensation, thus introducing the abominable doctrine of "sphere of influence".§

* Mayers, W. F.: *Treaties between the Empire of China and Foreign Powers*, Shanghai, 1897, p. 239.

† (a) Overlack, T. W.: *Foreign Financial Control in China*, New York, Macmillan & Co. 1919, pages 22-24.

(b) For O'Connor Convention see, British Parliamentary Papers, China No 5 (1886) C. 4861.

(c) For further agreements of 1886, 1890, 1893, 1894 and 1897 see Mayers, pp. 251 ff and also Rockhill's *Treaties and Conventions* 1-7 and also Dr. MacMurray's *China Treaties*.

§ Gibbons, Herbert Adams: *An Introduction to World Politics*, New York, Century & Co. 1922, p. 141.

* Norman, Henry; *Peoples and Politics of the Far East*. London, T. Fisher Unwin. 1895, p. 519.

† Ronaldshay, Lord; *Wandering Student in the Far East*, Vol. I, London, 1908, pp. 305-306.

§ (a) Prince Henry d'Orleans; *"Around Tonkin"*, 1894, p. 426.

(b) Norman, Henry; *Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, p. 599.

** Curzon, Lord; *The Problems of the Far East*, pp. 415-416.

In 1896, France and England by the convention of London agreed to respect the independence of the valley of Menam and of Bangkok, the capital of Siam. This did not stop Anglo-French rivalry in this region, but both these powers did their best to increase their territory at the expense of others, especially over Yunnan which, as the only route to the Upper Yangtze, must be kept open to both.*

Franco-British rivalry in South-Eastern Asia, particularly China, became one of the principal causes of the application of the doctrine of "sphere of influence" in China. The Russian march from the North and the German occupation of Kiaochow later merely accentuated the movement, which was already in full swing in South-Eastern Asia. The meaning of "sphere of influence" is not so simple. Its establishment meant a step towards dismemberment and destruction of territorial integrity of the State upon which it is imposed with a benevolent motive.†

* Stuart, Graham: *French Foreign Policy*, New York, Century Co. 1921, page 15.

22. (a) Lord Curzon in the Romanes Lecture on "Frontiers" in 1907 has defined the "sphere of influence" as follows:—

"A sphere of influence is a less developed form of protectorate, but it is more developed than a 'sphere of interest'. It implies a stage at which no exterior Power but one may assert itself in the territory so described, but in which the degree of responsibility assumed by the latter may vary greatly with the needs or temptations of the case. The native Government as a rule is left undisturbed; indeed, its unabated sovereignty sometimes is specifically reaffirmed; but commercial exploitation and political influence are regarded as the peculiar right of the interested Power."

Fraser, Lovat: *India Under Curzon And After*, London, Heinemann, 1911, p. 129.

(b) The total area of the Chinese Republic is about 4,300,000 square miles. Of this about 80 per cent used to be regarded as "spheres of influence" of different powers. As Soviet Russia claims to have abandoned her share, Treaties and Conventions adopted at the Washington Conference in 1923, has definitely checked any further progress of the 'sphere of influence', although it is not certain that the powers have given up their acquired rights in those regions.

* "Spheres of influence" in China were distributed among nations as follows:—

Great Powers	Spheres of Influence	percen-
	and their areas	tage of
		the Chinese
		Republic.

	Szechwan	218,000 sq. miles
	Tibet	535,000 " "
Great-	Provinces	
Britain	along Yangtse	
	valley	362,000

Total 1,113,000 sq. miles 27.8 p.c.

After the Sino-Japanese War France was reaping a great harvest of concessions for building railroads, exclusive leaseholds for ninety-nine years on the bay of Kwang-Chow-Wan and various other mining concessions in China, particularly in the Yunnan region adjoining to the place ear-marked as the British field of commercial and political activities. This was regarded by Great Britain as a menace to her commercial and political supremacy in South China. The China Association in a letter to Lord Salisbury went to the root of the matter.

"Holding the opinion that these several railways are so many political stakes driven into region which an endeavor will be made one day to encircle by a cordon. The Association has noted with great regret the admission of the French in a province which constitutes the hinterland of Hong-kong."*

The French viewed the British policy with great suspicion. They held that Lord Curzon, between 1898-1901, tried to carry out the policy that between the Suez Canal and the Yangtze valley there must not be any other influence but that of the British. The vigorous policy towards Afghanistan, the Persian Gulf, and aggressive attitude towards China through Tibet, plans to see what can be done to connect Calcutta with Peking by way of land route and through the British sphere of influence, all these are so many factors to corroborate the French view.†

France established herself in Cochin-China with two clear-cut objectives; first territorial acquisition, and second to secure Chinese trade. When they found that the River Mekong would not serve as a trade-

Russia	Outer			
	Mongolia	1,000,000 sq. miles		"
	Singkiang	548,000 " "		"
	3-4 Manchuria	273,000 " "		"
	Total	1,821,000 sq. miles	42.3	"
France	Yunan	1,46,700 sq. miles	3.4	"
	South			
Japan	Manchuria	90,000 sq. miles		
	Eastern Inner			
	Mongolia	50,000 " "		
	Fukien	46,000 " "		
	Total	186,000 sq. miles	4.3	"
Germany	Shantung	55,000 sq. miles	1.3	"
	Total		79.1 p.c.	

.....Das, Taraknath: *Is Japan a Menace To Asia?* Shanghai, 1917. Page 36.

* Sargent, A. J.: *Anglo-Chinese Commerce and Diplomacy*. London, 1907.

† Berard, Victor: *La Rivolte de L'Asie*, 1914. pages 354-355.

route to capture the Chinese market, they turned their attention to Tongking, in which region it seemed possible that the Red River would form the easiest means of access to the trade of Yunnan as well as that of the Shans and Laos. Similar consideration would seem to have been at the bottom of the British policy in the Far East.

"Whatever happens, we are told, Great Britain must have possession of the trade of the Yangtze-Kiang and if China is to be divided into spheres of influence, this valley must be ear-marked as British. Now, of course, the Yangtze is one of the most populous regions in the world; but why should Great Britain have laid any special claim to its commerce on that account? It was in great measure because the recent acquisition in Burma had brought her in close proximity with the upper waters of that river, and because it might be hoped to connect Rangoon on the lower Irrawaddy with far-distant Shanghai by a continuous water communication. A Railway was earnestly advocated from Burma to Yunnan, and a line was actually

commenced by way of Kanton on the Salween River. On the other hand (in 1901) M. Doumer obtained the sanction of his Government to carrying the French line from Tonking into China. But there remains yet another possible means of access available into these provinces, over and above the regular Chinese lines of communication from Canton by the Yangtze, and that is the route through the Laos and Shan States from Bangkok and Menam and Meping."*

There is not the least doubt that the question of control of South Chinese trade and trade-routes by land, rivers and seas was one of the principal causes of the friction between France and England. This rivalry continued until the Anglo-French Entente came into existence because of the mutual fear of Germany. The Asian people, particularly China, suffered from both European concert as well as European rivalry. (*To be concluded*).

* Campbell, J. G. D.: *Siam in the Twentieth Century*, London, Edward Arnold, 1902, pp. 22-23.

P. S. I.

CHEMICAL RESEARCH IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

By PROFESSOR BAWA KARTAR SINGH, M.A., (CANTAB), D.SC., I.E.S.

SINCE the outbreak of the Great War, the need for Research in chemical science is being greatly felt, and it is now held that it is the duty of the University Colleges not only to instruct men in various subjects of study but also to imbue them with the enthusiasm and initiative which only a training in research can impart. In other words, it is the first duty of a University to advance knowledge, its second duty to impart it. This has been fully realised by the British Universities, and even the old conservative University of Cambridge has found itself compelled to recognise this aspect of its functions and has, therefore, established numerous institutes for research and post-graduate studies, and instituted degrees of Ph. D., (1919) and of M. Litt. and M. Sc. (1920). These remarkable changes, be it noted, have been introduced during a period of acute financial stress.

The Universities of India, however, with a few exceptions do not seem to have done anything towards the development of research. This is borne out by abundant evidence. Mr. Sharp, the late Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, in his written evidence before the Chemical Services Committee, stated among other things that a College Professor has often hardly any time for research, and the chief Professors, who may be styled University Professors will be largely in the same position. In reviewing this evidence, Professor J. F. Thorpe, F. R. S., of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, London, says, "these statements give a full and sufficient explanation

of the fact that hitherto real University work in India has been almost non-existent, and it is regrettable that such a state of affairs should be acquiesced in by those in charge of the educational policy of the country ... The Professors of Chemistry would have to be relieved of some of their routine work and could then devote an appreciable amount of time to train their senior students in methods of research." [Report of the Chemical Service, Committee, 1920, pp. 33-34].

In a paper "Chemical Research in India" read on the 2nd May, 1924, before the Royal Society of Arts, London, Professor Thorpe further deals with this aspect of the subject, and adds "it is significant that no chemist in India holds the Fellowship of the Royal Society. As a matter of fact, the amount of new chemical knowledge emanating from India is exceedingly small, and out of all proportion to the number of University teachers and students, and the size and equipment of University Chemical laboratories." This indictment from a great chemical authority in England deserves serious consideration both by the educational authorities and the teachers of Chemistry in this country. The need for reorganisation, is, therefore, urgent. It is true that certain facilities in this direction have been provided by the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca and the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, but the majority of other Universities are still lamentably behind time, while our own University of Patna has done nothing as yet in this respect. The members of the Patna University would seem

to be alive to the need for research and post-graduate teaching, and it is hoped that when the Central University at Patna is established, the authorities will remove this reproach, so far as the Patna Centre is concerned.

The case of affiliated Colleges outside Patna needs separate treatment. It is not possible to develop them into Universities in the near future, but to bring them up to modern requirements in respect of chemical teaching, it is imperative that they should be properly equipped with apparatus and reference books, and provided with research scholarships in order to encourage the intensive study of some branches of Chemistry, so that the teachers in such Colleges may keep up and develop the spirit of research, and may not lose touch with a growing science like that of Chemistry.

The prosecution of research by teachers at the Central University and in affiliated Colleges outside Patna will favourably react on their teaching, and

the association with them of advanced students by the institution of research scholarships will also furnish the province with a band of trained chemists to be employed later on as successful teachers and investigators in our Colleges, or in factories based on chemical knowledge. Intellectually India will occupy a higher position in the estimation of the chemical world, and at the same time a large number of trained chemists will be available to develop her natural resources, as the result of which she would take her place in the front rank of Industrial Communities and would benefit by all the advantages that it implies.

It is therefore, appealed to the authorities in-charge of the education of the province as well as to the members of the Legislative Council to interest themselves in the advancement of chemical learning in the province with which the well-being and prosperity of the country is so indissolubly bound up.

THE DACCA MUSLIN INDUSTRY*

By J. C. SINHA, M. A.

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THE subject of this paper is the old muslin industry of Dacca and its neighbourhood. I shall not deal in this article with the muslins produced here with British yarn. Comparatively speaking, these are coarser stuffs and their problems are somewhat different. Though well known, muslin is rather difficult to define scientifically. The distinction between it and ordinary cotton goods called 'calico', has never been accurately stated. The difference between the two is a matter of degree only as regards the fineness of texture. One writer naively defines muslin as fine calico and calico as coarse muslin. The etymology of the word does not help us in this matter. 'Muslin', as is well known, is derived from Mosul, a town in Mesopotamia where cloths of gold and silver were called Mosolins. The term had therefore originally a quite different meaning from what it has now.

The industry at Dacca came into prominence when this town became the capital of Bengal at the beginning of the seventeenth

century. Before this period Dacca does not appear to have been a place of any political or commercial importance and naturally we do not come across any reference to the muslin industry of this place prior to the reign of Jehangir. But the muslin of Eastern Bengal in general, dates from remote antiquity, at least two thousand years from to-day. The earliest apparent reference is in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* which alludes to the fine cotton fabrics of *Vanga* or Eastern Bengal. The muslin called *Gangitiki* in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, an anonymous publication of the 1st century A.D. most probably came from East Bengal. Sulaiman, the Arab traveller who visited India in the ninth century, seems also to refer to the fine muslins of Eastern Bengal when he remarks that "cotton fabrics made in the kingdom of Rahmi (which has been identified with East Bengal) are so fine and delicate that a dress made of it, may pass through a signet ring". In Marco Polo's days (A. D. 1294-95), the chief centres of cotton weaving in India were Gujerat, Cambay, Telingana, Malabar and Bengal. Ralph Fitch the English

* A public lecture delivered at the Dacca Uni-

later (1583) describes Sonargaon, which is about 13 miles south-east from Dacca "as a town where there is the best and finest cloth made in all India". About the same time, Abul Fazl writes "the Sarkar of Sanargaon produces a species of muslin very fine and in great quantity".*

But the muslins of this part of Bengal had not yet attained the world-wide celebrity which they later on enjoyed. Their subsequent development was mainly due to the patronage of the Imperial and Vice-regal Courts and the increased demand for them by the European traders. When Tavernier visited Dacca in 1666, both the Dutch and the English had factories there. The French trade with Dacca began sixty years later. The English first exported the Dacca muslins to England about the year 1666 and by the year 1675 the fashion of wearing these fine stuffs, whether the costlier fabrics of Dacca or the cheaper muslins from other parts of the country became pretty general in England. We learn from the *Diaries of Streyneham Master* (1675-1680) that besides Dacca, muslin was produced at that time at Santipur, Maldah and Hughli. But this industry was not confined to the province of Bengal alone. Even at the beginning of the seventeenth century, very fine cotton goods were produced at Agra, at Sironj in Malwa, at Broach, Baroda and Navsari in Gujerat.†

But the finest and best muslins were certainly produced at Dacca which received such poetic names as *ab-i-rawan* or running water (because if placed in a stream it could scarcely be seen), *baft hawa* or woven air (because if thrown in the air it would float like a cloud) and *shab-nam* or evening dew which took its name from the fact that when spread on the ground it could scarcely be distinguished from the dew on the grass.‡ If Homer's description of Vulcan's net could be

suitably applied to any fine fabric made by poor mortals, it was applicable only to the Dacca muslin.

"Whose texture even the search of gods deceives,
Thin as the filmy threads the spider weaves."

Wonderful stories have been recorded about the extreme fineness, transparency and great beauty of these cotton stuffs.

"The Hindoos" writes Bolts (in his *Considerations on India Affairs*, 1772 A. D.) "amuse us with two stories, as instances of the fineness of this muslin i.e. *ab-i-rawan*. One, that Emperor Aurangzeb was angry with his daughter for showing her skin through her clothes whereupon the young princess remonstrated in her justification that she had seven *jamaahs* or suits on; and another, that in Nabob Allaverdy Khawn's time a weaver was chastised and turned out of the city of Dacca for his neglect, in not preventing his cow from eating up a piece of *abrooan* which he had spread and carelessly left on the ground."

What were the causes of this excellence of the Dacca muslins? According to some writers, it was due to the superior quality of the Dacca cotton. The opinions recorded about the habitat, special qualities and even the vernacular name of this cotton are conflicting. Some writers like Sir Charles D'Oyly, have remarked that muslin cotton grew on the low lands subject to annual inundation. But the majority of writers are of opinion that the land selected for this cotton was "high and dry".

With regard to the tract where it grew there is also difference of opinion. Mr. Bebb the East India Company's Commercial Resident at Dacca says that the finest was all grown to the north and east† of Dacca itself and that the cotton grown to the south, was considered inferior. Mr. Taylor, the author of the *Topography and Statistics of Dacca* also writes that

"The northern division of the district produces the best cotton, and in the situation, specially that portion of it bordering upon the Megna and Berham-pooter, in Sunergong, Capassia,§ Toke and Junglebaree in which this article was chiefly cultivated in former times."

But in his paper, "On the Supply of Cotton from British India (1827)," Mr. George Tucker remarks that the favourite site of the muslin cotton "seems to be the high banks of the Ganges and its tributary streams". In the midst of such conflicting

* *Ain-i-Akbari*. Jarret's Ed. Vol. II, p. 124.

† Prof J. N. Sarkar's *Industries in Mughal India*, Modern Review, June 1922.

§ Lest the above description be treated as mere 'oriental hyperbole,' I would like to point out that early in January 1925, I saw a piece of genuine Dacca muslin in the house of Messrs Nitaicharan Shyambandu Basak of Nawabpur, Dacca. This piece was made about fifty years ago. Its dimensions are 10 yds. by 1 yd. and its weight 7½ tolas only. The present owner of this muslin told me that it would pass through a ring and if spread on a green grass field early in the morning when the dew had not dried up, it would scarcely be visible. The piece is so fine and transparent that I believe what he said is true.

* Homer's *Odyssey*, translated by Alexander Pope, Book viii, p. 123.

† Roughly speaking, the north and the east of Dacca constitute its high lands.

§ The name 'Capassia' probably suggests that it was a *Kapas* i. e., cotton growing tract.

evidence it is difficult to point out the exact region where the muslin cotton grew, but in any case it was certain that it was entirely the produce of the Dacca district.

Even the vernacular name of this cotton is well-nigh forgotten. Mr. George Tucker and a host of other writers have spoken of the finest of Dacca cotton as *bairati kapas*, but Mr. Bebb calls it *photee*. Mr. Krishna Kumar Basak, now an old man of eighty, of Lalchand Mukim's Lane, Nawabpur, Dacca, who himself wove muslin in his younger days told me that *photee* was the name of muslin cotton.*

The views held about the special qualities of this cotton are less contradictory. Dr. Roxburgh in his *Flora Indica* gives a graphic description. The plant which produced this cotton differed, according to him, from the common cotton plant of Bengal in the following particulars :

"Firstly, in its being more erect with fewer branches and the lobes of the leaves more pointed;

Secondly, in the whole plant being tinged of a reddish colour, even the petioles and nerves of the leaves and being less pubescent ;

Thirdly, in having the peduncles which support the flowers longer, and the exterior margin of the petals tinged with red ;

Fourthly, in the staple of the cotton being longer, much finer and softer."†

We learn further from the letter of the Commercial Resident of Dacca dated the 30th November, 1800 that this cotton plant was an annual one and that two crops were raised, one in April-May and the other in September-October. The former yielded the finest produce. The seeds of the cotton were kept with the wool on them during the rainy season and in order to preserve them from damp, they were put into an earthen jar, smeared inside with ghee or oil. This vessel, with its mouth closed up, was generally hung from the roof over the spot where the fire was kindled. All authoritative evidences is against the view that the Dacca cotton was a long-stapled

tree cotton.* In fact, all the early writers like Buchanan-Hamilton, Bebb, Tucker, Roxburgh and Taylor allude to the muslin cotton as a short-stapled annual plant. One of its special characteristics was that the wool adhered "most tenaciously to the seed". It was thus quite a distinct variety from *deva kapas*, in the case of which the seeds are naked and not covered with lint.†

Wherein lay the superiority of the Dacca cotton ? As might be expected, its staple was in fact longer and its fibre more fine and silky than that of any other variety of Indian cotton. But it was certainly inferior to American cotton as regards the length of the staple and the fineness of fibre. The staple of the Sea Island cotton has more than double the length of the best Dacca cotton and the filaments of the latter were considerably thicker. The shortness of the staple of the Dacca cotton, though quite suitable for spinning the most delicate hand-spun yarn, was unsuitable for machine spinning. The Dacca spinners, on the other hand, failed to spin yarn out of the best American cotton. In 1811, the Commercial Resident sent a certain quantity of the Sea Island cotton to the different manufacturing stations connected with the Dacca factory. But the spinners could not work it into thread and claimed that the local fibre was superior for that purpose. This appears to have been due to the greater elasticity of the fibres of the Dacca cotton, which was capable of receiving more twists or turns in the process of spinning than the American cotton. One special quality attributed to the Dacca cotton by Mr. Bebb was that the thread made from it, did not swell after bleaching. But this was due more to the quality of the water used in bleaching, rather than to any special property of the cotton. The yarn spun at Dumroy‡ which was reported by Mr. Bebb in 1788 to swell very much, was, in Taylor's days, found to swell the least, if bleached at Dacca, "but the reverse, if the water of Dumroy" was used in the process.

In fact, the excellence of the Dacca

* I am indebted for my introduction to this old man to Mr. Radha Gobinda Basak, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Dacca University, who has kindly helped me in my enquiry into this industry.

† I showed Mr. K. K. Basak a coloured picture of the Dacca cotton plant as given in Watt's *Wild and Cultivated Cotton Plants of the World*. This is a photographic reproduction of the Kew Gardens copy of Roxburgh's original illustration. Mr. Basak told me that it was a true picture of the *photee* cotton plant.

* The term "long staple" is here used in the sense of having the measurement of more than $\frac{7}{8}$ ths of an inch.

† For this information I am indebted to Mr. Dwijadas Dutt of the Government Agricultural Farm at Manipur, Dacca.

‡ Dumroy is the present village of Dhamrai, about 20 miles to the north-west of Dacca in the Manickgunj subdivision of this district.

muslins was due not so much to the special qualities of the cotton used as to the superior skill in spinning and weaving. The process of spinning was somewhat different from that followed in the case of ordinary handspun thread. In the case of cotton to be spun into muslin yarn, the *dallun cathee* and not the *cherkee* or gin, was used for separating the seeds from the wool. The former instrument was simply an iron rod rolled upon a flat wooden board. It was said to injure the fibre less than the gin. The next step was to tease the cotton with a small bamboo bow with a string made of catgut or *mooga* silk. The cotton used for the finest thread, was carded with the dried jaw-bone of the *Boal* fish before it was teased. After these processes of carding and teasing, the cotton was spread upon the smooth surface of the dried skin of *Cheetul* or *Cuchia* fish and rolled up into a small cylindrical case. This was held in hand during the process of spinning.*

Coarser yarns were spun on the spinning wheel or *Charka* as they are done now, but fine yarns from 100 counts† and above, were spun on the *tukua* or spindle. The *tukua* was not thicker than a stout needle, from ten to fourteen inches in length. There was attached near its lower point, a small ball of unbaked clay to give it sufficient weight in turning. A certain degree of moisture, combined with a temperature of about 82 degrees, was the condition of the atmosphere best suited for the carrying on of this operation. The spinners generally worked from early dawn to 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning and from 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon till half an hour before sunset. The finest yarn was spun early in the morning before the rising sun dissipated the dew on the grass. When the air was unusually dry, it was spun over a shallow vessel of water. The evaporation from the water imported the necessary moisture to the cotton to enable the spinner to form it into thread.†

* James Taylor—*A Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca* (Calcutta, 1840), p. 167.

† Counts denote the fineness of the yarn. One hundred counts means that 100 hanks of 840 yards of yarn are equal to 1 lb. avoirdupois i. e., 7000 grains troy in weight. Therefore the higher the counts, the finer was the yarn. According to Taylor, yarn about 30's was spun on *tukua*. This is evidently a mistake. As Mr. K. K. Basak told me, the yarn spun with *tukua* was not below 100's. I myself saw yarn of about 50's, spun with *charka* only a year ago.

§ Forbes Watson—*The Textile Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India* (London, 1866), p. 65.

The spinning of the finest yarn required such a delicacy of touch that it was confined to the women* of a few families of Iacca and its neighbourhood. These female spinners had acquired skill through the hereditary continuance of this particular occupation for generations. About fifty years ago, the finest thread was made at Dhamrai.† Mr. Wise wrote in 1883 that the few *krtanis* or female spinners of muslin yarn in Ea.‡ Bengal, were to be found at that time only at Dhamrai. Fifteen years later, Mr. N. N. Banerjea remarked in his *Monograph on the Cotton Fabrics of Bengal*, "it is reported, though not with certainty that there are only two persons at Dhamrai still living who can spin fine thread which was formerly used in the manufacture of muslins." I have made recent enquiries and it appears that the generation of women who spun the yarn of the finest fabrics has passed away.

About the fineness of the Dacca yarn, it is sufficient to say that a skein measured in the presence of Mr. Taylor in 1846 was upwards of 250 miles to the pound of cotton, i. e., the yarn was of more than 52C counts.§ Even as late as 1883, as reported by Mr. Wise, 1 *rati* or 2 grains of the finest thread spun at Dhamrai measured 70 yards. Thus the yarn was of 290 counts. It may be observed that the yarn used in an ordinary *dhootie* of 5 yds.×44 inches, manufactured in the Bombay mills, the retail price of which would now be about Rs. 2-8 as is, from 20 to 24 counts only. Dacca yarn was at least 20 to 25 times finer.

It is often believed that our Landspun yarn was finer than any ever produced by

* According to Taylor, the finest thread was spun by women under thirty years of age. But Mr. K. K. Basak told me that fifty years ago when he himself wove muslins, the yarn spun by older women was often the finest. In his opinion, elderly women sometimes failed to spin very fine yarn, not because their fingers had not sufficient pliancy but because their eyesight was defective. Good eye-sight, he said, was as important as the delicacy of touch. This is also the view of another gentleman connected with the cloth trade of this town. This point is noted by Taylor also who remarks "at 40 their sight is generally impaired and they are incapable of spinning very fine thread." The modern Bengali girl, with her defective eyesight, can therefore never hope to spin muslin yarn.

† See footnote *ante*.

§ I have arrived at the number of counts from the following calculation: x hanks of 840 yds. each = 1 lb. in weight = 250×1760 yds.
∴ x×840 yds. = 250×1760 yds. ∴ x = 523 ∴ the number of counts is 523.

machinery even in England. This however is controverted by many who base their objection merely on the number of counts. The finest Dacca yarn did not exceed 550 counts but the machine-spun yarn of a piece of powerloom-woven muslin which was exhibited in the International Exhibition of 1862, was stated to have been of 700 counts. The manufacturer of this piece however admitted that his yarn "was too imperfect for any purpose, except to fix the limits of fineness at which" machine-spun yarn could be woven by the powerloom. Regarding another such specimen of machine-made muslin of 440 counts, Forbes Watson remarked that a comparison of this with a piece of Dacca muslin of which the yarn was calculated to have been of 406 counts only, it was clear, though it may sound paradoxical, that the Dacca piece was finer. The average diameter of the yarn of the former piece was .00222 inch while that of the latter was .001526 part of an inch. This must have been due to the fact that the Dacca threads spun by hand, received more twists in the process of spinning and was more compressed than machine-spun yarn. The greater number of twists received per inch of yarn explains also the superior durability of the Dacca muslins.

It has also been said by many writers that handspun yarn had another special quality, *viz.*, that it became stronger and finer after bleaching, whereas the reverse was the case with regard to machine-made yarn. But the latter had two advantages. It was cheaper and of more uniform thickness. The lack of uniformity of thickness of the handspun thread was however not wholly a disadvantage as the transparency of the Dacca muslins was ascribed to this factor. In fact, the real disadvantage of the handspun yarn was that it was so costly and involved so much trouble in procuring the thread of a certain quality. Taylor writes that two-thirds of the time occupied in preparing fine muslins, were spent in searching for suitable thread in the different marts of the district. Considering the time and skill required in spinning very fine yarn, it is but natural that it was so costly. According to Taylor,* the maximum quantity of very fine yarn which a spinner could make in one month, devoting the whole

morning to the spindle, was only $\frac{1}{2}$ a tola or 90 grains (troy). This gives a daily output* of 3 grains only. In spite of the rude appliances used, this infinite patience taken and the delicacy of touch were the real causes of the excellence of the Dacca yarn which machine-spun thread has failed to attain even to this day with the same quality of raw material.

The same causes were responsible, in addition to the fine quality of the yarn used, for the fame of the "wind-woven" fabrics of Dacca. Contrary to what is generally supposed, the actual processes of weaving the Dacca muslins and the appliances used, were much the same as those used in the case of the fine handloom products of to-day. In the manufacture of fine muslins, the shuttle used was however considerably lighter. Not far off from the Nawabpur Road in this town, I found the weavers carrying on practically all the processes of weaving, described by Taylor more than seventy years ago. It is not therefore necessary to describe all these processes. There is only one point that deserves mention, *viz.*, that a certain degree of atmospheric moisture was necessary for weaving fine muslins. When it rained heavily and the air was very moist, a slow fire was kept under the loom.† In very dry and hot weather, it was sometimes necessary, during the operation of weaving, to place beneath the extended yarns of the warp in the loom, a few shallow vessels of water. The evaporation imparted the necessary moisture to the yarn and prevented them from breaking. This practice gave rise to the erroneous notion that the Dacca muslin was sometimes woven under water.

The time required for weaving a piece of muslin of the usual dimensions of 20 yards \times 1 yard necessarily depended on the quality of the fabric and the skill of the weaver. This skill was due partly to natural aptitude and hereditary instruction and partly to specialisation of work. There were at least eighteen chief varieties of plain and figured muslins. The weavers of different manufacturing stations of the Dacca district confined themselves to certain kinds of these fabrics.

* Mr. K. K. Basak's estimate is much lower. Fifty years ago, a female spinner, working two hours in the morning and one hour in the afternoon, could, in his opinion, spin only 3 annas or $33\frac{3}{4}$ grains of yarn every month, *i. e.*, 1 grain of yarn per day.

† I am indebted for this information to Mr. K. K. Basak. So far as I know, this fact is not mentioned by Taylor or any other writer.

* *A Description and Historical Account of the Cotton Manufacture of Dacca in Bengal* by a Former Resident of Dacca. (London, 1851) u. c. h. 3. From internal evidence it is clear that this book was written by Mr. James Taylor, the author of the *Topography and Statistics of Dacca*.

In spite of the economy caused by such localisation and division of labour, the weaving of very fine muslins took many months. In Taylor's days a half piece (i.e. 10 yards \times 1 yard) of the finest variety of muslin, weighing about $4\frac{1}{2}$ ounces or 2000 grains (troy) could not be woven in less than five months. We have already seen that the quantity of the finest Dacca yarn which could be spun in a day by one person, was three grains only. It took therefore about two years for one person to spin the required quantity. A half piece thus represented at least $2\frac{1}{2}$ years' labour of one person!

It is therefore not at all surprising that the price of *mulmul khas*, the generic name of the finest of Dacca muslins, was at the rate of Rupees 10 per square yard in the sixties of the last century.* But Rupees 10 of those days is equivalent to at least Rs. 30 of to-day. The general index number of Indian prices which was only 90 in 1861 rose to 281 in 1920. Taylor writes that in Jehangir's days the price of a piece of *ab-i-rawan*, measuring 10 cubits \times 2 cubits and weighing only 5 siccas or 900 grains, was Rupees 400, while the *jamdane* or figured muslin which has aptly been called the *chef-d'œuvre* of the Indian weaver, manufactured for Emperor Aurangzeb cost Rupees 250. Even as late as 1776, the best *jamdane* manufactured at Dacca cost Rupees 450 per piece. The purchasing power of the rupee in those days was much higher than at the present time. These price quotations will therefore show that the Dacca muslin which attained celebrity throughout the civilised world was a highly artistic product—an article of luxury which met the demands of kings and nobles and not of ordinary customers.

It is but natural that at a place where the art of weaving attained such a high standard the subsidiary industry of bleaching should also make a remarkable progress. Complaint against the present race of Indian *dhobies* is now almost universal. The American humourist defines the *dhobi* "as a person who breaks stones with shirts". Lest their costly dresses be spoiled by the *dhobi*, our fashionable aristocrats sometimes send their clothes to Europe for washing. But the art of bleaching reached a state of perfection in the different cloth-weaving centres of India, especially of East Bengal at a time when it was in quite a backward condition in Europe. Even as late as the middle of the eighteenth century,

this art was so little understood in Great Britain that nearly all the linens manufactured there, were sent to Holland for bleaching. This bleaching process was an elaborate one and took from six to eight months! It was the discovery of chlorine in 1774 which revolutionized the bleaching industry of Europe.

But at least two centuries before this date Eastern Bengal was famous for its successful bleaching of cotton goods. Catarsoonda in Sonargong is mentioned by Abul Fazl for the bleaching properties of its water. A similar property was attributed, in Taylor's days, to the water in the neighbourhood of Dacca from Narinda to Tezgong. But the superior quality of bleaching for which this town became famous, was due not merely to the special properties of the water but also to the good quality of the soap* used and to the skill of the *dhobi*. In fact man and nature combined to contribute to the progress of Dacca muslin and all the subsidiary industries dependent on it.

What was the real cause of the decline of this fine industry? It is sometimes suggested that the tariff policy followed in England during the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century was responsible for its decline. The common belief that the Dacca muslins were prohibited altogether from the English market by certain Acts of the British Parliament is not strictly accurate. The Act of 1700 prohibited the import of Indian silk manufactures and certain kinds of calicoes for home consumption in England. Though this Act was not directed against finer fabrics, certain classes of Dacca muslins appear to have been prohibited by this Act, for, as we have already said, there was no well-defined line, dividing fine calicoes from coarse muslins. Another Act passed by the British Legislature twenty years later, prohibited the use of printed calicoes in England, whether printed in England or elsewhere. The import of certain kinds of Indian muslins which were not prohibited, was subjected to a 15 p. c. duty—a duty which was further raised during the war with France till it reached 44 p. c. in 1813. These import duties and prohibitions no doubt affected the sale of Dacca muslins in England. It must however be borne in mind that England was

* Even at the present time, the soap manufactured at Dacca, called *mite sarun*, is the best of its kind. Formerly the Dacca soap was an article of export to different parts of India, Bussora, Jedda etc.

* Forbes Watson—*op cit* p. 75.

certainly a far less important market than the Indian home market

As Taylor writes in his *Descriptive and Historical Account of the Cotton Manufactures of Dacca*, the finest muslins.

"formed but a small portion of the goods formerly exported to England.....The Commercial Resident states that until the year 1792 the Dacca factory never provided exportation cloths of a higher value than Rupees 50 per whole piece, and after that date generally about one hundred and fifty half pieces, at the rate of Rupees 100 per whole piece, were included in the investment. Occasionally a few pieces of the finest sort found their way to England.....but the quantity thus exported, appears to have been inconsiderable." Thus the tariff policy of England cannot be regarded as the main cause of the decline of the Dacca industry.

There is a wide-spread belief that the decline of this industry was due to the cutting off of the weavers' thumbs by the English East India Company. The following dialogue was reported in a certain Madras daily paper on the 30th of January, 1922, as occurring in a village in the district of Guntur. Those who took part, are said to have been a Deputy Inspector General of Police, a District Superintendent of Police and S, a Congress volunteer.

D. I. G. "Where did you get the cloths you have been wearing? Are they not rough?"

S. They were woven with the charka-yarn produced in our village.

D. I. G. These clothes are not good. The foreign cloth is good and light. Is it not?"

S. Our clothes also would have been good and light had it not been for your people, who cut off the thumbs of our weavers.

D. I. G. Where have our people done that?"

S. At Dacca.

D. I. G. (Turning towards the District Superintendent) Is it true?"

S. P. It is so written in history. It is true."

Some of the old weavers and persons connected with the present muslin trade of Dacca and some of my own students in this University firmly believe this story of the weavers' thumb to be true. The latter told me that they saw a pictorial representation of this incident in an Exhibition held here a few years ago. But I have searched in vain for any evidence in support of this view. In the early records of the English East India Company and all the publications of this period which I have been able to consult, there is nothing to substantiate it. Of course, this negative evidence, coming from what may be regarded as an interested quarter, is not of any great value. But I cannot believe the story, on the simple ground that it was against the economic interest of the East

India Company to maim the weavers of this country. The sins of the Company against the weavers might have been many, but they were certainly not so foolish as to kill the goose that laid the golden eggs for them.

In their letter dated the 1st March, 1783, the Court of Directors, referring to the newly-started muslin production at Manchester observed:

"We doubt not therefore that you will exert yourselves to the utmost in causing the manufacturers at Bengal to pay every attention not only to an improvement of the fabric of muslins but also to a reduction of the prices as on both the one and the other will depend very much our future success in this article."*

This instruction was repeated in subsequent commercial letters of the Court of Directors. In the light of this evidence it is not at all probable that the Company cut off the weavers' thumbs. This story appears to have arisen out of a passage in Bolts' *Considerations on India Affairs*, quoted in Dutt's *Economic History* that the winders of raw silk cut off their thumbs to prevent their being forced to wind silk.

It is true that during the early days of the East India Company there was considerable oppression on the weavers in Bengal. But this oppression was due not to any desire to crush the indigenous cotton industry but to the Company's anxiety to purchase the largest amount of Indian handloom products at the cheapest price. A natural consequence of this was the advance of money to the weavers by the Company's gomastahs and the exercise of the right of pre-emption with regard to the purchase of Indian cotton goods. Bolts describes at great length the oppression of the Company's gomastahs,

"who arbitrarily decided the quantity of goods each weaver was to deliver, the prices he was to receive, while his name being on a register, he was not permitted to work for any one but his own gomastah. When the annual supply was ready, the *Jachandar* or appraiser fixed the price of the goods but the rascality was beyond imagination and prices were often 15 p. c. to 40 p. c. below the market price."

Bolts, in spite of his grudge† against the

* Extracts from the Commercial letters from the Court of Directors, (1765-1796) Vol. I. p. 211 (preserved in the Bengal Secretariat Record Room).

† William Bolts, a junior servant of the English East India Company arrived in Bengal in 1760 and resigned the Company's service in 1766. Within these six years, he amassed a considerable fortune by taking part in duty-free inland trade. In 1768 he was deported to England by the English authorities in Bengal. Four years later he published his *Considerations on India Affairs* which forms a part of his campaign against the East India Company.

English East India Company, does not seem* to have exaggerated the true state of things, because his statement is corroborated by other contemporary writers including Governor Verelst. Instances of such oppression are mentioned also in the records of the English East India Company.* The incident that occurred at Dacca in 1767, quoted by Mr. Wise in his *Notes on the Races, Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal*, gives a vivid idea of the state of things.

"Mr. Thomas Kelsall, Chief of Dacca, being informed that a certain weaver was suspected of selling muslins to the French Factory, ordered him to be seized but he found shelter with the French. His relatives, however were imprisoned and beaten and their houses pillaged. Upon this the weaver gave himself up to the Diwan who ordered him to be flogged, after which he was confined in the factory for eleven days during which time the peons fleeced him.....By Mr. Kelsall's order his head was shaved, his face blackened with lime and ink and being mounted on an ox†, he was paraded through Nawabpur.....After three more days the accused was forwarded to the Nawab for trial who finding no fault, discharged him."

It is not therefore denied that there was oppression on the weavers during the early days of John Company, but the writings of Bernier and Abbe Raynal prove that the condition of some of the best weavers of the country was no better than that of slaves even in pre-British times. The Abbe, a French man who cannot be accused of any bias towards the English Company, remarks:

"It was a misfortune to them (the Dacca weavers) to appear too dexterous because they were then forced to work only for the Government which paid them ill and kept them in a sort of captivity."

It must however be admitted that the oppression on the weavers in pre-British times was never so wide-spread and systematic as under early British rule. But the fact that the decline of the Dacca industry began since the death of Emperor Aurangzib shows that the oppression on the weavers during the Company's rule was but a minor cause of this decline.

Was the decay of our industry then due to the Industrial Revolution in England during the latter half of the eighteenth century? Crompton's mule was invented in England in 1779 and by the year 1824,

British yarn was first imported into Dacca district. Taylor gives a comparative statement* of the prices of handspun and English yarn from 30 to 200 counts and shows that the English thread was not only far cheaper but was also preferred "on account of its uniform size and the facility of obtaining any quantity of a particular quality" that was wanted. But comparatively speaking, these were coarser yarns. About the middle of the last century, as noted by Taylor in his *Descriptive and Historical Account of the Cotton Manufactures of Dacca*, the price of the finest handspun yarn of this town was Rupees 8 per tola, i.e. £31-2s. per lb. (avoir) at the prevailing exchange rate of 2 shillings per rupee. The cost of 1 lb. of machine-spun yarn of 700's, manufactured by Messrs. Holdsworth & Co., of Manchester at that time was only £3 less. But the apparently higher cost of the Dacca yarn was more than compensated by its special advantages which have already been stated.

Even to-day the finest muslin and yarn of the Dacca standard cannot be economically produced in England by machinery. In his letter dated the 30th October, 1924, Mr. B. Mouat Jones, the Principal of the College of Technology, Manchester, writes to me that "the finest counts spun at present in England is 420. Yarn finer can be produced, but there is no market for it. Even 420's is not a commercial production in the ordinary sense. The amount made is small." Mr. Jones further adds "the finest counts from which muslin is manufactured in England commercially, are about 180's twist† and 220's weft." It should also be noted that mechanical weaving of yarns higher than the above counts, is difficult. Very fine yarn cannot stand the strain of machine-weaving and snap too often in the process. The difficulty may of course be avoided in future by further perfections of mechanical weaving. But the real difficulty is economic. Machine production does not pay unless it is carried on in a large scale. But very fine Dacca muslin was always made to order, chiefly for persons of rank and wealth in India. It was a highly artistic product, catering to a very limited demand. To say that the finer type of Dacca muslins has been killed by machine competition is as incorrect as to say that the famous Cashmere shawl industry has been ruined by cheap German stuffs or that photography has ruined oil-painting.

* For example, in the Extract of Consultations dated the 12th April 1773 in the Commercial Letters (1765-1796) Vol I., of the Bengal Secretariat Records.

† This is evidently a mistake. On such occasions the culprit was mounted not on an ox but on an

* Taylor's *Tenagambhu* p. 171

It is true that there were many subsidiary causes, both external and internal, which affected adversely the muslin industry of Dacca. The British tariffs of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the outbreak of the French Revolution, the Milan and Berlin decrees of Napoleon, the Industrial Revolution in England, the general insecurity of this country after the death of Aurangzib, the oppression on the weavers and monopolistic control under early British rule, the Great Famine of 1770, the artificial encouragement of English manufactures by low import duties with the right of entrance to the farthest part of India free from any transit duty and the heavy transit duty on Indian manufactures with no drawback of such duty on their export—all these factors have been partly responsible for the decline of the muslin industry. But the real cause at work, especially in the case of the finest fabrics of Dacca, was the lack of patronage of the imperial and vice-regal courts. With the advent of British rule this patronage came to an end and the muslin industry naturally declined.

The foregoing discussion affords an answer to the question whether it is now possible to revive this industry. So far as can be known from local enquiry, the cotton plant out of which the muslin yarn was spun is no longer cultivated in any part of this district. But two stray plants corresponding to the description and drawing of Dr. Roxburgh, have been recently discovered by the Agricultural Department of the Government of Bengal in Rangpur and Mymensing districts. This variety is now being reared in the Agricultural Farm at Manipur, Dacca under the supervision of Mr. Dwijadas Dutt. Mr. Dutt was kind enough to show me the plants and explain their peculiarities. This raises some hope that it may still be possible to revive the cultivation of muslin cotton in Bengal if there arises a demand for it.

But, as has already been said, the

excellence of the Dacca muslins was due not so much to the quality of the cotton used as to the skill in spinning and weaving. With regard to hand-spinning, it has been said that the old race of *katamis* or female spinners has passed away and the skilled weavers of Dacca who actually produced muslins in olden times, are fast dying out. But I have been assured that if a demand arises, the finest fabrics of the old days can again be produced here.

In fact, if the demand revives and continues, it will not be very difficult to train a new race of spinners and weavers. But the real trouble is that the demand for these costly stuffs is not likely to revive. As a local gentleman who still carries on a large trade in *Kasida* or embroideries told me, unless we have again the Badshah and the Nawab, there is no future for the industry. Nothing is impossible under the sun, but it can hardly be expected that Viceroy and Governors of the present day would dress themselves in the famous Dacca fabrics. Not until this happens, will our aristocracy revelling in furs and broadcloth in this tropical climate, take any interest in this art industry.

The poet has no doubt referred to the periodical recurrence of fashion.

"Fashion in all our gesterings
Fashions in our attyre,
Which (as the wyse have thought) do cum
And goe in the circled gyre."

But I may be pardoned if I entertain little hope that this exquisite work of art, once the pride of our people, the admiration of our friends and the despair of imitators which made the name of this small provincial town known in the remotest corners of the civilised world, will ever again attain its ancient glory.

* I am indebted for this quotation to the article on Fashion in the *Economic Journal* Vol. III, p. 465 footnote.

MEMOIRS OF OLD DELHI

By C. F. ANDREWS

CHAPTER V

The Advent of Liberalism

IF we wish to understand what was happening in India in the years succeeding the Mutiny, we have to divert our attention for a short time from India to England and to study the events that were taking place there in the political world. For on this change in the English situation a very great deal depended in India itself.

England had passed through a very troubled and stormy time during the critical years from 1850 to 1860. The earlier enthusiasm, which had been aroused by the passing of the Reform Acts, twenty years earlier, had been subsiding, and some of the worst of the old abuses had crept back into the administration. The Crimean War of 1854, which preceded the Indian Mutiny by three years, is now regarded by historians as showing the mismanagement of public affairs; for it clearly ought never to have been fought at all. Even at the very time, the sober mind of England soon began to realise that 'some one had blundered'. The later revelations of gross incompetency in hospital and medical matters, which came to light through Miss Florence Nightingale's report, had a further salutary effect upon English public opinion. In the same way the Indian Mutiny itself, which took the English people entirely by surprise, gave a severe shock to stolid British complacency. It was realised that now in India, as before in the Crimea, 'some one had blundered.'

Thus England herself was at last in a chastened mood and prepared for a drastic reform in the home administration, and a change in Indian policy. Therefore, as the century advanced, the Liberals came more and more into power, and the last thirty years of the century might well be called the 'Gladstonian Age' in British political life.

It would be hard to overestimate the influence and weight that the name of Mr. Gladstone carried among Indians who had frankly accepted the new learning. Perhaps it would even be true to say that no Englishman's name before or since had ever exer-

cised such an attraction for the cultured classes in India. When I first arrived in India in March 1904, I found in the North the whole educated community maintaining its unshaken faith in the supreme greatness of all Mr. Gladstone's political ideals. The Boer War, which had just been fought, had been instinctively condemned and disliked; but they could point to it as an entire reversal of the Gladstonian policy, and they could show that Gladstone himself, at the end of his great career as a statesman, had thrown aside every other interest in order to seek to obtain Home Rule for Ireland, and had even sacrificed his party unity in order to gain his end. They could say with force, that Gladstone believed in human liberty and practised as a politician what he professed. There was clearly much truth in all this; and educated India was right in its main contention. At the same time there was exaggeration in the lines with which they drew the picture of Mr. Gladstone's liberal achievements.

It must be remembered that moral idealism in politics, whenever it has been practised has always held the Indian mind and delighted the Indian heart. To hear Munshi Zaka Ullah talk about Mr. Gladstone, and to watch the chorus of approval with which his words were received, evening by evening, in the Library at Delhi, was one of the things that taught me most concerning the mind and thought of that generation which had grown old since the Mutiny and recovered to the full its fundamental belief in the goodwill of Great Britain. The moral supremacy of Gladstone, his goodness as a man, his religious character, his pure Christian life, had wrought this transformation. If he had been a mere politician, however clever and able, he could not possibly have effected what he did. With Munshi Zaka Ullah, especially it was the moral values that told. Mr. Gladstone was a man of God. That was worth all the rest put together.

One other extremely important factor, that held fast the imagination of these Indian idealists, was the vivid picture continually held up before their eyes of the virtues of

Queen Victoria, the Good. We know now, that, just as in the case of Mr. Gladstone, so here too the picture was overdrawn. For Queen Victoria's moral goodness, genuine as it was, had a narrowness about it that was painfully evident to those who knew her best and came in closest contact with her. But she too had a devoutly religious character, and a firm trust in God's guidance of human events, and she was quite fearless and open in speaking about it. She also possessed, as a woman, those domestic virtues, which India prizes most highly of all. She had been entirely devoted to her husband and had kept a life-long widowhood in his remembrance. All this made her great in the estimation of a man like Zaka Ullah. In his book describing the history of her reign, he records all this at great length.

But there was something or more. It was believed all over India, that Queen Victoria, the Good, had been responsible, most of all, for the prevention of further bloodshed after the Mutiny was over and that she herself had sent out her own royal command to Lord Canning, her Vice-regent, to that effect. She was also given the credit for the actual drafting of that truly remarkable and memorable 'Queen's Proclamation' of 1858, which announced for the first time in words, that were un-mistakably plain, and were given under the Royal Seal, that complete religious neutrality and racial equality were the principles on which her Indian Empire was founded. There has never been signed and sealed a more important document than that in the history of British rule in India: and leaders of Indian thought, like Munshi Zaka Ullah, were right in laying stress upon it and calling it the Magna Charta of Indian freedom.

Tennyson, by his poetry, did much to strengthen this idea of the immaculate virtue of the English Queen. His allusions to her, scattered throughout his poems, were learnt off by heart and quoted on all occasions. This was specially true of the lines at the beginning of the *Idylls of the King*.

Of all the Victorian poets, Tennyson was by far the most popular in India last century. Queen Victoria's name, owing in part to this poetic representation of liberal goodness, became gradually ranked by Zaka Ullah side by side with those of King Asoka and Akbar the Great. This became an axiom of all his historical thinking. He was never tired of referring to it in his writings and in his conversation. All this was a

very strange interpretation of history to me when I came out fresh from England. For Asoka and Akbar lived and died in this country, and themselves were the authors and originators of their own policies, while the very title, 'Empress of India,' was recognised in England to have been little more than a clever device of Disraeli, who knew how to flatter as a statesman and when to do it, and how to impose upon the weakness of an elderly amiable Queen in a way that would give him influence over her.

Lord Ripon, in India itself, as the century advanced, was the figure round whose head the halo of British Liberalism was placed. He completed on the spot to the Indian mind of that older generation the ideal set forward by the twin names of Queen Victoria and Mr. Gladstone. For it needs to be carefully understood, when dealing with India of the last century, that the perfect Liberalism of Queen Victoria was taken for granted. Idealists, like Zaka Ullah, little realised what a downright Tory in many things the old Queen was, and how much she disliked Gladstone!

Lord Ripon, was known in India to be a deeply religious man who at a great cost had remained faithful and true to his conscience and his religion. It was remembered that he never began the day's work without being present at divine worship. Stories were everywhere current concerning his complete devotion to religion. His private life was known to be in keeping with his religious faith. Added to all this, which was rightly important in Indian eyes, Lord Ripon had made himself supremely unpopular as Viceroy of India, among his own English people, because he had openly taken the Indian side in his great struggle over the Ilbert Bill to uphold the ideal of the Queen's Proclamation and to maintain strict equality before the law of the land between Indian and European. This had been the one fact in his viceroyalty which had profoundly stirred the Indian imagination, and he was duly and worthily respected for it. No Viceroy either before or since, had ever had such an impressive farewell from Indians themselves, on leaving the shores of India, as Lord Ripon.

If things in India towards the close of the last century are to be seen in their proper focus, there is one further point of importance to be noticed. Herbert Spencer, as a philosopher and a man of science combined, maintained among educated Indians

an almost undivided rule as the exponent of the special Nineteenth Century scientific theory of the universe called Evolution. The one word 'evolution' seemed to sum up for them, at that time, the whole trend of modern science and to explain both the origin of the world and the history of mankind. While there was an undoubted truth in all this, nevertheless, far more credit was given to Herbert Spencer's exposition of it than the facts deserved. Here again, as with Gladstonian Liberalism, and the character of Queen Victoria, exaggerated views were held. I was startled to find at Delhi, how entirely men's minds had become absorbed and obsessed by Herbert Spencer's doctrines, and what implicit faith was placed in them, as though they were infallible.

It was not till I came down to Bengal, in 1906, that I found those who were frankly critical of Spencer and Gladstone alike, and had thrown off once and for all the yoke of humble tutelage to shifting English political and philosophical ideas. There was something refreshing in this after the atmosphere of unreality at Delhi. For leaders there would have to face the truth of things sooner or later. That was apparent to me from the first.

Nevertheless, if we are apt to-day to feel surprised at the meek acceptance, on the part of educated people in the North of India, of this moral and spiritual domination from a distant country like England, when, at the very time, whole regions of thought were lying unexplored in their own books and at their own doors, we must remember how strangely new the Western learning was, and how altogether fascinating and absorbing must have been the scientific side of it at the outset. For it brought the imagination of those, who thus studied it for the first time, and watched the verification of its experiments, almost completely under its sway. Educated Indians, in this respect, did not stand alone. There were those in England, and in Europe and America, also, who submitted without question to its dictations. The psychology of the times demanded it. But in India things went deeper, because of her political subjection.

Yet to prove the point that I would make and show that their acceptance of Herbert Spencer's doctrine was not primarily due to any special slave mentality in India, we have only to look at Japan during the same period. In spite of all her pride in her own

national traditions and her own stoutly upheld and cherished independence, she was at one time as completely under the sway of Herbert Spencer as ever India was. Nor did educated Japan throw off the yoke of Spencer's system of philosophy at a much earlier date than educated India. Indeed, when the change of thought came about, the decline and fall of the evolutionary theory, with its one supreme dogma of 'survival of the fittest', was as much a world phenomenon as its triumphant rise to power had been in previous years. The only difference has been that educated Indians who had learnt the doctrine somewhat late, have clung to it longer.

When, therefore, it is fully realised that Munsii Zaka Ullah was essentially a man of thought rather than a man of action; that he lived in the world of ideas rather than in the world of practical affairs, then it does not appear difficult to understand how the strain caused by the horror of what he witnessed with his own eyes at the close of the Mutiny, gradually became less and less acute and at length passed entirely from his conscious, waking thoughts in that new atmosphere of Liberalism which Gladstone and Lord Ripon represented to his own mind.

All this was made easier still for him owing to one noticeable trait in his own character which comes up before us again and again as we study carefully his life. Zaka Ullah, as I have tried to explain, was to the very depth of his being a hero-worshipper, whose spiritual nature always depended on having some personality to serve with devotion. He could hardly any more exist without an atmosphere of loyalty to some person about him than a fish without water, or a man can breathe without air. The parallel I have drawn is scarcely too strong; and even if a slight exaggeration is there, the fact remains. His nature craved for some person to idealise and he found what he needed in the Liberal School of English political life.

I shall write more fully on this subject when I record some of his conversations in a later chapter, and there may be some repetition; but Queen Victoria, William Gladstone, Lord Ripon—these filled the vacant spaces of his mind and formed a gallery of portraits, corresponding to that ideal vision of the new Western learning, which had inspired him in his younger days. I would emphasise also the fact, that most of the

educated Indians of that time, who had received a similar education, thought in a similar manner.

It is probably true to say, that his personal devotion to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan helped him most of all towards the new perspective. For personal loyalty to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan necessarily involved personal loyalty to the British Liberals; because Sir Syed Ahmed had based all his hopes upon them. As a practical man, he had stood out in the field of action, just as Zaka Ullah had done in the field of thought. He had definitely offered the right hand of friendship to the British Liberals and had asked them to help him in the College which he had founded for Muhammadan students at Aligarh. Thus had begun what was called among Musalmans the Aligarh Movement; Zaka Ullah and Nazir Ahmed were both alike drawn into it from the very first. It was in connection with this new Institution at Aligarh that new loyalties began to be built up in Zaka Ullah's mind and heart. As the years went by, he was able to give them full scope, even in the midst of all his official and literary work. For everyone of these things pointed manifestly to one end, namely, the encouragement of the new Western learning in the North of India by every means in his power.

The Education Department of the Government of India was at that time in its early stages of development. Men of high character had come out from England to take part in the work. The place given to celebrated Indian scholars was also one of freedom and responsibility. There is no sign in his letters or correspondence that Zaka Ullah found the ties of Government Service irksome at that time. In Allahabad, as a Professor, he built up a reputation for learning and scholarship on the one hand and for sympathy and affection for his stu-

dents on the other. This made the parallel between his position and that of Maulvi Iman Baksh at Delhi in earlier years, which was often drawn, very close indeed. He had the same gift of inspiration; and year by year the students rallied round him and sought his moral and spiritual guidance as well as his intellectual help. He was their true friend, and devoted himself untiringly to their service whenever they needed his aid. They knew they could at all times look to him for counsel and advice.

At the same time, whenever he was free from lecture work in the College, the work of translation and the preparation of new Urdu text-books in science and mathematics which he had already taken up, occupied the greater part of his leisure. It was only on Sundays, which he kept entirely apart, that he was able to offer himself unreservedly to the students, as he fully wished to do. He was given, at the College, a professorship in Vernacular and Oriental Literature; and this made his work of Urdu text-book publication in direct line with his work as a professor. He had also to take classes in Arabic and Persian, and not infrequently in Science and Mathematics, owing to the smallness of the staff.

As his young family grew up around him at Allahabad, his old cheerfulness and brightness returned. He was known among his intimate friends almost as much for his wit and good humour as for his scholarship and learning. But he remained shy and bashful in public, nervous to a degree and retiring. In private life, however, in the bosom of his own family, he was as happy and talkative as a child. His circle of friends increased and the years went quietly past until he retired, in 1887, in order to give up the whole of his time to his literary work.

(To be continued.)



"CHRISTIAN MISSION AND ORIENTAL CIVILIZATIONS" *

(A REVIEW)

IN the foreword, Dr. Robert E. Park says that "from the point of view here suggested, foreign missions, even for the layman, assume an importance equal to that of foreign trade or foreign politics." It is a fact well known to the natives of Asia and Africa that the Bible is only the precursor of the merchant and the gunboat. The present volume, big as it is, is to be followed by another bearing more directly on pro-missionary propagandism. Here in this volume, intended partly for the lay reader, "anti-missionary and neutral reactions" have been noticed in some detail, for which the author speaks apologetically in the preface. Mr. Paul, the South Indian Nationalist Christian, has been mentioned once or twice. Dr. Coomaraswamy's denunciations of missionary methods have been quoted from; and Pandit Dayanand's biography and Dr. Farquhar's book on Modern Religious Movements in India have also been drawn upon. It cannot, however, be said that the author has been betrayed into any sympathy for whatever truth there may be in anti-missionary criticisms, or even for the nationalist movement within the church itself. A retired member of the Indian Civil Service, Mr. Harcourt, in a very recent book published by Messrs Longmans, has said: "One danger the Indian Christian church has certainly escaped. It is not anti-national.....There could be no future before a National Church in India which was a mere feeble annexe or reflex of the church of the European." This point of view has evidently escaped the author, who writes his book mainly for the intellectual classes as a highly technical piece of sociological research, somewhat on the lines of William James's well-known work *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. The author's object seems to be to classify scientifically all the cultural reactions evoked by the various kinds of missionary activity, with a view to discover the most successful means of meeting and overcoming all hostile responses. The feelings and emotions of the neophyte, the catechumen, the enquirer, the backslider, the sincere convert, the pseudo-convert, &c. have all been described in their own language, with a view to bring out the salient features in each case for missionary use in Asia and Africa. The revivalist and reform movements among the Japanese, Chinese and Indians, in which missionary methods have been largely copied, have also been touched upon and in short, no aspect of missionary endeavour bearing on the success of Christian missions has been left untapped. One cannot but admire the wide reading of the author on the subject of his choice—not a very interesting or profitable field of study—and his arduous labours in the cause of missionary propagandism. Dr. Price knows that to achieve greater success, in the face of defensive and self-protective organizations

among Oriental creeds and religions, and the awakening of race-consciousness and of a patriotic desire for culture-conservation among the Eastern nations, and a wider appreciation of the value of such conservation proceeding *pari passu* with a more intimate acquaintance with the serious defects of Christianity as a historical religion due to the progress of western education, the old methods of proselytization which are rapidly growing obsolete, must be abandoned and it is necessary to turn over a new chapter and devise fresh way and means, and subtler, more intellectual and refined and more insidious processes of conversion have to be called into requisition. It behoves Hindu missions to take note of this new development of the missionary method of attack, and forge new weapons for self-protection. The Mahomedan needs no warning. The author himself admits that "Islam is the one religion now existing which explicitly rejects Christianity." Besides, the numerous extracts from the *Moslem World* and the *Islamic Review of Religions* show that it is quite capable of taking care of itself, and even of carrying the war into the enemy's camp. Hinduism, not being a proselytizing religion, and not possessing the coherence and solidarity conferred on other religions by a rigid creed, is more defenceless, though it is more adapted to every stage of human development, including the highest that the philosophic imagination can attain. True, proselytization has not altogether been unknown to Hinduism in the past. Besides the slow cultural process of Hinduization among aboriginal races of which Lyall, Hunter and others have written, and the power of absorption revealed in earlier times in the case of Scythians and Huns, instances of wholesale conversions, like those inaugurated by the Great Sankara Acharya, are on record, and the *Suddhi* movement started by the Arya Samaj is nothing but its modern analogue. The mere numerical increase in the following of any religion has of course nothing to recommend it, if it is not accompanied by a change of heart and if that change is not for the better. To those Hindus who are convinced of the moral superiority of Christianity we have nothing to say. But we feel convinced that the vast majority of Hindus who have become Christians have changed their religion without an adequate appreciation and understanding of the merits of either religion, and it is to people in this frame of mind that the Hindu Dharma Sabha and similar associations and Samajes may profitably address themselves. But to retain such doubting souls within the fold of the ancestral religion the Hindu religious organizations must liberalise themselves much more than they have hitherto done with the exception of the Brahmo Samaj and the possible exception of the Arya Samaj. The service rendered by the Brahmo Samaj to Hinduism (of which it is an offshoot, culturally, racially, historically and philosophically) is simply incalculable. As Sir Roper Lethbridge has said, "When many a

* CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND ORIENTAL CIVILIZATIONS
—A Study in Culture Contact: By Maurice T. Price,
Ph. D. *Sanskrit, China* 1924 pp. 578 Rs. 4

of ages, and prepared to receive the seed of the Gospel, in came Keshab, dispossessed the Christian missionary of the soil he had fitted for cultivation, and used it for his own purposes." But the more aggressive Arya Samaj has been the most successful in its propagandist efforts. A similarity of sentiments and ideals between philosophic Hindus, especially of the Vaishnavite persuasion, and Christians, particularly of the Roman Catholic Church, can easily be detected, and even some analogy between their ritualistic practices may be said to exist. The human mind is too complex and too profound to permit of being confined within the bounds of a simple creed to suit all sorts and conditions of men. Religion is essentially a thing between man and his Maker, and every man worth the name has to come to some sort of a workable solution of the ultimate problems that press on him. People with a background of philosophic culture, like the Hindus and modern Europeans, can never be satisfied with a theory of religion which treats the eternal mystery as solved for ever, thus stifling human thought and endeavour for self-realization. They cannot, as other simpler, and for that very reason, more vigorous and unified peoples, treat it as a closed question, settled for them hundreds of years ago. Consequently, in spite of all that Christian missionaries may say, to the contrary, Christianity is ceasing to be a living creed in Europe and America, just as popular Hinduism is ceasing to be so among the educated classes of Hindus. But as in the one case, so in the other, the cultural traditions of the religion are a vital force, and persist in all their strength in spite of the decay of orthodox faith. It is this cultural tie and not caste, as Dr. Price repeatedly suggests on the strength of missionary reports, which is the greatest obstacle to the spread of Christianity among the Hindus. The Mussalmans have no caste and yet admittedly Christianity has not succeeded in making any impression on them, whereas the mass-movements where the greatest triumphs of Indian missionaries are to be counted and the conversions from the depressed classes, the chosen field of ordinary missionary endeavour, have both been helped and not hindered by the existence of the caste system among the Hindus.

How effective and successful these mass-movements have been, and what an amount of missionary zeal they evoke, will appear from the following extract: "In considering mass-movement we must keep in mind at least these phases of the problem: (1) We are talking in terms of thousands. For example, in 1895 the converts in the Punjab, India, according to Robinson numbered 1,000; in 1901, 37,000; in 1911, 163,000. Mass-movements are continuing in various fields at the present time in the same way... (2) These masses of people usually belong to the simpler culture groups, the lower classes, the poor, the oppressed, and the ostracised... "The so-called 'mass-movements' in different parts of India are resulting each year in turning a multitude of the outcastes and of the members of the lower castes towards the Christian fold. The readiness of these oppressed masses to receive the Gospel and to accept Baptism is indeed impressive."... The Bishop of Madras... gives his counsel in the following words: "A mass-movement is an open door, and the church should press through it with all her might... when a mass-movement has been once begun, it should be kept going. It creates a feeling of

unrest through the whole district that should be kept alive and never allowed to flag. When once men's hearts begin to be stirred over a large area, then is the time vigorously to preach the Gospel to all classes in every village."

Among the high-caste Hindus, however, the missionary reports are unanimous that the results obtained are meagre. Their "culture heritage" is said to be the factor preventing their conversion. Here, if there is to be any conversion at all, no mass-movement can be expected, but "the individual must break away, must burst out tearing, as it were, the living tissue that binds him to his kin and sect." From the facts gathered together by the author, "the hypothesis is warranted that the response tends to be unfavourable, to be indifference or opposition, when the individual concerned is an intimate member of a group with highly developed and complex culture. By complex culture groups we mean, in the light of the cases we have examined, those having the following features or culture traits: (1) a history, traditional and usually written, covering generations or centuries; (2) special rites or at least doctrines, customs, and taboos, growing out of his history and now consciously ascribed to it; (3) a sacred book or books; (4) a sense of group prestige that has survived conflict with other cultures; (5) and usually an organization of leadership (outside of the immediate family) for preserving and passing on the culture and tradition."

Apart from hill-tribes and outcastes, who are more susceptible to Christianity, there are the abject poor and the illiterate among whom the complex culture characteristics have, as the author truly says, little scope to develop themselves. They hardly feel "that they are the honoured custodians of a great tradition, that they have a prestige to maintain that has survived conflict, that they have a share in the organization for preserving or passing on their culture". The struggle which is now going on among the different castes of Hindus to gain a higher status, even to find a Hinduism which does not include Brahmanism, has not escaped the notice of the author. The 'philosophically buttressed' Buddhism of Japan or Hinduism of India has, according to the author, adopted or developed a new technique to meet the new situation, and so the exotic propagandist is less likely to be successful day by day.

Among other causes of conversion, the following may be quoted: (1) "The need for satisfying the physical appetites is found motivating agents in a more or less superficial way *throughout the history of missions* up until the last generation.... even outstanding liberals do deliberately appeal to the craving for food in other ways beside giving direct doles..... The 'bread and butter' motive has been confessed by missionaries to be a very strong one behind certain mass movements toward Christianity—and they are of significant proportions. The threat or torture of *famine* has been a very real force in turning non-Christians toward the propagandists..... The need of food compels non-Christians to make an initial approaching response to missionaries". (2) "..... the healing of the sick is often the means of leading to Christianity the otherwise inaccessible heathen." "To the most obstinate communities, the closed field, the medical missionary is sent. In relieving pain, the doctor arouses as a secondary tendency a direct confidence

which overcomes suspicion and hatred.....the best, and often the only way by which a successful appeal can be made is by means of medical missions." "Western medical knowledge, applied by the missionary physicians, has become the most dependable means of starting that series of reactions on the part of non-Christians (seeking medical aid, having the satisfaction of substantial medical aid, being stirred to personal gratitude, therefore becoming susceptible to the missionary's attempt to ingratiate himself, &c.) which ultimately weaken prejudice and opposition against missions in every land." (3) Mission schools, especially schools for girls, and technical schools affording facilities to Christian converts for vocational training. * (4) Love, i.e., the desire to marry one belonging to the Christian faith. (5) The desire for economic or social advantage, the wish to prosper.

But as already mentioned, the harvest time of Christian missions among the higher classes of Hindus and also among the Japanese and the Chinese is over as the author frankly admits. The old Chinese lady who said—"You foreigners come with opium in one hand and Jesus in the other" (p. 75) expressed the common attitude now prevailing among the higher classes of Asiatics towards Christian missions. "The educated Indian now regards himself as a full-grown man, the equal in every respect of the cultured European, not to be set aside as an Asiatic, or as a member of a dark race." Consequently he resents the missionary's foolish conceit as if he alone possessed a ticket to heaven. Islam everywhere has raised an adamant wall against Christianity, and to try to explain this hostility by racial antipathy and say that "the conflicts of fourteen centuries have opened a blood-stained chasm between Moslems and Christians which very few Moslems have ever crossed", or allege that "it sanctions polygamy and imposes no moral or spiritual obligations that are unwelcome to the unregenerate heart", is not to tell the whole truth. Some of the hardest and most unanswerable attacks against Christianity have been delivered by Moslem propagandist organizations. They have exposed the hollowness of its professions of human brotherhood, its pious frauds such as charms, incantations, exorcisms and miracles, its blood-curdling penalties, its gross polytheism, its puerile myths and legends, the unparalleled brutality of its religious wars, &c. "During the whole struggle [for the emancipation of the slave], the Church always ranged herself on the side of privilege and despotism. She opposed every movement of the worker for liberty of action and freedom of conscience. Now she

claims to have accomplished them. She opposed every discovery of science and every theory. Now she claims them as her own." Baron Tsuzuki of Japan rightly says: "the higher and educated classes are not prone and receptive to the miraculous and supernatural. How can it be otherwise when Western missionaries preach us blind acceptance of all the miracles contained in the Bible, while Western teachers and professors teach us the supremacy of reason...?" Dr. Price recognises this, and says: "Of late the historical derivation of the Bible, and the results of higher and textual criticism have been employed to weaken Christian influence....The periodicals of the non-Christian religions are active and aggressive in publishing papers showing supposed (?) mistakes in the Bible and the conclusions of destructive criticism." One of these periodicals being this magazine, the author quotes the following exquisite myth about it. "*The Modern Review*, perhaps the best and most representative of the monthlies at present, frequently contains a good deal of bombast; the youthful graduates who speak and write on Hinduism have usually far too much of Vivekananda's swagger about them." The articles on Swami Vivekananda in the May and June numbers of 1919 of this magazine are enough refutation of the charge brought against it, if any refutation were needed in the case of a magazine edited by a professed member of the Brahmo Samaj, though the editor has never hesitated to defend all that is best in every religion, Hinduism included.

This brings us to the last aspect of missionary methods with which we propose to deal. As Dr. Coomaraswamy says: "The use of physical force is now indeed rejected; but all that money, social influence, educational bribery, and misrepresentation can effect, is treated as legitimate. With all this often combined great devotion and sincerity of purpose; the combination is dangerous in the extreme.... There is no part of the Christian code of ethics more consistently ignored in missionary circles than the commandment, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour'". The missionary is constitutionally incapable of realising the spiritual life of other peoples, and slander and misrepresentation are his usual stock-in-trade. He is guilty, in the words of the same learned writer of "a relentless and systematic campaign of vilification of all things Indian. I do not mean to say that the missionary quite deliberately falsifies the facts; on the contrary, he deceives himself as well as others.... Thus he blackens India's name in all good faith, if one may call it so, and with the best intentions." Again, "it is a debated question whether there has ever been serious religious persecution in India; it is certain that it has been the regular practice of Buddhist, Hindu, and some Muhammadan rulers, not merely to tolerate, but to support all sects alike. Such tolerance the missionary uses to spread his own intolerance."

The get-up, printing, and binding of the book leave nothing to be desired. The book is almost totally free from printing mistakes. In all these respects, it seems, Sanghai can well teach a lesson to the metropolis of India.

* "English education is now desired by many... India is poor.....for those who desire English education for girls, it is still generally a case of the mission school, or nothing. The mission school is subsidised by the contributions of the supporters of missions all over the world, and can afford to offer the English education at less than cost price. The bribe is then accepted. Not till India refuses to be thus pauperised by those whose aim is the destruction of her faiths, can she be free."

(Coomaraswamy).

A MONUMENTAL WORK ON CENTRAL ASIAN ART

By PROFESSOR M. WINTERNITZ

DURING the last thirty years the investigation of Central Asian antiquities has gradually become an important branch of Oriental studies. Pioneer work had been done by *Dr. Sven Hedin* (1894 to 1896), and in the following years by some Russian and Finnish travellers. But it was not until 1900-1 that *Dr. M. A. (now Sir Aurel) Stein* undertook his first great archaeological and geographical expedition to the Southern and South-Western part of Eastern Turkistan, which brought to light the most astounding discoveries of monuments and documents of an ancient civilisation that had been buried in the sands for centuries. A paper read by *Dr. Stein* at the international Congress of Orientalists, held at Hamburg in 1902, on the extraordinary results achieved by his expedition which shed a flood of light on the history of Asia, gave the impulse to carrying out the scheme, conceived already in 1899, of a German expedition to the North-Eastern part of Eastern Turkistan, the oasis of Turfan, to be sent out by the Ethnological Museum in Berlin. This first expedition was undertaken by *Prof. A. Gruenwedel* and *Dr. G. Huth* in 1902-3, and was followed by a second expedition of *Dr. von Le Coq* in 1904-5, a third one by *Prof. Gruenwedel* and *Dr. v. Le Coq* in 1905-7, and a fourth one again by *Dr. v. Le Coq* in 1913-14. All these expeditions were also accompanied by the technical assistant of the Museum *Mr. Bartus*.

The results of these Prussian Turfan expeditions were no less startling than those of *Sir Aurel Stein's* expeditions to Kashgar and Khotan. Numerous fragments of manuscripts were found, and quite a number of new scripts and new languages were discovered. The Tokharian had to be added to the group of Indo-European languages, and more and more Eastern Turkistan was found to have been during the first eight centuries A. D., an important centre of culture in which Iranian, Indian, Turkish and Chinese tribes, and Buddhists, Nestorian Christians and Manichaeans came into close contact with one another, and left traces of a strangely mixed civilisation. Numerous remnants of Buddhist monuments, temples, monasteries

with wall-paintings, terracottas, stucco-statues, etc., discovered by the leaders of the German expeditions, bear witness of the time (629 A. D.), when *Hsuean Tsang*, on his way to India, came to Khocho, the capital of modern Turfan, and found there numbers of Buddhist monasteries with many thousands of monks. And along with the fragments of Buddhist documents and the remnants of Buddhist monuments there were also found fragments of Manichaean books and book-rolls with fine miniatures, and remnants of Manichaean wall-paintings and pictures painted on silk.

All these remnants of ancient Asian culture were doomed to decay and destruction, when *Prof. Gruenwedel*, the late *Dr. Huth*, and *Dr. v. Le Coq* came to save what still could be saved of these treasures. Now these invaluable treasures are preserved in the Ethnological Museum at Berlin, and many scholars are at work in deciphering the literary documents and in preserving, reproducing and describing the monuments of art.

The results of these labours are being published under the title "*Ergebnisse der Kgl. preussischen Turfan-Expeditionen*" (Results of the Royal Prussian Turfan Expeditions), and the latest of these publications is the monumental work by *A. von Le Coq* who had taken part in the three last expeditions, on "*Buddhist late-antique art in Central Asia*". (The full title is given in the note below.)* The work consists of four parts, containing a large number of plates and learned introductions with full descriptions of the works of art, reproduced on the plates.

The first part is devoted to the *Plastic Art*, and contains 45 plates, of which 10 are in coloured heliotype. The art of eastern

*A von Le Coq—die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien.

1. Teil: Die Plastik.

2. Teil: Die Manichäische Miniaturen.

3. Teil: Die Wandmalereien.

4. Teil: Atlas zu den Wandmalereien. 1 Mappe mit begleitendem Text.

Publishers: Dietrich Reimer (E. v. S. Vohsen)
A. G. in Berlin S.W. 48, Wilhelmstr. 29. 1922-1924.
Size of Parts 1-3: 3. x 46 cm, Part 4: 50 x 60 cm.

Turkistan is called "buddhistische spaetan-tike", that is, "buddhist late-antique art" by our author, because it is based on the latest phase of ancient Greek art. As it is impossible to understand this art without being somewhat familiar with the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara, the author has prefixed to the specimens of plastic art from Turkistan 17 plates showing some specimens of Gandharan art from the Berlin Museum. Gandhara was an Indian country until the 10th or 11th century A. D., when it became Iranian through the Mohammedan conquest and the Afghan invasion. For centuries Gandhara was the very threshold of India and a centre of intellectual life in Northern India. In the last half of the second century B. C., Buddhism made great progress among the Hellenic and Hellenised inhabitants of Gandhara. And when, about 130 B. C., Greek rule in Bactria had to give way to that of the Indo-Scythians, the latter adopted the culture of their subjects. Thus it is that in the first century A. D., we find a peculiar religious art which shows every trace of Hellenic influence, and yet is thoroughly Buddhist and filled with Indian spirit. Look, for instance, at the wonderful image of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara on Plate 3 : it reminds us at once of many a Greek statue, and yet as we look at the head leaning in a musing position against the hand, the arm being supported by the knee, and at the expression of the quite Indian face, the figure recalls all the legends of the great saviour who has firmly resolved to make the sorrows of all creatures his own, and not to reach Buddhahood until all beings in the world are saved.

This Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara which is Greek as well as Indian, has become the foundation of the religious art of all Buddhist nations of Asia, including China and Japan. And it is this very *Central Asian Art*, represented by so many beautiful specimens in this volume, that forms the *bridge* from the art of Gandhara to that of Eastern Asia.

Most of the figures and heads found in Turfan are not sculptures, but products of a modelling process. For, as there was no available stone, the material chiefly employed was stucco or clay. Images of gods were generally made of clay. Much has been destroyed, and there is danger that more of these clay figures may succumb to the European climate. Hence Dr. v. Le Coq has represented as many figures as possible in coloured heliotype. Special attention may

be drawn to the finely painted Bodhisattva heads (Plate 20), the beautiful Devata figures (Pl. 30 and 31), the fine Buddha heads and statues of wood (Pl. 42-44), and the richly decorated vessel made of red clay from Khotan.

The *second part* contains the *Manichaean miniatures* (11 illustrations and maps in the text, 10 heliotype plates, 6 of them in finest facsimile colour heliotype). In the introduction to this volume, the author gives a short account of Manichaeism, its teaching, its history, and of the life of Mani, the founder of this religion.

Manichaeism was founded by the Persian Mani about the middle of the third century A. D. It is a syncretistic religion with Zoroastrian, Christian, and Buddhist elements, and an admixture of popular Babylonian religion. This syncretism was the reason for its spread in the East and in the West, but also the reason for much persecution from rival sects. Mani himself suffered the martyr's death, he was crucified (about 273 A. D.) by order of the Persian King Bahram. But Manichaean missionaries came to West and East Iran, Western and Eastern Turkistan, and as far as N. W. India, in later times also to China where we find Manichaean settlements in the 7th and 8th centuries A. D. About 2000 very small fragments of Manichaean manuscripts were found in Turfan. Among these are two fragments of the legend of Barlaam and Joasaph, from which Dr. v. Le Coq concludes that it was the Manichaeans, and not the Christians, who brought the Buddha legend to Europe and transformed it into the legend of Barlaam and Joasaph, which indeed afterwards became a famous Christian legend. The Manichaean fragments of manuscripts are written in Iranian and in Turkish dialects. The former may belong to the 6th and 7th, the latter to the 8th and 9th centuries, when the Turkish Uighurs who had been converted to Manichaeism, ruled in Eastern Turkistan.

Mani, however, was not only the founder of a religion, but also a great artist. He was fond of music and painting. And among the Persians he is best known, not as a religious man or a heretic, but as "*Mani the Painter*". He is said to have himself decorated temples with wall-paintings, and painted the miniatures for the book, containing his gospel, called Artang. Mani also invented a peculiar script, derived from Persian and Syrian, for his books. The writing of religious books was practised by the Mani-

chaeans as a fine art, the books had also artistic bindings, and were above all richly decorated with miniatures. Dr. v. Le Coq ascribes to these Manichaean miniatures great importance for the whole history of Asiatic art. It goes back to a Persian (Sassanian) school of painting which shows a mixture of Persian and late antique elements in its style. It was, however, also influenced by the Gandharan art of painting. Some historians believe that Mani himself received his training in the art of painting in the country of Bamiyan which is close to Gandhara. When in later times the Uighurs were superseded by the Mongols, these inherited the miniature painting which through them came to China. Afterwards Mongol rulers again transferred it from China to Persia. Thus this art wandered from West to East and again from East to West. Most probably, this Manichaean miniature painting is also the forerunner of the neo-Persian (Islamic) miniature painting. Red, blue, and yellow are the most frequent colours used in our fragments, green also occurs frequently enough. These are the same colours that prevail in the Indo-Persian school of the Moghul times.

The Manichaean fragments are chiefly found in the ruins of Khocho. Most of them are very small fragments, poor remnants of what once must have been masterpieces of art. On Plate 1 a fragment of a wall-painting with the supposed portrait of Mani is reproduced which has the appearance of being enlarged from a miniature. Interesting is also an illuminated book-roll reproduced on Plate 5, which is found among the Manichaean manuscript, but may be Buddhist. (Under the Uighur rulers, Buddhists, Christians and Manichaeans lived peacefully together, sometimes even using the same temples). The same plate shows fragments of an illuminated book-roll, of which happily two charming female heads are preserved. Plate 6 reproduces fragments of a splendidly illuminated title page of Manichaean text, two fragments of a book-roll and of a book in Indian pothi form that may be Buddhist, and a fragment of the miniature of a Buddha, the subject being Buddhist, but the representation Manichaean. The largest fragments are found on Plates 8a and 8b. One of them shows a group consisting of what seem to be a Manichaean high priest in white robe, an Uighur king and nobles. But strangely enough we see in the front part of the picture a group of Hindu gods, the first of

them being Ganesa, the second a god with a boar's head (Vishnu's boar incarnation?), while the third has the appearance of a Brahmin.

Parts III and IV belong to the same group being both devoted to the *wall-paintings*. The third part contains (on 16 heliotype plates and 11 plates in finest coloured facsimile heliotype) a collection of small fragments of wall-paintings, selected for their artistic value or on account of their importance for the history of art. The introduction (with a number of illustrations in the text) treats of the technique of the paintings and of the places where they were found. These places are ruins of temples, many of them cave-temples. As in India, so in Eastern Turkistan also Buddhist temples are generally found in out-of-the-way places, removed from the bustle of the world, with a beautiful, often romantic scenery, in places near rivers, rocks and glens with torrents coming down during the rains or snow-breaks. The wall-paintings of these Buddhist temples show a great variety of styles which, however, all go back to a style of painting that agreed exactly with that of the Gandhara sculptures. From this style sprang the variations through which Buddhist art of painting passed on its way through Turkistan to China and Japan under continued new Indian and Persian influences.

Thus Plate 5 reproduces pictures of dragons painted on the door-vaults of a cave-temple. These dragons have their prototypes in Gandhara art, and the Chinese dragon derives its origin from them. On Plates 6 and 7 we find reproductions of interesting remnants of paintings from the walls of the same cave-temple. These walls were decorated with a complete series of pictures illustrating the life of the Buddha. Unfortunately the paintings are much damaged, and some of them have been entirely destroyed. Scenes from the life of the Buddha are also represented on Plates 8, 9 and 10. The painting reproduced on the coloured Plate 8 shows the contest in the use of the sword between the Bodhisattva and two Sakya youths. One of the finest and best preserved pictures is that reproduced on Plate 12, representing the Parinirvana of the Buddha. Plate 14 gives a reproduction of one of those paintings which are generally found in the cells of the temples, representing the pious founders of the temple and their families. This painting from Bazaklik near Murtug represents the Uighur princes who founded the temple,

with their families: three rows of women and three rows of men, some of the faces showing distinctly Eastern-Asian features. Plate 17 shows the remarkable figure of an aged Uighur prince painted on a temple flag in beautiful colours. Plate 21 is a coloured reproduction of two sitting Buddhas with nimbus in beautiful iridescent colours; the face of the one Buddha is damaged, but that of the other is of charming expression. Plate 22 shows a dragon in a lake in splendid colours. Plate 23 is an interesting scene from a wall-painting in a small temple of Bazaklik representing two women feeding cows. If Prof. Grunwedel is right, this painting is meant to illustrate the legend of Sujata who, anxious to offer to the Buddha some particularly good milk, feeds (together with her servant Purna) 500 cows with the milk of 1000, 250 with the milk of 500 cows and so on, and finally 8 cows with the milk of 16 cows, thus obtaining thick and sweet milk for the gift offered to the Buddha. Plates 24 and 25 are reproductions of fragments of a floor painted *al fresco*, the floor representing a lake with beautiful lotuses and other flowers, geese, snakes, dragons, etc., and (on Pl. 25) a fine picture of a winged water-stag.

Part IV, the Atlas of Wall-Paintings, is a portfolio of 20 large-sized plates of reproductions, every one of which shows how beautiful the originals must have been, before they were damaged. The descriptions are given in a separate fascicle.

One of the finest paintings is reproduced on Plate 6 from the Stupa wall in the first corridor of the Maya cave-temple in Qyzil. It represents the distribution of the relics of the Buddha, and is comparatively well preserved. We see princes riding on horses, one of them on an elephant. Some of the faces are wonderfully expressive. Dr. v. Le Coq, makes it probable that the armour, helmets and quivers with which the princes are represented, are of Sassanian origin. A charming picture is that reproduced on Plate 7 of a god (painted in white) and a female Gandharva (painted black-skinned), both in graceful positions, the Gandharva playing on a musical instrument. Ceilings are generally decorated with mountain sceneries, just as floors generally are represented as lakes. Plates 13 and 14 show such mountain sceneries with Stupas, Buddhas and other figures. A fresco-floor on Plate 16 again represents a lake with flowers of all kinds, ducks swimming in it and playing here

An interesting painting, showing grisly pictures from hell, is reproduced on Plate 19.

In a concluding note of the Introduction to Part III, Dr. v. Le Coq states his views about the ethnographical conditions and historical relations between East and West in Eastern Turkistan, at the time of the introduction of Buddhism and later. Eastern Turkistan was not an Indian country, as the name "Serindia", chosen by Sir Aurel Stein, would suggest. Iranian peoples were settled in the towns and as peasants in the villages of the oases of the West. But the ruling class in the oasis of Khotan was Indian, perhaps mixed with Tibeto-Burman tribes. The Tokharians were in earlier times, down to about the middle of the 8th century, settled in the oases of Kuchar, Kara-shahr and Turfan. The Turkish Uighurs conquered the land in the middle of the 8th century. Buddhist antique art came from Gandhara and the Punjab across Kashmir and the Pamir to Khotan, from Iranian countries across the Pamir and Alai to Yarkand and Kashgar, the one being a more Indian, the other a more Iranian variation of the same. The two streams of art met in Eastern Turkistan and gave rise to that art which fertilized the artistic capacities of China and caused the splendid development of Chinese art under the Tang dynasty. It seems, if Dr. v. Le Coq is right, that there was no high art in China before the Chinese came into contact with the Graeco-Buddhist art of Eastern Turkistan. For though the Chinese ruled in Eastern Turkistan, already under the Han dynasty, neither sculpture nor painting of Eastern Turkistan shows any trace of Chinese influence in those early times before the beginning of the rule of the Tang dynasty. It remains to be seen whether the experts on Chinese art will agree with these conclusions. Certainly do not all historians of art agree with our author in giving such prominence to the Hellenic influence, and are inclined to credit the artists of ancient India and the Far East with more originality.

However that may be, this much is certain that the art of Eastern Turkistan is of immense importance for the whole history of Oriental art, unfortunately only remnants and ruins of this art have been left. But we have to be thankful to those courageous pioneers to whom we owe not only the discovery, but also the preservation even of these remnants. There is little hope for the preservation of those monuments and documents which have not yet been secured by

excavations, and saved from utter destruction. For the present population of Eastern Turkistan, Mohammedan Turks under Chinese rule, do everything to destroy what may still be left of Buddhist monuments, partly from motives of superstition and religious fanaticism, partly from utilitarian motives on the part of professional diggers for treasures (gold, bronze, and timber), and even of peasants who have found the plaster of the painted walls of ancient temples to be the best manure for exhausted fields. And still greater damage than has been done and is being done by the hand of man, was and is caused by the frequent earthquakes in those parts of the world.

We have all the more reason to be thankful to Dr. von Le Coq for the trouble he has taken in selecting, reproducing and describing these rare remnants of ancient art, and to the publishers who have spared no cost in bringing out this monumental work. It is an important collection of materials for students of the history of Oriental art, but also the general educated public will be interested to see from these remnants of Central Asian art,—in which Greeks, Iranians, Indians, Turks and Chinese have had some share in one way or other,—how thin the walls are that separate the nations of the world *in the realm of the spirit*.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AS A PUBLIC SPEAKER

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE

Lecturer in Political Science, State University of Iowa

JUST sixty-two years ago on this fourth week of September, Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, the document which set the African slaves free in America.

This famous document is but a reflection of the political philosophy contained in other documents still more famous: the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution. In the early period of the controversy between England and the American colonies, there was little opposition in America to the monarchical principle of government. There was no thought of human equality. Slavery was justified as "God's punishment for sin and the right of Christians to rule over heathen peoples."

There were men who believed that government was from God, and that kings ruled by divine right. To the American Loyalists, like some of the Moderates of India of today, the right of revolution was a "damnable doctrine, derived from Lucifer, the father of rebellion." The monarchs were a species of awe-inspiring little deities. Whatever they said was taken for gospel—more or less, and mostly more. Gradually the monarchical ideas began to fade away. With the

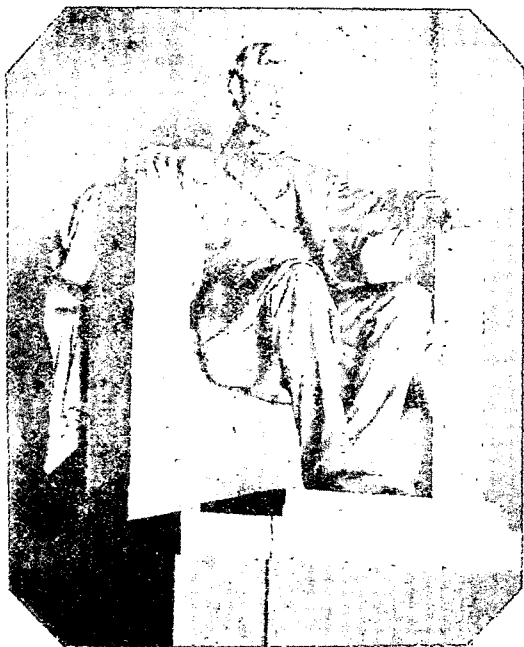
progress of the War of Independence, there grew a strong republican sentiment. It was stimulated specially by such works of Thomas Paine as *Common Sense*, *The American Crisis*, and *The Rights of Man*.^{*} He assailed the hereditary monarchy and the privileged nobility. He laughed away the divine right of kings, and said that "one honest man was worth more than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived." As a result of government for self, instead of self-government, the aristocracy "are not the farmers who work the land, and raise the produce, but are the mere consumers of the rent; and when compared with the active world are the drones, a seraglio of males" who live for lazy self-enjoyment. The aristocracy according to Edmund Burke, the worshipper of the old and traditional, was the Corinthian capital of political society.†

^{*} Napoleon told Thomas Paine "That a statue of gold ought to be erected to him in every city in the universe." He also assured that he always slept with a copy of *The Rights of Man* under his pillow.

It was Thomas Paine who first used the words "The United States of America."

† Even though his views on India showed a streak of liberalism, Burke was essentially a Tory.

Paine bitterly attacked the pompous generalizations of Burke. The base is still wanting, pointed out Thomas Paine, "and whenever a nation chuse to act a Samson, not blind, but bold, down will go the temple of Dagon, the Lords and the Philistines." Even after the Thirteen States had become independent (1783) and the federal government was established (1789), slavery was not considered



The Heroic Statue of Lincoln, 20 ft. High and Weighing 175 Tons, in the Lincoln Memorial at Washington

incompatible with the republican doctrine of natural equality. It was left for the Civil War (1861-1865) to make the slaves "forever free". To President Lincoln belongs the credit of cleansing the Republic of the stain of slavery.

In Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, the liberal America saw a new democracy. Today Lincoln is remembered as an emancipator, a statesman, a speaker, a savior of his country. He is indeed the god of American idolatry.

To be sure Washington is a large figure in

American history. Without him, there might not have been a United States. George Washington of the eighteenth century was not however, a typical American. "He was essentially", chronicles a historian, "an English gentleman. All his tastes, all his traditions and many of his associates and friends ran back to the mother country. America might have imported her Washington, grown from the old country. She had to grow her own Lincoln." Lincoln is the representative and typical American. He is the best embodiment of those ideals which are close to the heart of America. "He is typical", wrote Lord Bryce in an introduction to *Speeches and Letters of Abraham Lincoln* "in the fact that he sprang from the masses of the people, that he remained through his whole career a man of the people, that his chief desire was to be in accord with the beliefs and wishes of the people, that he never failed to trust in the people and to rely on their support." Lincoln is not only the typical and first American; but he is as one of the dozen permanently great figures of world history. He spoke not only for the people, but the genius man.

Although Abraham Lincoln has been dead only a little over half a century, he has already become an American tradition, a symbol of simple, big-hearted greatness. As a visible proof of this, witness the vast output of Lincoln literature. It is sufficient of itself to constitute an excellent small library. There have been written so far 4,000 volumes on this peerless American, and dozens of new Lincoln books are coming out of the press almost every year. Doubtless a few of his biographies are dull and hackneyed; but the new book on Lincoln by Dr. Dodge is a work of very high and lasting merit.* It is the only work at present which makes a searching and exhaustive study of all the speeches and writings of America's noblest citizen. One rises from a reading of the volume with a great lift of the heart. Dr. Dodge has made the present and future students of Lincoln his debtors.

It is more than difficult for me to write a review of this book, because I took a course in Shakespeare with Professor Daniel Kilham Dodge, then the head of the English Department at the University of Illinois. I am

And the difference between Toryism and Liberalism is well stated in Gladstone's motto at the entrance to the Liberal Club; "The Principle of Toryism is distrust of the people, qualified by fear. The principle of Liberalism is trust of the people qualified by prudence."

* *Abraham Lincoln—Master of Words* By Daniel Kilham Dodge. D. Appleton and Company New York and London. \$1.50.

fraid that my heart-felt gratitude and respect to the kindly, inspiring, and keen-minded orator whose riches of thought I was privileged to share, would sway my judgment. Nevertheless it is only fair to state the fact. Moreover, this article does not presume to be a critical study of the delightful little volume of Dr. Dodge.

The story of Abraham Lincoln, who reached from the humblest log-cabin to the highest place in the gift of his countrymen, is extraordinary. Dr. Dodge in the very opening chapter of the book makes some contrasts between Abraham Lincoln and William Ewart Gladstone, both born in the same year, 1809. Gladstone, the son of a wealthy Liverpool merchant, attended the aristocratic Eton and Oxford, and entered the British Parliament the same year in which Lincoln began his political career in the State of Illinois. Lincoln's early life may be condensed into a single phrase of Gray's *Elegy*: "The short and simple annals of the poor". Abraham Lincoln was the son of a carpenter and a farmer, illiterate and thriftless. While Gladstone was living in his father's luxurious mansion and studying classics, Lincoln was paying his way as a poor man, or navigating a flat-bottomed boat in the Mississippi. All of Abraham's schooling combined would hardly make up more than a year.

Gladstone, the true blue bourgeois, won fame in his day not only as an orator, a statesman and a practitioner in the arts of Parliament, but also as a scholar. With all the advantages that came from birth, wealth and education, he did not, however, succeed in leaving a single piece of writing which has found a place in the world's literature. What of his speeches? Yes, there are a few. But, asks an English critic, "Who ever reads Gladstone's speeches?" They leave us cold. In Mr. Gladstone's case it is quite a demonstrable fact that popularity is not immortality. He is, already, close to the cinderpath that leads into oblivion.

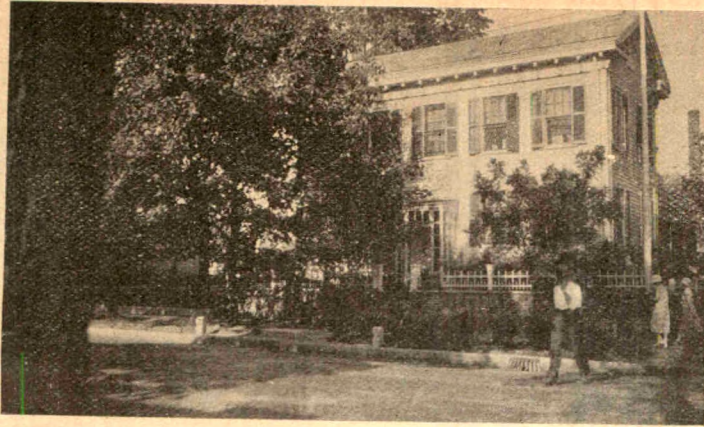
Lincoln, brought up on the edge of civilization with few books and fewer schools, never pretended to be a scholar. He never went to a college. Yet his life was deeply intellectual, and he is now conceded a place by the literary judgment of the world among the supreme masters of English prose style. Today his letter of condolence to Mrs. Bixby who lost five sons fighting for the Union, and his Gettysburg Address are recognized as the finest specimens of the purest English.

While only a quarter of a century after his death, the writings and orations of Gladstone are all but forgotten, the works of Lincoln are so pregnant with life that sixty years of change in the mind and world have not robbed them of all their vitality, the virginity of thought, even when they may lack finished technique. There is to be found at this moment on the walls of one of the colleges of Gladstone's own Oxford University the Lincoln letter to Bixby, which is the best model for its kind ever written in the English language.

The question is immediately suggested: How could Lincoln, the comparatively unlettered country lawyer who came of rough, ignorant, poverty-stricken stock, produce these classics of English language? Both Professor Dodge and Professor Bissett (*Abraham Lincoln—A Universal Man*) believe in the genius of Lincoln as the explanation of his achievements. Others ascribe his success to industry which, like his infallible humor, never ran out. There are still others who maintain that the success of Lincoln was due to his strong ambition, character, dynamic quality, the urgency of a message that he must convey. All this may be true; but it seems to me that his power consisted largely in his enthusiasm for humanity. His soul vibrated in tune with the highest ideals of human betterment. He had an unusual stock of sympathy, which the late Professor G. Stanley Hall rarely described in his recently published "*Life and Confessions of a Psychologist*" as "the power to feel with and for others". After all, Lincoln was a genius. That is all we know, all we can know.

The book before me is the most original biography of Lincoln. Original it is, undoubtedly, in many respects. But it is not a biography in the ordinary sense of the term. Dr. Dodge calls it *Master of Words*. It presupposes a good deal of knowledge of the life and works of Lincoln. It gives only so much of his life, in a casual way, that it furnishes a background for Lincoln as a man of letters and as an effective speaker.

"With words we govern men", said Disraeli. And Lincoln swayed his audience by the masterly use of words. He knew how to array "the best words in their best order," as Coleridge put it in another connection. But Lincoln was not a mere juggler of words. He never spoke just for the sake of speaking. He set before him higher standards in public speaking. Lincoln's beau ideal of an orator is to be found in the memorial



The Home of Abraham Lincoln at Springfield, Illinois. It is
One of the Shrines of American Patriotism

euology he delivered upon Henry Clay, a noted American statesman. Listen :

"Mr. Clay's predominant sentiment, from first to last, was a deep devotion to the cause of human liberty—a strong sympathy with the oppressed everywhere, and an ardent wish for their elevation. With him this was a primary and all-controlling passion. Subsidiary to this was the conduct of his whole life. He loved his country partly because it was his own country, and mostly because it was a free country; and he burned with a zeal for its advancement, prosperity and glory, because he saw in such the advancement, prosperity, and glory of human liberty, human right, and human nature."

What Lincoln said in this oration on Clay, he might have truthfully said of himself.

Many of the latter-day orators, lacking in depth of thought, get on by purely adventitious aids: a sleek appearance, a musical voice, a power of dramatic gesture, and a 'high-falutin' language. Lincoln possessed very few of these aids. His manners were plain. His figure was tall, awkward, and ungainly. "Its movements", describes the English publicist Lord Charnwood, "when he began to speak rather added to its ungainliness, and, though to a trained actor his elocution seemed perfect, his voice when he first opened his mouth surprised and jarred upon his hearers with a harsh note of curiously high pitch. But it was the sort of oddity that arrests attention, and people's attention once caught, was apt to be held by the man's transparent earnestness. Soon, as he lost thought of himself in his subject, his voice and manner changed; deeper notes, of which the friends record the beauty, rang out, the sad eyes kindled, and the tall, gaunt figure with the strange gesture of the long, uplifted arms, acquired even a certain majesty." To the ordinary stranger, Lincoln might appear

at first as "a very odd fish"; but his hearers were impressed by the force of his personality, the soundness of his reasoning, and the irresistible honesty of his motives. He had that homely wisdom which comes from the knowledge of all forms of life and all shades of character. Lincoln, more than any other orator of his time, scored his points by a happy combination of humor, classic restraint, and plain horse-sense.

He avoided as a rule "purple patches", artificial decorations. Classic quotation was in the language of Dr. Johnson, "the

parole of literary men all over the world". It might have been so in the British world of Pitt, Fox, Sheridan and Burke; but the tradition of Latin and Greek quotations passed away with Mr. Gladstone. In vain will a student search through the speeches of Lincoln for classical quotations, similes, and tags. Simple in his life, he used the plain home-spun language of the plain people. Yet what can surpass the sheer beauty of the closing words of his First Inaugural Address:

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Lincoln, as has already been hinted, had a fine feeling for style; but its strength lay in aptness, simplicity, and directness of language. For purity of diction, the following sentences from the Second Inaugural Address are well worth memorizing:

"Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk; and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so it must be said. 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may

achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

The most famous speech of Lincoln is the short address at the dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, which took about two minutes to deliver. "The English language", observes Dr. Dodge, "had never before contained an address that to such a degree combined the qualities of beauty and brevity." The speech is a perfect gem. There is not in it the least touch of rhetoric. It calmly states certain truths and principles in phrases so strong and simple and vivid that they instantly grip one's imagination. There is perhaps nothing like it in the whole range of English and American oratory. To appreciate Lincoln as the supreme master of the magic of words, one need only read the following extract from the immortal Gettysburg Address:

"The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they [the brave dead] did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from this honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

The Gettysburg Address, at any rate, is not likely to perish from the earth as long as English is spoken in any quarter of the globe.

Lincoln bore his greatness with true un-

affectedness. Even his greatest utterances have no trace of self-laudation or self-righteousness. If anything, he seemed to lack, at times, sufficient self-appreciation. Though never timid in the face of a great issue, he often got into the valleys of discouragement. The egocentrism of Napoleon, the exalted self-feeling of Roosevelt, or the megalomania of the imperial little man Curzon and the last grotesque Kaiser formed no part of his mental equipment. With all the inner urge that there was in Lincoln, he kept his ego well under control. He dreamt dreams and saw visions like many a great man; but with the innate modesty, which is the standard coin in the realm of high souls, he resolutely translated his doctrine of political democracy into action. He was noted, like St. Francis of Assisi or Mahatma Gandhi of India for his mighty gentleness.

Lincoln was the foremost prophet of democracy in America.* With him oratory was only a means and not an end. He used his talents for the welfare of all. The central idea in all his writings and speeches was the equality of men. Social service, in the truest sense, was the warp and woof of his spiritual fabric.

Dr. Dodge with his extensive learning makes a very interesting and reliable guide in the study of the Lincoln saga. His book as an interpreter of Lincoln the speaker is of exceeding value.

* "Abraham Lincoln, the Prophet of Democracy" by Sudhindra Bose in *The Modern Review*, January 1921, pp. 1-8.

CASTE PREJUDICE

By C. F. ANDREWS

It is important, from time to time, in India, to get a vivid mental picture of the caste prejudice, which lies behind the white man's attitude towards the other races in Africa. I shall deal with the same caste prejudice in India itself between high caste and low caste later on.

I have already told, on another occasion, the story of the indignation, which once I

unconsciously aroused among my own fellow-countrymen, on board the S. S. Clemert Hill, while crossing Lake Victoria Nyanza. They saw me take the baby of a Sikh non-commissioned officer in my arms in order to nurse it. Quite unknowingly and to my great amazement, I had committed a serious offence, according to their code of racial ethics. For one of the officers in Government employ

in Kenya Colony, who was on the same boat, came up to me and said: "When we, white men, saw you take that black man's baby in your arms, we felt inclined to murder you and pitch you into the Lake. That kind of thing is not done in our country!" This remark of his was a libel on my countrymen in Kenya as a whole; but there can be no doubt, that there are many who hold this Government official's views,—though not, I hope, in such an utterly repulsive form.

Quite recently, I have come across an exhibition of the same 'caste' mentality in the columns of the '*East African Standard*,' which is the leading European paper in Kenya and Uganda. The incident, that raised the storm of indignation, in this case, was an act of justice. A white man, who was arrested as a criminal, was led through the streets of Nairobi handcuffed in the same way as other prisoners. The first two passages which follow are from leading articles published on two successive days after this event. The two further extracts are from the correspondence columns of the same paper. The first editorial, which I have slightly abbreviated, reads as follows:—

The people of Nairobi, who had occasion to pass along Government Road about one o'clock yesterday afternoon, were amazed to see the degrading and unnecessary exhibition of a young European being led along the busy thoroughfare handcuffed in charge of a Police Constable. Members of the white community turned their heads from the unusual spectacle shocked and disgusted: hundreds of natives stared curiously, no doubt tremendously impressed by the even-handedness of justice in Kenya. We are unaware of the reasons why it was not considered possible to convey this young man to his destination in a ricksha or by a route and at a time which would not have entailed a public exhibition which was in no sense a credit to the Department of the Government concerned. We imagine that the Administration, in all branches, ought to be sufficiently aware of the delicate racial balance preserved in the country and of the necessity of giving official assistance to the non-official population in the preservation of the high prestige of the white community which is so essential, if Western civilisation is to be applied as an educative influence among African peoples.

The second editorial appeared on the next day in the following terms:—

A correspondent writing in the *Standard* to-day voices what we believe to be the indignation shared by the general public aroused by the degrading spectacle of a handcuffed white man which was denounced by us on Tuesday. On enquiry, we discover that there is no provision made in the Estimate for defraying the expense

of transporting prisoners between the Court, the Police Headquarters and the Gaol and that the Government system of keeping accounts does not respond to humane instincts. Our principal objection has been, not to the use of handcuffs, which may conceivably be quite necessary in certain cases, but to the unfortunate hour and place at which the incident occurred. But it is a regrettable fact that the official Financial Instructions, which dictate the monetary activities of Departments of the Kenya Government, were not drawn up by men who, even if they visualised the possibility of a regrettable scene such as that recorded, would perhaps understand the delicate feelings of a white community in a native country. As it seems impossible for the Police Department to find a means, within the four corners of Treasury regulations, to provide the small sum necessary to avoid a repetition of a regrettable incident, the *East African Standard* has great pleasure in offering to defray the cost of transport in the future. We do so, not because we desire personal reward from a "gesture," but because we believe that the provision of the money is necessary until the Legislative Council is able to convince the Treasury that voluntary official action is essential and that common sense is a greater quality than strict adherence to red tape.

The correspondent, referred to in the above editorial, thus lets loose his feelings of indignation and horror:—

Sir,—It is with feelings of complete disgust and horror that I have read your article entitled, "Unnecessary Exhibition," in your issue of to-day's date.

Words fail me to express what I think of the police official, who gave the order to lead a white man along Government Road, in full daylight, handcuffed.

I do not think that this matter should be allowed to pass unnoticed. The official responsible for this more than lamentable blunder should not go unpunished. I suggest that he should, at the very least, be severely censured and removed to a district where white men are scarce.

I hope that this letter may catch the eye of the public-spirited member for my district and that he will bring it up at the next meeting of the Legislative Council.

I cannot conceive that the Chief of Police in Nairobi, who, I feel sure, must be a man of the world and not an ignorant infant, can allow this disgusting exhibition to go unchastised.

I can think of no crime which justifies this wanton attack on the prestige of the white man. Carlyle once said that the world was full of fools. I agree with him. I would add that it is full of dangerous fools, and I look to our members on the Council to do their best to protect us.

The final quotation is from a letter addressed to the Commissioner of the Police by the Editor of the *East African Standard*:—

Sir,—I understand from our conversation of the afternoon, that no provision is made in the Estimates for the conveyance of persons in custody between the Police Headquarters, or the Prison, and the Supreme Court. In order to rectify this deficiency to some extent and prevent the recurrence of such a spectacle as was seen in

the main street of Nairobi on Monday afternoon, the *East African Standard* undertakes to defray the expense of transporting handcuffed European prisoners by motor car between these places whenever such necessity exists.

On receipt of information from you or from the Superintendent that such expense has been incurred, we shall have much pleasure in meeting it at once.

As the *East African Standard* is the leading newspaper of the Colony, this point of view may be taken as not untypical of the mentality of the Colony itself.

I am inclined to put side by side with it, without any further comment, the following report from the Madras Presidency, which is dated almost at the same time as the above occurrence in Nairobi:—

Kumbakonam, Jan. 29.—As regards the death that took place on the 26th instant, the Sub-Magistrate of Tiruvadamathur, who was camping at Twili, issued an order to the effect that the corpse must be carried only through the route chalked out in his original order under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. According to the orders of the Magistrate, the corpse (Adi-Dravida) had to be carried through the caste non-Brahmin and Brahmin streets. Besides, there were temples belonging to the caste Hindu community all along the prescribed route. The caste-Hindus entered an emphatic protest against the action of the Magistrate. By this time one Pakkiri Padayachi, a small Mirasdars of the village, was arrested under Sec. 107, Criminal Procedure Code, when he went to the Police Station to present a petition objecting to the route prescribed by the Magistrate. The Magistrate, realising that the situation was getting very serious, cancelled the order promulgated that morning and issued another order chalking out a third route

this time. Then the Magistrate arrested two other caste-Hindus by name Gopala Pillai and Ramaswamy Padayachi under Section 107, Criminal Procedure Code.

The arrested persons were taken into Police custody immediately; and this morning they were taken to Kumbakonam. Very rich and influential Mirasdars have come here to move for bail before Mr. J. Green, I. C. S., Sub-Divisional Magistrate. It may be interesting to note here that all the three persons arrested are plaintiffs in the civil suit pending before the local District Munsiff's Court.

It is the general talk in the village that had it not been for the timely arrival of Congress workers on the scene and their advice to people to be non-violent, the entire situation would have taken a bad turn.

I have been wondering to myself all the while which is worse,—the account I have given of the incident on Lake Victoria Nyanza together with the indignation expressed in Nairobi over a white criminal taken along the street handcuffed; or the horror of the caste community in South India, because the dead body of a fellow human being was carried along the centre of certain Brahmin and non-Brahmin 'caste' streets. The only opinion I have reached is, that the one is just as bad as the other, and there is not a pin to choose between them. The white race in Africa is going headlong down the same precipitous descent that some of the more educated classes of India went down, to their own ruin, centuries ago. History repeats itself, and the law of *Karma* is infallibly exact.

BRITISH WORLD POLITICS OF TO-DAY AND INDIA

BY DR. TARAKNATH DAS, M. A., PH. D.

THE New York Evening Post, in an editorial entitled, "A Snub for John Bull", published in the issue of January 22, 1925, makes the following observations, which are worthy of consideration of every Indian statesman:—

"It has been officially admitted that the British Imperial Council will not meet to consider and pass upon the Geneva protocol. For the first time in history the British Dominions have declined to meet the Central Government for intimate discussion of problems vital to the Empire.

"This is the latest of a series of incidents in the progressive weakening of the ties that have until

recently bound so closely the British Commonwealth. The Dominions have come to regard Great Britain more in the light of an exclusively European Power and less as the head of the Empire. They have made a gesture which cannot help having an important bearing on future developments. They have not actually relegated the Old World to the Limbo of worn-out things, and Great Britain along with the rest; but they have indicated in no mistakable terms that they have broken with the past and will from now on assume decisive command of their destiny.

"By the same token, they are beginning to look more and more towards the United States for leadership. This idea is undoubtedly growing. It is scarcely thinkable, for instance, that the British

Dominions would have vetoed a proposal from the United States for the discussion of the protocol or any other topic.

"So far as the Geneva protocol is concerned, the action of the British Dominions is not final. But if one of them rejects it, the London Government must reject it; and if the London Government does so, the League of Nations cannot go on with the project.

"The responsibility of the British Government, however, would not end with a mere rejection of this attempt to outlaw war and further disarmament. One of the principal purposes of the protocol was to fulfil the pledge made by Ramsay MacDonald to provide France with security against further aggression. This pledge still stands, and Great Britain must find a substitute satisfactory to the French. The point is that the British Dominions are willing for the London Government to bind itself in guaranteeing French Security, but are not willing to be bound themselves.

"In taking that stand the British Dominions are approaching the position assumed by the United States. Though members of the British Empire and of the League of Nations, they are coming more and more to believe that political entanglements in Europe will mean perils and pit-falls in the future."

In short, the self-governing Dominions within the British Empire are not meekly following the British Government's dictations from Downing Street, but they are asserting their independence in the field of practical politics and even forcing the British Government to adopt a certain course in matters of Foreign Affairs of the Empire.

In part, as it is in the present, the most important features of British Foreign Policy are being determined in terms of preservation of British supremacy in India and thus in Asia, Africa, and Australasia; yet the people of India have nothing to say about the foreign policy and defence of their country and it seems that Indian leaders are indifferent about formulating a foreign policy which will be for the best interests of India and the rest of the world.

America is the greatest political, naval, economic and industrial rival of the British Empire. Should the British Empire come to a clash with America today, she might lose her very existence. So British statesmen, Tories, Liberals, and Laborites, are all agreed to make all necessary concessions to America to avoid any conflict with her and are anxious to secure American support to destroy some other rivals (of Britain). All political parties of Britain agree that France is Britain's rival in Europe and Africa, Russia is the potential rival of Britain in Asia and Europe, Japan is the greatest menace to British domination of Asia. With this agreement they follow differ-

ent tactics to gain their goal of elimination of rivals of Britain.

It is quite clear now that the Tory government of Britain, after the advent of the Baldwin administration in November 1924 has adopted new tactics to further British interests in world affairs. Until the fall of the Labor government, headed by Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, Great Britain followed the policy of aiding Germany against France. In fact the policy of bringing about isolation of France in world politics was the question of the greatest importance for Great Britain. After all sorts of efforts for five years (1914-1924) British statesmen became convinced that this policy was impracticable, because of the cordial Franco-American relations and France's successful diplomacy with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and other European States. The British government felt that American financiers could not be a party to the destruction of France, because of the economic interests involved in French security. They also found that some of the Balkan States would not only aid France but might become factors to bring about closer relations between France and Russia.

It was also apparent that France was being forced by the British attitude to make an economic entente with Germany. The most distressing of all things to the British statesmen was the French move for bringing about a Franco-Japanese understanding on the basis of territorial integrity of these two nations in the Orient. Of course, on the surface, this understanding was being furthered on an economic and commercial basis. It will not be easy for Britain and her Dominions to overcome the Franco-Japanese fleets and their submarines in the Mediterranean and the Indian and Pacific oceans, and the Franco-Japanese air fleets in Asia and Europe and their armies, aided by France's other allies, including a possible ally of Turkey. British statesmen feel that a Franco-Japanese accord may even become a starting point of a Franco-Japanese-Russo-German understanding against Britain. This may seem fantastic to many novices in international politics, but it must not be forgotten that it was a Tory government in Britain which, to save her from an impending isolation, concluded the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, then Anglo-French Entente and later on, the Liberal government formed the Anglo-Russian entente and thereby isolated Germany, which led to the destruction of the latter.

It is a fact that, with respect to the con-

tinuance of British dominance of Asia, politically as well as economically Japan is a greater rival and a more powerful possible enemy of Great Britain than France or Russia. If an anti-French policy results in a Franco-Japanese accord, that will not be to the best interests of Britain. It was, also felt by British statesmen that by pursuing an anti-Japanese policy, Britain would secure a very decided support of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South-Africa and possibly the United States of America. These facts induced the Tory government to give up the policy of concentrating against France. It decided that the removal of a possible Japanese menace should be the immediate objective of British Imperial foreign policy. The best evidence of this is the change of attitude seen in the resumption of the building of the Singapore Naval Base, the efforts of British statesmen to have a Franco-British understanding, and the opposition of the British Empire to the Geneva protocol for outlawry of all wars.

The situation created by the assassination of Sirdar Sir Lee Stack, in Egypt, the defeat of the Spaniards in Morocco, and increasing unrest among the people of North Africa in general, led Mr. Chamberlain, the British Foreign Minister, to strive for a cordial understanding between Britain, France, Italy and possibly with Spain on the basis of 'status quo' and negotiations of mutual interests in North Africa and the Mediterranean region. To prove the sincere desire of the British government to co-operate willingly with France, the former has refused to withdraw its forces from Cologne on January 10th, 1925, and has adopted a less cordial attitude towards both Germany and Russia.

At the time of writing this article we find that Britain is maintaining the friendliest relations with America (whose grand fleet, the greatest Armada in the history of the Pacific, will soon visit Australian waters and even Singapore) and leading a movement for Anglo-French-Italian Entente in Europe. The real motive of this policy is to settle all outstanding problems in Europe by a powerful combination favorable to Britain, so that all of her energies can be devoted to strengthening her position in Asia, if necessary by coercing Japan, China and India, and holding a firm grip on North Africa and the Suez Canal, to maintain undisputed supremacy in North Africa and all South Asia from the Suez Canal to Hong-kong.

It is evident now that the very center of gravity of the future of international politics has been shifted to the Far-East. Japan is the vital center and the possible target of British opposition, from the powerful naval base at Singapore and aided by all the other nations which would combine with Great Britain to further their interests. In this move of Great Britain against Japan, we find the Dutch as a willing cat's paw, Russia, China and India will play a great role in this drama of international politics in the Orient.

The British policy of an Anglo-French-Italian Entente at the present moment is decidedly against the interest of Russia and Germany. Germany and Russia are already bound by the treaty of Rapolla, not to ally themselves with any nation opposed to any one of them. It is of great importance that Germany and Russia are the powers which have given up extra-territorial jurisdiction in China and signed commercial treaties on the basis of reciprocity. There is already a bond of community of interest between Germany, Russia and China. It is evident to close observers of world politics that since the conclusion of the Washington Conference Japan is doing her best to be on cordial terms with China and Russia. Japan has not only given up Shantung and retired from Siberia, but she has been fighting for China in the League of Nations on various occasions, particularly during the International Opium Conference. Far-sighted Chinese and Russian statesmen also realize that destruction of Japan would mean such an up-setting of the balance of power that their own interests will be seriously hampered. This very feeling is possibly the real reason of the successful outcome of the Russo-Japanese negotiation which have resulted in the recognition of Soviet Russia by Japan and a Russo-Japanese treaty signed by M. Karakahan and M. Oshizawa at Peking on the 20th January 1925.

Britain is marshalling all her forces against Japan; and Japan, in self-defense, is trying to form such understandings with other nations as will strengthen her position, economically, politically and strategically. We see that if Great Britain continues her anti-Japanese policy and there be not any sudden change in world politics, then a German-Russian-Chinese-Japanese understanding is a possibility. In case of a clash between Japan and Britain, the first thing for Japanese safety would be to see that America be not

also against her and in favour of Britain. Secondly, it is imperative for Japan's very existence that China and Russia remain as her friends, if not allies. It must be remembered that Russia cannot ally herself effectively with Japan unless her Western frontier be safe from German attacks and her Southern frontiers be free from attacks by Indian soldiers under Great Britain. China can never feel secure to aid Japan unless she knows that she would not be a victim of Russian attack from the North-West and British (Indian) attack from South-West.

It is the opinion of some experts that Great Britain cannot fight Japan single-handed successfully, and it is said that she is trying to bring about American hostility against Japan. If Japan secured Russian, Chinese, and German support to oppose Britain, the very existence of the British Empire would depend upon the aid and co-operation of India. In the possible line-up of the Powers in which Japan, China, Russia and Germany, or at least Japan, China and Russia, would be on one side and Britain and her Allies on the other, what should be the stand of India for her own interests and for the cause of world peace?

In answer to this question, the thing that should be carefully considered, is, what would be the outcome of the possible destruction or crippling of Japan by Britain, through Indian support? Would India be benefited by it? If the answer is in the negative, is it possible that India would support Britain in such a conflict? What then should be the immediate policy of Indian statesmen? Is it not desirable, that for the good of Britain and India, every Indian should stand against any anti-Japanese move and take

vigorous steps to bring about Indo-Japanese solidarity backed by Chinese support?

We do not know if the Indian people are conscious of the fact that at least some British statesmen think that India is at the parting of the ways. They think that if the British policy towards India be not changed in the near future, she may become an eternal enemy of Britain and a friend of Japan. To substantiate this point we quote the following extract from the speech of the Hon. Mr. Scurr (Labour M. P.) delivered in the House of Commons on December 19th, 1924, during the course of the debate on "Bengal Arrests". He said:—

"In 1866 it was impossible to give to Ireland a very minor kind of Constitution which would have been accepted by the people. That policy was rejected, and a policy of repression, of special legislation, and of spies was resorted to and the result has been the tragedy that has taken place there. I do not want this tragedy to arise in India. There are two other Asiatic Powers, one of which has, in the past, been friendly towards us, that have been showing a sign of a change of policy. We do not want that Asiatic revival in a sense of being in contrast to a European revival or to have conflict between the Asiatics and Europeans. India at the present time stands at the cross-roads. Are we to follow a policy which shall make her our friend right down through the centuries? On the other hand, to continue the policy of repression means that she will go from us and will be our enemy."

Has India a foreign policy of her own? Has not the time come for India to formulate a far-reaching foreign policy which will induce Britain and other Powers to preserve peace in the Orient and at the same time result in securing the status of a real Sovereign Power for herself?

New York City.

January 23, 1925.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH.

SIDELIGHTS ON THE CRISIS IN INDIA: BEING THE LETTERS OF AN INDIAN CIVILIAN AND SOME REPLIES OF AN INDIAN FRIEND: Longmans, Green and Co. 3s-6d. 1924, pp. 118.

The Indian Civilian is Mr. H. Harcourt, I. C. S., who has seen more than 25 years of service in the

Punjab, and the Indian friend, who is not named, is a Hindu barrister of the Punjab High Court. Generally speaking, the replies of the Indian barrister, who, as Mr. Harcourt tells us, is a busy lawyer and has little leisure, are more instructive and informing than the letters themselves and it were much to be wished that the replies had been fuller.

The book begins with the subject of administration of justice. "In criminal cases between Europeans and Indians justice is the exception and injustice is the rule." "The employment of European judges... is now a mere anachronism, and leads to avoidable waste of public money." These are of course the views of the Indian barrister, and all subsequent quotations, where not specifically mentioned, are from the same source. According to Mr. Harcourt, though Mahomedans recognise Christians as 'people of the book,' the two faiths are very distinct, and 'anything like fraternization is quite impractical.'

Challenged to give a definition of Hinduism, Mr. Harcourt's friend says: "I cannot define Hinduism. I might as well attempt to confine the whole contents of the Ganges into a jug. Hinduism is not one religion, not one creed, not one faith. It is a jumble of all the religions, all the creeds and all the faiths of Indian origin that have swept the land through the course of ages. Further, Hinduism covers all the stages through which religious instinct has passed and philosophic thought has travelled, developed and advanced. Nor is this all. Hinduism is not confined to religion in the ordinary acceptation of the word. It also brings under its sheltering wings all the religious, semi-religious, and social practices and observances of the Hindu race... Hinduism is incapable of a precise or even a workable definition, for the reasons stated above. Polytheism, monotheism, pantheism, and atheism have all flourished under the auspices and in the name of Hinduism, not necessarily at different times, and still form an integral part of recognised Hinduism. Demon-worship, hero-worship, ancestor-worship, worship of animate and inanimate objects, worship of natural forces, and worship of God have all been woven into the web of Hinduism. In fact, Hinduism caters for every taste, every grade of life and every stage of religious and intellectual development. This at once constitutes the bane and beauty of Hinduism. It is hediously vague, terribly repelling, surprisingly comprehensive, and delightfully elastic. This very feature constitutes both the strength and weakness of Hinduism. It has laid Hinduism open to attack on every side and yet enables it to withstand successfully the inroads of every hostile force. From the purest to the vilest form of worship, and from the sublimest heights of philosophic thought to the meanest and crudest phases of intellectual and religious developments, all the stages are provided for. What else can humanity need or desire? Though I am not an orthodox Hindu, believing in all or any of the superstitions or lower forms of worship still recognised, or at least not specifically and definitely discarded, by Hinduism, I cannot fail to perceive some utility even in this absurd variety of faith and worship. So long as the human race subsists, there must be disparity of intellect and vastly varying development of thought between the different sections of the race and between the different grades of life in the same section, and it is better that men possessing crude intellect should approach the unknown through the known and worship the invisible through the visible, than that they should scoff and jeer at the idea of godhead, provided of course that they have a sincere faith in their mode of worship."

The following first-hand account of the Sikh movement from the Punjab barrister will prove interesting and instructive to Hindus all over the

rest of India;—"As the persecuting hand of the Moslem Kings became enfeebled, the Sikhs relapsed into a mere sect of Hinduism. But the urban Hindus looked on the Sikhs, who came almost exclusively from the illiterate and ignorant peasant class, with lofty disdain, and usurped the share of the Sikhs in official patronage. Moreover, the lack of any literary or scholarly attainments on the part of their first Guru was made the subject of reproach by another rising sect of the Hindus, namely the Arya Samaj, and a few customs peculiar to Sikhism were ridiculed by the educated section of the Hindu community. This gave rise to a separatist movement among the more intelligent and better educated Sikhs. The Government, always keen, like any other foreign Government, to emphasise and exploit such differences, encouraged the separatist movement and patronised every organisation that sailed under a distinct Sikh flag, with separatist aims and propaganda. Of all the Hindu sects, the Sikhs are most sensitive to religious impulse, are most enterprising, most energetic and most virile. With a lavish patronage on the part of Government and munificent support by Sikh rulers, induced or influenced by Government example, the Sikhs advanced by rapid strides in education, organisation and power. The cleavage between Hindus and Sikhs became complete, but so did the general organisation of the Sikhs, which is now equally a menace to the Mahants and the Government a just retribution for the selfishness of the Hindus and the unworthy policy of Government. That the Sikhs are only a reformed sect of Hinduism, just as Protestants are a sect of Christianity, is beyond all doubt. They have been held to be so by the Privy Council. They are ethnically of the same stock. They observe the same social customs, are governed by the same laws of inheritance, and continue to interlive and intermarry with the Hindus. In the same family and under the same roof you will find the father a Hindu and his sons equally divided between Hinduism and Sikhism. Further, in spite of the pernicious efforts of Mr. Macauliffe, in his translation and commentary of the Holy Granth, the Sikhs have the same respect for the cow as the Hindus. [I call to mind the slaughter of an ox on board the deck of an Austrian Lloyd vessel on my second voyage from home, and the absolute look of horror on the faces of some Sikh passengers who witnessed the scene]—Mr. Harcourt.] I have no doubt that the Sikhs, while maintaining the essential features and symbols of their faith, like the Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Deva Samaj and a host of other Hindu sects, will continue to be a powerful limb of the Hindu community."

Further on, Mr. Harcourt's friend writes: "The surprising elasticity and adaptability of Hinduism which have stood it in such good stead in the past are asserting themselves once again. Hinduism has carefully taken stock of the present situation, has realised its danger and hit upon *Suddhi*. This new movement not only aims at the removal of the present disabilities of the depressed classes, but has launched on a campaign of purifying Hindu converts to Christianity or Islam. This is proselytizing which has been unknown to Hinduism since the days of Sankara Acharya. It is only history repeating itself."

His views on Mohammadanism deserve quotation. "I believe that Mahomedanism has a stronger hold

on its followers than Hinduism. The allegiance which is exacted by Islam is distinctly stricter and though it sometimes results in narrow-mindedness and bigotry, yet it makes for greater cohesion and fellow-feeling among the believers. I am not an admirer of Islam taken as a whole. No rationalist accustomed to see guidance in reason and to subject all religious faiths and everything that is presented in the name of religion to strict intellectual processes can be. But there are some aspects of Islam which have my cordial appreciation. The strict monotheism preached by Islam is highly commendable, while its uncompromising hostility to idolatry is very instructive. But even more than these two striking features of Islam the absolute equality of man taught and enforced by it is really inspiring. The spirit of true, real, and practical democracy is to be found among Mahomedans alone."

To Mr. Harcourt's correspondent the personality of Mahatma Gandhi is sacred, and he represents an almost perfect character. But the sanctity which the Mahatma attaches to the spinning wheel is to him a puzzle and an economic absurdity. The following extract sums up his position with regard to the non-co-operation movement. "As a matter of intellectual and theoretical belief I hold that every subject race has a right of rebellion under certain circumstances. These circumstances are three in number. Firstly, all hope of justice from the foreign Government must have ceased. Secondly, in the event of a conflict with the ruling race we must have at least equal chances of success. Thirdly, when we have fought out the ruling race successfully, we must be in a position to maintain internal order and to ward off external aggression. When, and not until, these three conditions are fulfilled we have a right to rebel against the domination of a foreign Government. I refused to accept the gospel of Mahatma Gandhi because I realised clearly enough that these conditions had not been fulfilled."

Mr. Harcourt's opinion of Hindu women leaves nothing to be desired. He says: "Then there is the question of the marriage tie. I shall say at once that I am convinced from experience that in this matter the standard among Hindus is far in advance of that which prevails among Mohamadans, and naturally, considering that Hindus look upon marriage as possessing a sacramental character. The days of 'sati' are gone, but the fidelity of the Hindu wife remains. Divorce is practically unknown among Hindus. This is all the more extraordinary considering that the principal parties have nothing to do with the selection. I blush to write it, but there are many nominally Christian homes where a standard prevails below that of Hindus in this matter."

To Mr. Harcourt's question: "Is it possible that our success (for success it is, though tempered at times by episodes of failure) can all be explained by chicanery and brute force or does something better and deeper and more providential lie behind it?" His Indian friend's answer is: "The history of the rise and growth of the British power in India is a very apt illustration of the truth of this doctrine [survival of the fittest]. I am not prepared to explain the phenomenon of the British Empire in India by the uncomplimentary theory of 'a strange combination of good luck and fraud'. For a true explanation of this phenomenon we must look deeper into the character and moral

qualities of the nation which built up this power. Chance and good luck do play a part in human affairs and fraud is not unknown to the acquisition of political power in any age or crime, and though these explanations may be suggested by jealousy, malice or envy, the real clue will almost always be found in - the grit, perseverance, character, moral fibre, and determination of the individual or nation whose pre-eminent position is the subject of scrutiny."

On the Government of India Act of 1919, his opinion is quite terse and explicit: "The Central Executive being wholly irresponsible, the Provincial Executives being only partially and very inadequately responsible, with the power of the purse still with the Executive, elected majorities are a farce, the Councils a sham, and the increased association of Indians with the higher executive administration an idle and even a mischievous allurements."

"You seem to disclaim any particular disposition on the part of Great Britain to resort to a policy of 'divide and rule.' I disagree with you. Great Britain has taken advantage of such a policy in the past, it is doing so now, and will continue to do so on suitable occasions. Personally I see no reason why the British Government should not do so. It may not be a satanic Government, but it cannot claim to be an angelic one either, such a policy has an immoral taint, no doubt. But what Government in the world has cared for morality in preference to power? Let us all free our minds of cant. Let us not profess what we cannot practise, and what others in a similar position do not practise."

"Non-cooperation is half dead, but the causes which brought non-cooperation into being are still working, and whatever the temporary checks and set-backs which the movement may suffer, non-cooperation has come to stay. It will reassert itself over and over again in varying shapes and forms so long as the causes which gave it birth continue to exist. An active rebellion is a tangible thing and can be met by brute force. But non-cooperation is an elusive ghost which your guns and bayonets cannot touch. How is British statesmanship going to meet this ghost?"

"Your analysis of the present situation is as true as it is interesting. The Government is in a pathetic plight, 'almost a suppliant for favour and an apologist for its own existence.' This ridiculous position is due to the fact that the Government is in essence a despotic Government, while it seeks to make itself out to be a popular and representative Government. Its desire to keep up the appearance of a popular Government, ruling the people by their free consent and solicitous for their support, coupled with the despotic exercise of its powers, has brought about the anomalous position to which you refer. The Government is neither sufficiently generous to concede all the legitimate demands of the people, nor sufficiently wicked to put down all opposition by ruthless repression. The result is that while in practice it flouts public opinion, in theory it seeks to respect it and has to humour, flatter and whine in a vain attempt to rally the people to its side. Let not false notions of prestige stand in the way of right, justice and truth. There is nothing which shatters the prestige of the Government so much as a policy of firmness-cum-cowardice."

In the epilogue Mr. Harcourt, who is a

sympathetic bureaucrat, but nevertheless a bureaucrat to the backbone and is of opinion that real democracy is probably unattainable in India, puts a question which may very fitly be considered by the present Government of Bergal: "Are not", Mr. Harcourt says, "some of our troubles due to the fact that too often those Indians in days gone by, who were selected as the favourites and confidants of Government were men who represented themselves rather than their countrymen, and whose whisper was apter to soothe their patrons than to supply them with accurate information." Pol.

GREEK PHILOSOPHY: *By Mr. E. I. Taylor. Published by the Oxford University Press. Price 2s-6d net.*

This is one of a series of introductory volumes brought out by the Oxford University Press. They have named the series the World's Manuals and we hope the world will take the hint and avail itself of this splendid opportunity to get into touch with the best in the world of knowledge at so little cost and expenditure of time. From this little book one can get a fair idea of Greek Philosophy. It is written in simple and expressive English and should command a large sale among intellectually inclined people who have very little time to go through large volumes.

AN INTRODUCTION TO REFLECTIVE THINKING: *Published by Constable and Co. Price 10s-6d net.*

Nine members of the staff of the department of philosophy at Columbia University have combined labour to produce this treatise on the Science of Reason. It is a noteworthy fact that in this case too many cooks have most certainly followed the line of exceptions and provided a first-rate dinner. They tell us what reflective thinking, as opposed to rambling or feeling, means and take us through a wide range of subjects showing the uses of the reflective machine. Astronomy, Biology, Mathematics, Physics, History, Ethics, the Social Sciences, Law; everything comes up in turn under the guidance of the learned professors and acknowledges its indebtedness to methodical thinking. We are told that good thinking "requires a considerable accumulation of experience and knowledge. Not everybody can think well because not everybody knows enough. To get such an accumulation of knowledge as thought requires, men must have a stable civilization, books and investigators who bequeath their findings, schools or places to impart knowledge. Thought on a wide range of subjects makes very large demands indeed."

This is a word of warning to the logical giant who thinks that a thorough understanding of the principles of rational thinking is all that is needed to give one a master mind. Even the finest of machines manufactures nothing without materials to work upon. The human thinking machine does not get off here.

The writers greatly emphasise the value of a Proper Mental Attitude in the field of investigation. By this they mean freedom from prejudices or prejudgments etc. When arriving at conclusions of any kind one ought not to harbour any love for a particular conclusion, for such a bias always reduces the chances of correct judgment.

The writers have explained the principles of methodical and correct thinking elaborately. We have seldom read a book dealing with logical

processes written in such a lucid and extremely interesting manner. It should draw the attention of University professors as a valuable help to victims of aimless, haphazard and fallacious thinking.

THE DEFEAT IN VICTORY: *By George D. Herron. Published by Cecil Palmer, Oakley House, Bloomsbury Street, London W.C.1, price 7s-6d net.*

The writer deals in this book with the Great Disappointment after President Wilson lost his points at Paris. On the title page of the book we find the following paragraph which gives us a good idea of the general nature of this book.

"The present evil plight of the World, increasing unto the possible extinction of our civilization, is the precise result of the betrayal of Wilson, and of the perjurious repudiation of his principles, by the Conference of Paris. Nor of this fact of the matter can the faults of Wilson be made mitigatory. Not all the things wherein Wilson erred, nor any of the things lacked, can anywise atone for the guilt of the peace-makers, or cancel the scarlet issues of their perjury."

The book is written in a passionate strain, but nevertheless retains a large measure of historical value.

"The peace of Paris, were there no redemption from it, would prove a more infernal fall of man, a more desperate derangement, than the war."

"These are not peace, these treaties of Paris: they are rather a pitiless provision for a military and predatory Government of the World."

"If there were instances of international honour before 1914, there are none now. These three old World Continents are one monstrous weave of basest diplomatic duplicity and barter, network crossing network and whole peoples daily sold back and forth for a farthing of advantage."

"Even the German violation of the neutrality of Belgium taken merely as a matter of international ethics, diminishes besides the entente violation of the covenant with Germany."

Such passages as the above show a relentless-ness of opinion and a regard for the truth, as seen by the author, which obeys no laws of courtesy or compromise.

The writer takes a view of the national mind of Germany that is not fair in our opinion. He accuses Germany with creating the non-moral type of nationalism found in Europe. But he says, Germany succeeded, even in her downfall, in creating a political and military France in her own Prussian image;—Such was the real German atrocity—an atrocity visited upon the inmost being of France." Historians and students of German Culture will judge the fairness of this verdict. In the author's opinion Germany "psychologically assaulted the whole moral front of humanity." That some nation or nations did so is beyond question; but was it Germany and if so, was it Germany alone? A. C.

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN INDIA: *By V. V. Oak, Junior Fellow, Clark University. Published by B. G. Paul & Co., Madras. Rs. 2 nett.*

It is a happy sign of the age that educated men both here and abroad are taking a keener interest in the educational affairs of the country. They are not mere dogmatic critics but are taking infinite pains to have a thorough knowledge, at first hand, of the educational policy that is being pursued in India. The book under review is the result of such investigation. The author is thoroughly

familiar with current literature on the subject both official and popular. He has treated the subject from two points of view. In the first part of his book, he has given us a short and informative history of education in India. His view on this question may be briefly summed up by the following quotation by Howell: "Education in India was first ignored, then violently and successfully opposed, then conducted on a system now universally admitted erroneous, and finally placed on its present footing." And he has supported his view by statistics drawn from various sources. In order that the statistics may appeal to the imagination of the reader, he has visualised them by means of graphs which give an accurate idea of the comparative growth of education in India and other countries of the world; and they are a sad commentary on the beneficent British Administration in India.

The second part gives us an account of how education is financed in India. Here he has laid bare the underlying autocratic principles which govern Indian finances specially with reference to the provincial budgets. He points out that even in the case of transferred departments the state of provincial finances is such that it does not allow the minister to make provision for the expansion of the department in his charge. From an analysis of educational expenditure by reference to the sources from which they come, he shows that education is carried on more by the help of private and local funds, in the shape of fees and grants than by governmental grants. And finally he is of opinion that the obvious reason why the British rulers do not follow the right policy "is not because they do not know it but because they believe and that rightly that by so doing they would not be able to continue their autocratic rule over, and economic exploitation of, India." It is a book which will amply repay perusal by every student of politics in India.

A. SEN.

SPINOZA, DESCARTES AND MAIMONIDES: *By Leon Roth, M.A., D.Phil. Published by the Oxford University Press. Pp. 148. Price 7s. 6d.*

The book has four chapters. The first chapter is on Descartes, the second on Spinoza, the third on Maimonides and the last chapter is on the relation between Spinoza and Maimonides.

Descartes was a pluralist and Spinoza a monist. Spinoza was not appreciated during his life-time and the following century—because his monistic ideas ran counter to the pluralistic theory of the time. The Cartesian tradition had to reach its culmination before Spinoza could be studied and appreciated. 'Until Kant had worked out the logic of the pluralistic individualism of Descartes there was no room for the monism of Spinoza.' His work was first recognised by the post-Kantians who extolled him rather extravagantly.

Principal Caird says that a vast amount of learning and ingenuity has been expended on the question of Spinoza's supposed obligation to Maimonides, Chasidai Crescas and other distinguished philosophic writers of his own race. But according to him "their occasional coincidences are such only to the ear." But our author has shown that the 'supposed obligations' are more than 'occasional coincidences'. Our author has described the various stages of the development of Spinoza's

monism, and traced back one by one their analogue or origin in Maimonides. According to him "Maimonides and Spinoza speak throughout with one voice".

The book is well written and will repay perusal.

MAHESCHANDRA GHOSH.

INDIRA & OTHER STORIES: *By Bankimchandra Chatterjee. Translated by J.D. Anderson, I. C. S., D. Lit. with an introduction. Published by R. Chatterjee, 91 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Second Edition. Pp. 148. Price Rs. 2. (1925).*

The price of Mr. Anderson's translation has been reduced from Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 2 with the result that the illustrations for which the late Mr. Anderson made these translations, as he says in the introduction, have not been inserted in order that the cost of the book might be equalized with the sale price. As to the merits of the translation, there can be no better testimony than this, that the first edition was exhausted long ago, and the demand to meet which this new edition has been brought out, is the best proof of its popularity with the English-reading public. Those non-Bengalee readers who have not yet made the acquaintance of this great novelist of Bengal, specially of his short stories, will have no excuse if they do not take the opportunity for doing so through the excellent translation of an Englishman whose intimate knowledge of our vernacular made him peculiarly fitted for the task.

PRIMARY EDUCATION ACTS IN INDIA: A STUDY: *By J. M. Sen, M. Ed. (Leeds), B. Sc. (Cal). Professor, David Hare Training College, Calcutta, with an introduction by E. F. Oaten, M.A., LL. B., Director of Public Instruction, Bengal. Published by the Education Committee, Calcutta. Y. M. C. A., 25, Chowringhee Road, Calcutta. Price 8 as.*

This modest volume of some 100 pages should be in the hands of M. L. C.s and members of District Boards and Municipalities in order that they may benefit by the knowledge and training of an educationalist who has made the problem of education itself his special field of study. Mr. Sen has discussed the problem in three chapters viz. (1) Government's Educational Policy from 1900-1917, (2) Passing of Education Acts in different provinces, (3) Progress after the Passing of the Acts, and some general remarks. His conclusions and suggestions are made in the liberal spirit to be expected of him and Mr. Oaten writes in support of their acceptance by the people through the Minister who are glorified as the custodians of the future welfare of the masses, without mentioning a word about the former trustees who have till now neglected them and kept them sunk in such ignorance. However, Mr. Oaten assures us that he will deem it a privilege to work for the popular minister who will initiate these reforms in Primary Education.

HINDUSTANEE SIMPLIFIED: *By Dinesh Chandra Datta M. A. To be had of S. C. Addy & Co., and other leading book-sellers. Price Rs. 3. Key Re. 1.*

This new book to make the learning of Urdu easy for learners has been praised by persons competent to speak on the subject. It will facilitate the study of Urdu language for persons who.

cannot afford to learn it from a teacher, as there is a key to the exercises available for use by learners also. □ A. K. GHOSE.

FUNDALIK: *By Harindranath Chattopadhyaya. Reprinted from Shama'a, January 1924.*

OUT OF THE DEEP DARK MOULD: *By Harindranath Chattopadhyaya (Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya).*

THE WIZARD'S MASK: *By Harindranath Chattopadhyaya (Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya).*

The reviewer has had these three little books before him for some time and has read and re-read them with the utmost pleasure. Indeed were it not presumptuous, he would be tempted to quote Browning's praise of Keats "Stand still, true poet that you are.....one man."

Saw you and named a star"

For, judged by the highest standards, Mr. Chattopadhyaya has every claim to be called a poet and one does not wonder that he has won praise from such eminent writers as Rabindranath Tagore, George Russel, Laurence Binyon, Aurobindo Ghosh, Yone Noguchi and Alice Meynell amongst others. It is not unnatural that Mr. Chattopadhyaya should show poetic genius. His family abounds in genius. The reviewer well remembers the poet's father, a man simple as a child in all worldly matters but wiser than most in the affairs of the spirit. If any one has not read the poetry of Sarojini Naidu especially the *Bird of Time* and the *Broken Wing* he has before him hours of delight when he does so. Another sister, Miss Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya has been and is editing the *Shama'a* with most conspicuous taste and has attained a success, if not commensurate with her deserts, at all events extremely encouraging to lovers of literature and art. And Harindranath Chattopadhyaya! If the reviewer were not afraid of being led too far by his enthusiasm he would unhesitatingly describe this poetry as worthy to rank with the very best. *Pundalik* is a playlet written in distinguished blank verse—indeed the greatest English blank verse any Indian poet has written after the late Manmohan Ghose—and interspersed through it are some excellent little lyrics calling to mind some faint reminiscences of Swinburne. *Pundalik* ushered with the arrogance of youth insults his parents, derides old age and declares that the life of the flesh is the only life. His parents leave all their worldly possessions to him and go on a pilgrimage to Kasi. He decides to follow them—not as a pilgrim but as a great lord. Who knows whether awed by his magnificence the people there may not erect a shrine to him as a God? On his way however a storm overtakes him and he seeks shelter in a hermit's hut. There he sees the three rivers Ganga, Yamuna and Saraswati who point out to him that reverence to one's parents is one of the greatest of virtues. *Pundalik* experiences a complete change of heart and is vouchsafed a glimpse of Vishnu himself. The playlet ends on his theme. It is written in beautiful language and beautiful verse with a strong dramatic touch. Let us consider a few extracts. He explains to his mother why he has smashed the kitchen pots of clay.

"Because I could not suffer a blue shadow
That stole in through the door with guilty steps
To kiss the red curve of their earthen bodies,
Your kitchen pots were whores"
—an insufficient excuse because *Pundalik* delighted at whores himself.

"Pale hands of lovely harlots light his house."
Another extract to illustrate the author's wealth of metaphor and phraseology may be given:

"And every coin whether of gold or copper
Whether of brass or silver brings the world
A cringing cur to us a somewhat closer
Until at last it licks one's feet with joy
And renders thanks for all the crimson stripes
We print upon its body with proud strokes."
'somewhat closer' is an uncommon phrase but here it is not out of place. Here is one of the lyrics:—

1st Pilgrim

We are going to seek the Mother of mothers
Come with us, come with us, into the light
The stones on the roadway are only our brothers
They will not hurt us even at night.

2nd Pilgrim

We are going to seek the Father who waits for us
Come with us, come with us, out of this land.
Lo! he has opened his luminous gates for us
And waits with a wonderful lamp in his hand.
"Nearer to nestle in the nest of God" is a line the alliteration in which is very successful.

Occasionally the poet does not maintain his high standard. For example: "The celebrated Guru of the Gods" is almost as fatal as "A Mr. Wilkinson a clergyman" (a line written to parody Wordsworth at his worst) and 'to bode' (unless it be a misprint) instead of 'to bide' is not very happy. 'First thing tomorrow at the dawn of day' cannot by any stretch of the imagination be described as poetry. Towards the end of the work there is a passage strongly reminiscent of Shelley's wonderful lines:

"The one remains the many change and pass",
the passage in *Pundalik*

"And it may be that when the one is seen
The myriad melt away dissolve and pass
Like winter hazer wandering over a hill
Wander and pass and then are seen no more"

Pundalik in short is a great achievement in the realm of poetry.

Out of the Deep Dark Mould is a collection of poems which takes its title from the first piece. The poems in this volume written in ringing metres fully live up to the author's reputation and deserve a better get-up. Of many good things mention may particularly be made of "The Old Dream", "Seership"—the last line of which is haunting—"In the sweet twilight of ephemeral things"—"Pale fruit" and "Song of a Mood" which again is reminiscent of Swinburne's lines "Outside the garden." In the poem—"Volcano" one rather deplores the rhyming of 'they know' with 'volcano'.

The Wizard's Mask contains other verses of Mr. Chattopadhyaya and concludes with a playlet entitled *Seva the Barber* which is written in rhyming verse and is very successful. The song of the 1st Musician suggests something of Matthew Arnold and no higher praise could be given it than that.

A perusal of these three little books shows that Harindranath has established for himself a place in English Literature. Of Indian writers of English verse he is worthy to rank with Manmohan Ghose. Mr. Chattopadhyaya is no novice and yet he is still young. May he have many years of life still further to delight lovers of poetry with his admirable craftsmanship and his real poetical feeling.

R. C. R.

SANSKRIT

THE RAJANITI-RATNAKARA : By Chandesvara, edited by Kashi-prasad Jayaswal M. A. (Oxon). Published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Mr. Jayaswal, a "revolutionary", as styled by Upadhyaya Sri Saila Kanva Bhatta (Dr. Sten Konow) in a meeting of the Visvabharati Research Society, "who pulls down old edifices and builds up new ones", comes to us this time as an editor of a Sanskrit work on his own favourite subject, to which we extend our hearty welcome. The author Chandesvara who was born in a very learned family in Mithila, wrote the work in the first quarter of the fourteenth century of the Christian era in the reign of the king, Hari Sinha of the Karnata dynasty in Mithila. His *Vivadaratnakara* published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* is well known to scholars. As the very name shows, his present work is on Rajaniti, or in older terms, *Dandaniti* or *Arthasastra*. It is divided into sixteen chapters called *tarangas*, 'waves', the main volume being termed a *ratnakara* 'Ocean', and deals with the common themes of the subject such as *Rajan*, *Amatyā*, *Purohita*, etc. It is therefore a very important work, specially for the students of Hindu polity, and we are thankful to the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for their bringing it out for the first time. It is well edited, though not free from printing mistakes. The defect is a standing one as regards an Indian press. On page 26 in the last sloka quoted from *Manu* (VII. 70) the word must be *dhanva-durga* (equivalent to *dhanvana durga* of Kautilya's or Kautilya's *Arthasastra* XXI, p. 51) 'desert fortress' and not *dhanur-durga* as printed. This is repeated also in the following line on the next page which reads "*dhanur-durgam ucchraya-vestitam*". So far as we can say, the last word here, *ucchraya-vestitam*, which has no sense, should be *maru-vestitam* as in the *Tika* of Kulluka from which evidently the exposition has been taken by Chandesvara. The editor should have given here a short note on it. With reference to a sloka in the text (p. 83, U. 18-19), Mr. Jayaswal writes in the Introduction (p. s) : "Chandesvara quotes a text (p. 83) where *Praja* or subjects are described as *Visnu*." We are afraid, this can hardly be accepted. The second half, which is defective owing to some misreading, is edited by Mr. Jayaswal in three ways in three places (pp. s, bb, 83). The actual reading seems to be *sarvam prajam* or *sarvah praja* (both feminine singular or plural). Anyhow the whole sloka simply says that having *Visnu* as a witness, he (the old king, *rajan*, or his *purohita*) makes all the subjects hear : "From today this kingdom does not belong to me. Here is the king. Let him protect the subjects." Thus there is nothing about describing the subjects as *Visnu*.

ADHYATMATATTVALOKA : WITH GUJRATI TRANSLATION : By Nayatirtha Nyayavisarada Muni Nyayajijnaya, translated into English by M. J. Mehta. Published by Abhaya Chandra Bhagavandas Gandhi, Bhavanagar. Pp. LII+13+47+829.

The volume before us deals with spiritual principles with regard to Jinism. The original book is in Sanskrit verses composed by the author himself and extends over only 40 pages, the remaining ones being covered by the translations,

notes etc. We do not find any necessity in the present age for composing such new books in Sanskrit and specially on the same old topics and in the same old way or mainly in an inferior way for the benefit of the public.

GUJRAT PURATATVA MANDIRA SERIES, SAMMATTI-TARKA-PRAKARANA OF SIDDHASENA DIVAKARA WITH ABHAYADEVA'S COMMENTARY, VOL. 1. *Gujrat Puratattva Mandira, Ahmedabad*.

Siddhasena Divakara (about 533 A. D.) was the first writer among Jains on systematic logic. His *Nyayavatara* is now known to the students of logic. His present work *Sammatti* or *Sammattitarka* is composed of 167 gathas or verses in Prakrit, and divided into three chapters (*Kandas*). It establishes the *anekantavada* or *Syadvada* of the Jinists, dealing with their general philosophy. The commentary on it, *Tattva-bochini*, by Abhayadeva Suri is a big one and full of subtle discussion with opposing parties belonging to different schools of Indian philosophy. In it their views are strongly criticised and refuted on every occasion. And in doing so it quotes a number of authors in which Buddhists are also included. In the present part (pp. 20+166 of big size) there is only one original *gatha* of two lines and all the pages are covered by the commentary only in that one *sloka*. From this fact one may imagine the extent of the commentary. In the philosophical literature of the country the book has special importance in various respects. It is written in the style adopted in mediaeval philosophical works and as such is a difficult book. The whole work will be issued in four parts, the last one containing translation, etc. The Gujrat Puratattva-mandira is to be congratulated on bringing out the book.

ADVAITADIPIKA : By Pandit Anantakrishna Shastri, Professor, Calcutta University.

The author hardly needs any introduction to those who have any connection with the society of the deeply learned pandits of old type whose number is unfortunately dwindling day by day. He is one of those profound teachers of Vedanta and Mimamsa of whom the country may still feel proud. The book is written by way of a criticism of Vyasaraya's *Madhvatatpariya Candrika* and two other books refuting Sankara's *advaitavada* from the *dvaita* stand-point of Madhva. Pandit Anantakrishna has, however, re-established that *advaitavada*, offering as strong arguments as could be expected from a teacher of his calibre.

VISADA : By Pandit Mahavi Pandeya, Professor of Astronomy and Mathematics, Bharatesvar Mahavari Sanskrit College, Clapra.

In Sanskrit Pathasalas, Spherical Trigonometry of Pandit Nilambara's *Golaprakasa* is widely read and is prescribed as a text-book in different Sanskrit examinations. The author has written the commentary, *Visada*, on this work with a view to meeting the requirements of students. There are given some model questions in the end.

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

HINDI

PRITHVI-PRADAKSHINA : By Shivprasad Gupta Edited by Mukundilal Srivastava. Published by the Jnanmandal Office, Benares, 1924. Pp. xxiv and xiii+409. Price Rs. 15.

Babu Shivaprasad Gupta, the patron of the "Jnanmandal Series" is well known for his munificence in the cause of learning. His fortune coupled with high culture has secured for him a unique position in the United Provinces. His extensive tour for 21 months in foreign lands—as the sub-title of the work indicates—forms the basis of the present volume in which Egypt, America, Japan and China are described. From a study of the book one will surely be convinced that Mr. Gupta is not a mere sight-seer. He knows how and what to see in the peoples of other lands. We need not hesitate to assert that Hindi literature is enriched by this production of Mr. Gupta. So we look forward to other parts of the work. The perusal of such a book with so many beautiful illustrations and based on personal experience will help one in forming a notion about what is going on in the wide world of to-day. We congratulate the author and the publishers for the number and execution of the pictures which may be termed as a landmark in the printing of Hindi books. The life-sketch of the author will be interesting to many, owing to the troubles through which he had to pass in the course of travelling in the hard days of the Great War.

BHARATIYA SASANPADDHATI—PARTS I and II : By *Ambikaprasad Vajpeyi*. Pp. 136 and 228. Published by the *Indian National Publishers Ltd.* 156 B, *Mechuabazar Street, Calcutta.* 2nd Impression.

These books give a general account of the present system of the administration and constitution of India.

RAMES BASU

TAMIL

GANDEI PILLATHAMIL : By *Raja. Chokkalingan, Karaikudi.* Pp. 78. With two portraits of Mahatma Gandhi. Price 10 annas.

A very fine piece of literature. None can be content with reading it once; nor can one become surfeited with reading it any number of times.

MADHAVAN.

MARATHI

HISTORY OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF AUNDH, PART I : By *Mr. A. N. Bhagwat*, Pages over 600. Price Rs. 5. Publisher—the *Aundh State*.

One good sign of the awakening of Maharashtra to the importance of history is the growing number of historical works in Marathi literature. A good deal may be said in praise of the untiring exertions of those who are making researches in history, but the unpleasant truth has to be told that most of the writers on history on this side of the country display lack of historical sense and sound judgment. For instance, in the volume under notice, the writer seems to have adopted the partisan spirit and displays utter lack of the sense of proportion, when he makes a vain attempt to prove that the title *Pratinidhi*, which, in ordinary parlance means the Viceroy, carried with it, in the case of Parasharam Trimbak (the founder of the present ruling family of Aundh State) an equal, if not higher, dignity and powers than the Maratha King himself who conferred that title on him. This misconception on the part of the writer has vitiated his whole outlook of history and made him magnify the importance, of Parasharam Trimbak, who was undoubtedly a great figure and a

conspicuous personality in the time of Rajaram, but played false to Shahu, a fact that cannot be denied whatever attempts be made by mercenary writers to whitewash his conduct or to controvert the statement made by responsible historians of unfettered and unbiassed judgment. Had the author of this biography of Parasharam Trimbak produced a single reliable document from the archives of the State records in support of his contention, it would have been something. But such is not the case. As an instance of the utter lack of the sense of proportion displayed by the writer we may mention here that over 110 pages out of 600 of this book have been devoted to the praise of the poetic composition of Parasharam Trimbak, who was anything but a poet in the strict sense which literary critics attach to the term. Even a cat may look at a king, says a well-known adage, and true historians and true literary critics are wild cats. They cannot forbear an attempt to over-ride truth and allow any other consideration to soil it. The present Chief of Aundh is himself a man of fine literary talent and we wonder how he allowed such a book tainted with faults inherent in any mercenary work, to go unrevised by a competent person and to enjoy his patronage.

The big volume is nicely printed and the illustrations are finely executed.

AROGYADEEP—A TREATISE ON HEALTH : By *Mr. R. J. Gokhale of the Training College for Men, Poona.* Pages 152. Price As. 12.

'Back to nature' is a slogan with many persons in these days and the writer has done well to show how health can be well-preserved by observing the laws of Nature and without resorting to drugs. The book is full of useful information, well-arranged and nicely expressed.

TALES OF BENGALI HEROES : By *Mr. A. V. Apte.* Pages 41. Price As. 5.

A book of anecdotes of Vidyasagar, Bhudeb Mukherjee and others, illustrating several virtues, which Indian boy-scouts should make a constant endeavour to attain.

SHRI DASBODHACHI RUPRESHYA OR A GENERAL OUTLINE OF DASBODA OF SWAMI RAMDAS : By *Mr. V. P. Sathe.* Pages 183. Price Re 1-10.

Dasbodh, the immortal work of Swami Ramdas, Shiwaji's Guru, is a household gospel in Maharashtra, and is highly respected especially by the Nationalists. Much preliminary information, political, social and spiritual, is required to be able to grasp fully the meaning of the simple-looking words used by the political saint and the book under notice is a creditable attempt to supply that information.

GADKARI : By *Messrs S. V. Joshi B. A. and K. V. Sathe M.B.B.S.* Pages 144. Price Re. one.

This joint production of two well-read, young, enthusiastic writers is a welcome addition in a permanent form to Marathi literature. Young men in these days have a peculiar fascination for R. G. Gadkari, who shone brilliantly in the literary firmament of Maharashtra for too brief a period to enable persons of a critical turn of mind to read, examine, and pronounce on his dramatic and poetic works. The authors have in the present volume subjected Gadkari's dramatic works only to a searching examination and have pointed out faults, which are admittedly very glaring, and

sufficient to dethrone him from the giddy height to which his indiscriminating admirers have attempted to raise him. Gadkari had, no doubt, uncommon literary parts, and had he been spared to us for a few years more, he would have perhaps achieved a more lasting fame. But taking his performance as it is, we cannot join the chorus of the high encomium showered on him by fussy admirers at the expense of the world-renowned poets and dramatists like Valmiki, Shakespeare and Goethe. The authors of this book have wisely abstained from committing such a folly in praising Gadkari and they have mingled praise and censure in due proportion in judging of his merits and demerits.

RAJACHEN BUND OR KING'S REVOLT.—A DRAMATIC PLAY: By Mr. S. T. Karkhanis. Price Re. 1.

A king completely playing into the hands of the bureaucracy whose high-handedness knew no bounds, suddenly revolts against his own former conduct and turns over a new page in life. This simple plot when skilfully worked into a play by a person like Mr. Karkhanis who, by the way, has carved a name for keen insight in dramatic lore was expected to command high praise from critics. But here the unexpected has happened. The play does not reach the expected height of excellence and falls flat on its readers, owing to the excess of idealism over realism. The author seems to have anticipated this result, inasmuch as he has given his play an alternative title of 'Monorajya.'

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF BARRISTER SAVARKAR: By Mr. S. R. Ranade. Pages 86. Price as. 8

Mr. V. D. Savarkar's life has so far been eventful, though full of musings and long sufferings. He has more than paid for his indiscretions of youth and we have no doubt he will be only too glad to drop a curtain over them and begin life afresh. His admiring biographer has therefore unwittingly done him an injustice by not letting him alone and choosing a new path of life after mature consideration. As it is, the book is readable and will serve as a warning to erring youths.

V. G. APTE.

MALAYALAM

HEMA-PANJARAM : THE CAGE OF GOLD : Translated by Srimati T. Madhavi Amma. Published from the Ramanuja Printing House, Trichur (Cochin State.) Pp. 209. Price as. 12 only.

This interesting love-story is a free translation from the English rendering of the *Sonar-khancha*, the original Bengali novel by Sita Chatterjee. After going through the book carefully we are able to say that Srimati Madhavi Amma writes in the lucid and flowing style of a novelist. We earnestly hope that ere long we shall see some of Madhavi Amma's own productions, besides her translations of all the other novels written by Sita Chatterjee from the original Bengali.

The long list of errata of six pages added to the beginning of the book looks hardly harmonious with its nice get-up.

MALATI: By C. P. Gopala Pillai M. R. A. S. Published from the S. R. Book Depot, Trivandrum. Pp. 68.

This contains a very pathetic story of a young girl, Malati, who renounces her life to prove the truth of her devotion for her lover by drowning

herself in a river. It is written in the well-known *Gatha* style of poetry. The subject seems to be the author's own creation. Mr. Pillai is evidently a poet of deep insight and original ideas, and can, undoubtedly, do, if he will pursue this line, a great service to the Malayalam poetry.

P. Anujan Achan.

GUJARATI.

MANOMUKUR, VOL. I : By Narsinhrao Bholanath. Printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. Pp. 567. Price Rs. 3-0-0. 1921.

This Manomukur or Mirror of the Mind is a collection of a part of the numerous prose writings of the author, who, though his *metier* is verse-writing, is none the less widely known as a vigorous prose writer and meticulous reviewer. The volume comprises of subjects, grave and gay, biographical and technical. The volume is a valuable addition to our literature, as it brings together in one place, what was lying scattered in many old and new periodicals.

ARAVIND VICHAR MALA, FLOWER II : Translated by Thakur Narayan Visangi. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, with pictures of Aravind Ghose, Paul Richard and Bankim Chandra Chatterji. Cloth bound. Pp. 282. Price Rs. 4-0-0. (1924).

This translation in its get-up and matter is fully in keeping with its predecessor. The thoughts of Aravinda Ghose as Vishva Vichar have been correctly conveyed to the Gujarati Reader, and it has been done at a great sacrifice of time and labor, as appears from the footnotes.

MAHATMA SAKHI SA'ADI : By Sadiq. Printed at the Mahes Printing Press, Bombay. With pictures. Cloth bound. Pp. 206. Price Rs. 2-0-0. (1924).

Sadiq Karbatai who has written this book on the basis of the Men of Letters Series in English, is a young man from Iraq or Mesopotamia, whose mother tongue is certainly not Gujarati, and it is a marvel how he has been able to put all he has to say about Sa'adi, the well-known Persian poet and author of the world renowned *Gulestan* and *Bostan*, in such comparatively correct and chaste Gujarati. Everything known about him has been put down here, with illustrative extracts and altogether the work has been done in such a way as to furnish a land-mark to students of this branch of literature.

DESHA DARSHANA : By Kumari Sumitra Dayaji Mehta, Principal, Kanyagurukul, Delhi. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 384. Price Rs. 3-0-0. (1924).

The original of this translated book by Thakur Shree Ramdass Sinha, B.A., in Hindi requires no introduction. The social state of our country as well as its economic condition, as viewed from the principles of Eugenics and Birth Control, and the miserable picture it presents is set out in the most forceful way by the author. He has selected a mass of statistics and instances to illustrate his points: the ill-matched life of India's married couples and the way in which in consequence thereof, both men and women go wrong, are particularly discussed, and the details though nauseating, vividly color the picture. The lady-translator a fine student born of Hindi and Gujarati has boldly tackled the task

and not shrunk from referring to the last nonsavoury details. We like the book and wish it good luck.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA : By Champaklal Lalbhai Mehta, B.A., LL.B., pp. 200. Price Re. 1-1-0.

UNNATI VICHAR : PART I : By Jayasukhray P. Jashipura. Pp. 360, price Re. 1-10-0.

CONSUMPTION IN INDIA : By Manilal Chhotatalal Parikh, B.A. Pp. 183. Price Re. 1-0-0.

BUGS AND LICE : By the late Mr. Induvasan Dalsukhray Desai B. A. Pp. 45; Price as. 0-6-0.

All printed at Baroda, cloth bound (1924).

The first three books belong to the admirable series started by H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda for the encouragement of literature in general and the fourth to the series for the encouragement of juvenile literature. Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherji's researches into our old books have resulted in an admirable treatise on the subject of Self-Government in ancient India; and this translation very well brings out the important points of the thesis. The second book is based on certain chapters of Bagehot's *Physics and Politics*, and as great minds think alike; the writer of these pages says that his thoughts on the social problems of India had led him to the same conclusions as Bagehot and he is grateful to H. H.'s offices for having allowed him an opportunity to publish them in this book. The third book is written with the laudable object of familiarising people with the evils of consumption and tuberculosis, and the means of overcoming them. It is written by a layman and so far it is creditable. The title of the last little book speaks for itself.

K. M. J.

PRAKRIT

PAIASADDAMAHANNAVA : By Pandit Haragovinda Das Trikamchand Seth, Nyaya-Vyakarana-tirtha, Lecturer in Prakrit, Calcutta University, Part I, p. 259. To be had of Dalchand Manikchand Seth, 49, Ezra St. Calcutta.

The author hardly needs introduction, to those who have acquaintance with the *Yasovijaya Jaina Granthamala*. His present work is Prakrit-Hindi Dictionary. We extend our hearty welcome to it. Prakrit is the sacred language of the Jinists as Pali is of the Buddhists. One is, therefore, really glad to see that the former have discharged their own duties by bringing out different lexicons of the Prakrit language being not dependent upon others for them. The first Prakrit dictionary is the great *Abhidhana-Rajendra* edited by Sri Vijayarajendra Suri. It is in fact an Encyclopædia or the *Sabdakalpadruma* or *Vacaspathya* of Sanskrit. It deals with the words and subjects relating to Jain literature and religion. The second is the *Ardhamagadhi Dictionary* in Sanskrit, Gujarati, Hindi and English by Satavadhani Muni Sri Ratnachandrajī. As the very title shows, it is confined only to *Ardhamagadhi* words found in Jain literature. The third is the present one. It is not confined to any particular kind of Pkt. or sectarian literature but it deals with the words in Pkt. in general.

It supplies Sanskrit equivalents so far as possible, quotes authorities and gives references. The words are explained in Hindi, yet the language is so simple that it can be used by anyone knowing some vernacular of Northern India. A

Pkt. dictionary of this kind was a desideratum and every Pkt.-lover should feel thankful to Pandit Haragovindadasa who has now supplied it. We have not the least doubt in saying that students of Pkt. will be much benefited by it.

As regards the treatment of the subject we should like to make here some observations. Speaking generally, it seems to us that a large number of words has not been dealt with critically or discussed philologically, merely depending on the commentators or the grammarians who are generally very fond of giving fanciful or farfetched derivations of words. Of course, so far as these authorities are concerned, the author is quite justified, but as we have reasons not to believe in them always, we cannot rest satisfied with their mere statements. Let us take here a few examples. On page 101, we read "*Avayaccha* [dris] *dekhna*. *Avayacchai* (He. 4181). It means that *avayaccha* is from *dris*. But it is impossible. Hemachandra's statement must be explained in a different way. When he says that in the place of \sqrt{dris} there are following *adesas* : *nyaccha*, *peccha*, *avayaccha*, etc., he only means to say thereby that in the sense of \sqrt{dris} those roots are to be used, for he can never mean that those forms are derived from \sqrt{dris} . So in showing the derivations of the respective words one must write *ava* + \sqrt{gaccha} (*gam*), *ni* + \sqrt{gaccha} (*gam*), *pra* + \sqrt{iksa} , etc. and not \sqrt{dris} . And in Sanskrit, too, none should say that *pasyati* is derived from \sqrt{dris} which is impossible. The fact is that *pasyati* is from \sqrt{spas} 'to see' used not infrequently in Vedic texts, while only three derivatives of it, so far as we know, are found in classical Sanskrit viz. *spasa* 'spy' (Cf. Lat. *spec* in *inspex*, Gr. *skopos*, Ger. *spahen* Eng. *spy*), *spasta* 'clearly perceived', and *paspara* the name of the first chapter of Patanjali's great commentary on Panini. In the same *sutra* of Hemachandra *pasai* is from *passai* < *pasyati* and is in no way connected with \sqrt{dris} . There are many such instances in the dictionary. Let us take only one of them more. It is said (p. 130) : "*Aumtana* [*akuncana*] *Samkoca* (He. 1.17)." Acharya Hemachandra himself is not justified here in saying "*Akuncanam*. *Aumtamanam*. *Atra casya tatvam*." One can never change to *t*. The fact is that *aumtana* is from *avartana* the intermediate stage being *auttana* which has however, been shown by the author. He is also quite right in explaining *aumta* on the same page connecting it with *autta* (< *avritta*). It is evident in the Dictionary that marking words, as *desi* or *desya* has not always been done properly. There is a large number of words which cannot be classified under *desi* even though Hemachandra may say so. For example, *ohadani* (p. 258) ; Pandit Haragovinda Dasa rightly gives its Sanskrit equivalent *avoghatani*, and thus the word is a *tadbhava* one. Yet he marks it as *de* (= *desi*) referring to Hemachandra. The word *ujharita* (p. 189) is also marked as *de*. But could it not be derived from Sanskritized *ujharita* (*ud* + \sqrt{jhar} + *ta*) ? For \sqrt{jhar} 'to flow' cf. *jhari* 'a river,' *nirjhara* 'a fountain.' This root in its present form is not to be found in Vedic texts, the former form being \sqrt{ksar} . Compare here its Avestic form \sqrt{ghxhar} 'to flow.' Therefore, the word in question must be marked as *tadbhava* and not *de*. The word *jhar* may

originally be an onomatopoeic one, but we have nothing to deal with it here.

On page 6 the actual word is *ausa* (the first *a* being long and not *ausa* nor is it *de*. It does not also mean an *upasaka*. The author has evidently been misled here by the writer of the *chaya* of the Prakrit portion in the *Pratijnayugandharayana* T.S.S. 1912, pp. 44, 45, from which the word is taken. The true form *ausa* is given by the author in its

proper place (p. 131) in the sense of *dirghayus* 'a long-lived one'. Its Buddhist or Pali form is *avuso*, a polite form of address, specially of *bhikkus* of equal rank. Both the words are evidently from Sanskrit *ayus* with different suffixes.

As the Dictionary is being published part by part, the abbreviations should have been explained in the present part which contains words beginning with vowels.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

VILLAGE UNION BOARDS IN BENGAL

By BHUBANMOHAN RAY

UNDER the Village Self-Government Act of 1919, Union Boards have been established at various rural centres in Bengal, and they are now well under way. These union boards, are not, however, a novel institution in India. The old *panchayet* system as a phase of the one-time village communities, is well known to history; but its vogue has long passed away, and to-day after that system has been practically moribund for centuries, the union boards just started are evidently an attempt towards a revival of past conditions in tune with the present.

The ultimate success of Self-Government in India will depend to a large extent on the degree of success achieved by the union boards away in the countryside.

Act V of 1919 thus marks a transition-stage, and is fraught with very large possibilities; but the provisions of that Act, while excellent in their general bearings, unfortunately leave here and there loopholes for maladministration, miscarriage and friction, all of which must needs be covered up to make for the best results possible with what average resources the Indian village commands.

Villages in Bengal are unfortunately all in a bad way. Talent is nowhere idle, and to find the best scope for itself, rural talent has a tendency—and this tendency is very marked now-a-days—to move off to its own proper field in the towns. The best men of every village thus invariably immigrate to urban centres, and only their less capable brethren are left behind to shift for themselves as best as they may. The capacity of these people for concerted action, except

where the conditions are particularly favourable, is of the least, and the merest trifle often sets the ball of faction and intrigue rolling for no one knows how long. That is a point which must be kept constantly in view in legislating for our rural population, and calling the tune for reform in the countryside.

I propose here to offer a few comments in the light of my own experience on certain provisions of the Act which, should be revised so as to suit the requirements of those for whom it is meant, better than it does at present.

I

First, as regards the constitution of the union boards and the powers vested in them. The whole executive power is left practically to just one man, the president, out of a total of nine members; the duties of the rest being confined solely to attending the monthly meetings of the board and to giving their votes at those meetings. That done, they wash their hands of the whole business, as if they for their part had no direct stake in the results. As a former president of a union board, the present writer has at every step felt the evil effects of such a centralisation of authority. As for the other members, the feeling at the back of their minds in every union board constantly is that while all the nine men on the board are working together to produce the same results, only one of them figures at the top bossing the show and taking the lion's share of honours in the shape of prizes and rewards; the remaining eight men, though all of them are his colleagues, contributing more or less to his

success in discharging his many-sided responsibilities, having to go away empty-handed when, after the year's grind is over, a general survey of the board's work comes to be taken.

There is such a thing as human weakness, and it must be duly allowed for. Though an attitude like the above cannot have a shadow of moral justification, there is all the same no denying that in the work-a-day world petulance and petty jealousies are nothing out of the common, and we must not be too hard upon union board workers if they are not free from this taint and the relations among them are not always the most cordial.

The remedy that occurs to me, however, lies perhaps in such an apportionment of functions on the executive side as would to all intents and purposes shut out party feeling and split, by giving to the other members a reasonable share of the president's own responsibilities. Let the president stand responsible as now for the general working of the board as a whole, but let one member be held answerable for Education as Education Member, another for Sanitation as Sanitation Member, a third for road works, a fourth for water-works, and so forth, the president exercising general supervision over them all, and a power of vote on their actions. From what I have seen of the ways of people in the country, I feel warranted to believe that under such an arrangement the best results will be obtained, and obtained soonest. The sense of self-esteem of the members will be stimulated, and they will get to be decidedly more alive to their responsibilities than they have been till now, a sense of *amour propre* will spring up, and their co-operation with the president and with one another will become a living reality.

Government has instituted a system of annual rewards for good work done by union board presidents. As a president is by virtue of his position already a man of mark, a certificate of merit or any other mark of public recognition of his services, more substantial than a certificate, does not exalt his position much. The very fact that he is president of his board is advertisement enough of his superior worth, but his colleagues pine away in obscurity, and though they may be giving solid work all along the line, they get no credit, and their merits make no outward show. There is no earthly incentive to their activities save only an altruistic zeal for the promotion of the public good.

The average mortal is seldom content with such a lot, and a member of a union board, whose calibre by the way is scarcely above the average, cannot be much to blame if he occasionally frets, and reaching out in vain for privileges to which he has no access, grows lukewarm or positively indifferent to the varied interests entrusted to his care; and stands practically aloof and aside, leaving the president to bear his own burden single-handed as best as he may. Where the president happens to be a mere lay figure, and matters come to such a pass, the interests of the board suffer terribly.

Far be it from me to suggest, however, that the above is a normal picture of the union boards in Bengal. I am proud to be able to say that most union boards work smoothly in full harmony with the president and in cheerful submission to his lead. Yet where jars and bickerings are in evidence they are, as a rule, due to the one cause just indicated—to the fact of the president holding a monopoly of power and responsibility, and employing the agency of the other members only as an advisory body, which, by the way, the latter virtually are relatively to him.

Looking at the matter again from the standpoint of the president himself, it would be idle to deny that his responsibilities are too many for an honorary worker. He is the cashier of the board he stands for, and the custodian of all its furniture and records; he alone stands to look after the collection of the rates, and to carry on the board's correspondence; to execute union court decrees, to inspect all work in progress under sanitation, road-works, water-works and all the rest of them, to invite tenders and settle contracts, to make and receive payments, to keep the boards' accounts, to receive interviewers and hear their grievances, to meet a hundred other calls on his time and attention—all of which makes a mountain-high heap of distracting work which only a leisured man free from the cares of family and the trammels of private affairs can cope with. Few men with any pretension to worth, and above soiling their hands with dirty work are prepared to face such a terrible grind, and many a president after a year's or two years' spell of devitalising toil has at last resigned from sheer exhaustion.

In some Eastern Bengal districts a good many union boards have not yet funds enough to start work in every direction, but once their scope of activity has fairly developed with ampler funds than are now

available to back their operations, many more residents. I warrant, will either sheer off, or let ~~things~~ slide, however public-spirited and patriotic they may be.

So the only possible remedy for the present anomalous position of affairs, I take it, is to be found in a judicious division of labour between the president and his colleagues—at all events the abler one among them—subject to the president's supervision, and his veto where necessary. But this division should like the presidentship and the vice-presidentship be always elective, and not delegative at the president's will ; that is, after the election of the president and the vice-president, the Education, Sanitation and other members will, under the scheme I propose, have to be elected by the board from among themselves by vote.

Village folk, much like urban people, and perhaps more than the latter, are keenly ambitious of personal distinction, and the mere designation of Education or Sanitation member will generally act as a potent spell on them and enlist their whole-hearted sympathy and co-operation. There is no doubt a touch of vanity verging on the puerile about such a sentiment, but if there is that weakness, why not take advantage of it towards ensuring goodwill and amity ?

The proposed arrangement is calculated to offer numerous other advantages to boot. At present the people of a union have practically little means of making sure which of the members other than the president have worked well during a given term, and which have not ; and for purposes of election in future, or nomination either, neither the people nor the Government can lay their fingers upon any definite data as regards the usefulness or otherwise of the outgoing members of a board towards their subsequent election or nomination. But once definite duties are assigned to the members, the record of an expiring term will show what work they have individually done, and an unworthy or apathetic member shall have no chance of getting on the board again, and once more stultifying his constituents by disservice.

In any case the Act should be so revised as to make it possible for every member of a union board, or at least every leading member of it to feel that he stands for a definite set of interests ear-marked for him, and him alone, though under the shadow of the president's guidance and control. Else the inevitable consequence will be seediness

and sloppy progress, with a vast amount of work thrown upon the president, and with practically few or none to second him in his efforts.

II

Open voting in elections to union boards should cease, and give way to voting by ballot. Balloting is the rule in Council and Assembly elections, the principle in those cases being to eliminate the operation of all backstairs influence. In those elections, the candidates are, however, seldom men on the spot with much personal influence on the electors. But union board elections present a sharp contrast to these, the candidates and electors in this case being all residents of the same union with a hundred and one ties of mutual obligation. Independent voting in the case of such people is absolutely out of the question, so long as the elections are made openly as now.

The landholder and the proverbial money-lender rule the roost in a village, and they may turn the scale in their own favour or in favour of whomsoever they please without let or hindrance. In fact, 80 per cent. of the votes recorded in a union board election are the direct result of undue influence, sometimes culminating in actual intimidation, and if unworthies preponderate in a good many union boards, even though decidedly abler men are available in plenty in those unions, it is due primarily to open voting. Balloting once introduced, would prove an effective remedy for this evil, provided that no subsequent disclosure is possible ; and it is difficult to see why balloting has not been insisted on just where it is needed most. The Act, when it is amended, should by all means rule out open voting and replace it by balloting.

III

Pari passu with the above may be noted the fact that, strange as it may appear, there is no clear provision in the Act or in any of the Bengal Government Notifications issued up to date under section 101, providing for cases where a president of a union board has a call to make over charge to any of his colleagues during his own absence or incapacity. Rules 12 and 13 of Government Order no. 1030 L. S. G., dated 29th March, 1920, provide for a transfer of charge only to the vice-president. But where there is no vice-president—and indeed many union boards have none—or the vice-president in his turn happens to be absent or subject to

a disability at the same time as the president himself, and none of the other members, is willing to take over charge, the president finds himself in a nice fix. He must choose between letting his private interests suffer, and leaving the board's affairs to take care of themselves till such time as he is in a position to resume charge simply because none of his colleagues has the good grace to relieve him. This is no doubt an extreme case, but extreme cases do occur now and then, as indeed occurred one such case within the present writer's knowledge some time ago. The president after using all his resources to induce his colleagues one by one to take over charge from him for just ten days, and finding that they all declined and there was no other way out, had to stand tied to his charge till the occasion passed away, but not without considerable loss to himself for the sake of the public trust he held in his hands. A like stand-offish attitude was displayed on another occasion in a matter of inquest in which the president being too ill to act asked some of his colleagues to hold a local inquiry and make an inspection of the corpse. The only response it produced was a crop of plump Noes. The possibility of such episodes occurring in future should be duly provided against by widening, if necessary, the president's power of delegation in special cases and making all the members amenable to it.

Dafadars and chaukidars are Government servants, whose services are, however, at the disposal of the union boards. The union rates collected under section 37 (a) are collected exclusively on their account, and these rates make in most unions from 75 to 80 per cent. of the total collections under all heads. Nay, more, in a good many unions up till now, the whole amount assessed has, year after year, been swallowed up by the chaukidar, whose salaries and equipment leave no margin for anything else. The union boards in all such cases exist practically only for chaukidars. Yet, the power of a union board over these menials is subject to so many limitations that all real control over them is out of the question. For, the collective power of an entire board does not go beyond fining a chaukidar up to the limit of a quarter of his pay. Thus even the president himself, to say nothing of his colleagues, is as good as powerless against a chaukidar, and if things go wrong with him

must move the whole board, and that, too, for nothing more than a fine covering only a quarter of his pay. Chaukidars are wise in their generation, and they know how to take advantage of the situation. "But then chaukidars are Government servants, and not servants of the Board," will perhaps be the reply from the side of Government. Surely they are; but they are after all village servants, and does it stand to reason that a member of a Union Board, or for the matter of that, even the president should have to apply to all and sundry to make them go straight? The money raised from a union for chaukidars, let us not forget, is raised not through any State agency, but through the agency of the union boards, and union board presidents stand to help the Government on the criminal side of its judicial administration with local inquiries and in various other ways, all which work is supererogatory, and indeed vicarious, having no manner of bearing on the interests of the boards themselves. Now if Government employs the agency of the union boards for its own purposes in so many ways, they in their turn may in all reason claim that their power over dafadars and chaukidars should be absolute, even to appointing and dismissing them, and determining the total number of chaukidars to be maintained in each union.

There are Union Boards by the score, and the hundred, having a good many more chaukidars under them than they know what to do with, and the existing number in these unions may be considerably reduced with advantage. For, such reduction, even if it serves no other useful purpose, will at least have the effect of setting free a considerable sum of money, at present virtually thrown away upon them. In several unions—and I say it from personal knowledge—as the boards were out to enhance the old assessment to meet the new exigencies, the rate-payers made a bold stand, holding indignation meetings and pointing out with good reason that instead of taxing the resources of the people by a general enhancement of the old rates which for years past had yielded them no tangible return in any shape, the boards would do well to begin by cutting down their annual expenditure on chaukidars by reducing their number. That was obviously a fair suggestion to make, but the pathetic side of it is that when these boards appealed to the local Government officers for such reduction, the only reply they received implied that the number of chaukidars must

stand good, and that in case the rate-payers should persist in their clamour against enhancement, the boards work under section 37 (b) might be held in abeyance. All this was tantamount to saying that self-government in villages under the new Act was to be reduced to a mere chaukidari concern farewell to sanitation, farewell to road-works and water-works, and farewell to primary education, lest a few chaukidars less per union should lead to some unforeseen and probably imaginary political or other disaster.

Government also has it in contemplation, as a responsible Government functionary had occasion to remark publicly some time ago, to reduce the number of chaukidars in each union, but on what basis? Only with a view to raise by this means the pay of those left in service after reduction. That will be robbing Peter to pay Paul, but will it improve matters for any union? Not at all; it will rather make matters worse. For where a given union has now, let us suppose, 18 chaukidars at an annual cost of about Rs. 1200, it will have after such reduction, say, only 12 chaukidars or six chaukidars less; the total annual cost, yet remaining what it was before the reduction, i.e. Rs. 1200.

Every union board of any account has a judicial side to it—a bench for the trial of criminal cases, and a court here and there for the disposal of civil suits. The experiment has had a fair trial these three years. The union courts have given in most unions a satisfactory account of themselves, and admittedly proved a most useful institution. They are everywhere keenly appreciated by the people, and considering how much money and trouble is saved to the litigants by their means, the only drawback to them, it seems, is their lack of jurisdiction in rent suits. For rent suits and suits for money bulk large in munsiff's courts, and once these suits come under the jurisdiction, up to a reasonable pecuniary limit, of union courts, not only will litigants be spared all the pressing expense to which they now inevitably submit, but the formidable file of suits in munsiff's courts will get whittled down considerably, and the grinding labours of munsiffs ease off to the same extent. Besides, if this should in course of time lead to a reduction of the number of munsiffs now employed, that would save up a vast deal of public money every year. Let there be a suitable limit to the pecuniary jurisdic-

tion of union courts for rent suits, as there is now for money suits, and let there be a trial. This extension of jurisdiction, once made, will, I am sure, prove a real boon to both people and Government.

It may be noted by the way that there is a weak spot in the Act in its present form in that neither the sections bearing on union courts nor the Government notifications supplementing them bear reference to the Indian Limitation Act whose applicability to suits before a union court is beyond question, and though union courts stand to deal with just three classes of suits, the law of limitation governing them should have been summarised in the body of the Act, or indicated by a reference to the Indian limitation law. But neither has been done, and union court judges have nothing for it but to draw upon their own experience or to trace out the law and interpret it in their own way.

To come now to the union benches, which also have a fair record of work to their credit. I have, however, my own doubts, and I share them with others, as to whether these are an unmixed blessing all round like the union courts. That they serve the ends of justice decidedly better than district and sub-divisional courts, partly because the judges, laymen as they are, are all men on the spot commanding special facilities for the discovery of truth, and partly because they are not trammelled by the cumbrous formalities of law which often defeat rather than promote the ends of justice in those tribunals, is a fact no one can gainsay. But then a case before a union bench costs nothing, and the result of it unfortunately is that whoever has a bone to pick with his neighbour, will hasten straight off to the union bench lying perhaps within half a mile, and sometimes even a stone's throw of his own door to lodge a complaint and let it work; though perhaps as a matter of fact the case is such a one that had there been no union bench for his recourse, the complainant would never have cared to tramp from half a dozen to a dozen miles to the Sub-Divisional Magistrate's Court, for the mere pleasure of spiting his adversary. These union benches are thus, I am afraid, putting an indirect premium on the litigious spirit among our rural population. To close them down, however, would be to make bad worse. That would only let all the money now saved by means of them pass out of the pockets of their owners to fill the

capacious maw of the lawyer and to oil those underlings to whom a tip or a douceur is the only 'open sesame.'

But an improvement nevertheless is not far to seek. All that is necessary is to prescribe a general institution fee of say Re. 1 or Rs. 2 as a test of reality of the complainant's grievance in each case. It may be objected that this will militate against the root principle of the Act by making litigation before a union bench an affair of money. Surely it will have that effect, but only within a maximum limit of just Rs. 2. In a Magistrate's Court, the pettiest case means for the parties concerned a cost on the lowest reckoning of from Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 on each side, and a paltry sum of Re. 1 or Rs. 2 from start to finish in a case before a union bench is a mere bagatelle. Yet a saving clause leaving some latitude of discretion to the union benches for exemption in cases of extreme poverty from the strict application of this rule would be protection enough to those who happen to be too poor to meet this requirement. Besides, it is pre-eminently a case where the end justifies the means.

Then under the Act as it now stands, the hands of union benches and union courts are absolutely tied against cases of contempt. The application of the contempt of court provisions of the Indian Penal Code has not been extended to them, perhaps because they are not *courts* in the sense in which a Magistrate or a Judge is. But whether courts or not, they should have some sort of power lodged in their own hands to protect themselves against contempt or contumely. They have not as yet even the semblance of it. They have at every sitting to deal with people

whose outstanding characteristic is a mob mentality, and who finding themselves in the presence of a miniature court whose members are all familiar figures to them, raised to their position on the bench or the court by their own election, are often very rude and unseemly in their bearing, even to the extent of indulging occasionally in coarse gibes and making unsavoury insinuations; and all the more so, because they know that the arm of a union bench or union court is not long enough to reach breaches of discipline of the above brand, even though occurring under its nose. There should be a check on this license, and a summary mulct of say Rs. 25 in the maximum should be provided for to match offences of the nature of a contempt. Else all self-respecting people will feel shy of getting on a union bench or union court, and keeping up their connexion if they are already there.

Every novel institution has its initial difficulties, and union boards are no exception to this rule. The difficulties at the present stage are many, yet fortunately our union boards have made everywhere a promising start; and once the spadework is over, the training of just two terms, it is hoped, will improve away all unsightly features, and let in an awakening whose beginning is already well within sight. But the existing legislation on them needs touching up here and there, and that done, provided it is done with due regard to rural requirements in India, this young institution is destined to prove a marvellous success and usher in ere long an era of progress of which we have yet but a dim preconception.

March 22, 1924

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Education in College and by Experience

Of the education of the late Sir Guildford Molesworth, a distinguished engineer, *The Indian and Eastern Engineer* writes:—

Like most young men he felt after completing his course, that there was very little in the engineering world that he did not know. Though not a brilliant scholar the principal's report on young

Molesworth was "a studious painstaking person whose conduct was uniformly satisfactory". Sir Guildford always said of this report that the principal's findings were more favourable than the facts justified. It was only in later years when fame had come to him, and his reputation as an engineer stood high that he was able to say "after a long professional career, I have achieved a knowledge of my own ignorance and the conviction that the education of an engineer is never complete."

So we think it is with all men of outstanding merit. To them is given the power to delve into great depths from whence a recognition comes to them of the larger unknown still to be discovered.

Jamshedpur Technical Institute

This REVIEW published an account of the Jamshedpur Technical Institute when it was started. The Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., has contributed the following account of it to *The Indian and Eastern Engineer*:—

The Jamshedpur Technical Institute was opened by the Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., towards the close of 1921. The Company has always recognised the necessity of training Indians to hold the superior positions in the works, especially in view of the increased plant which is now being brought into operation. No facilities for such training previously existed in this country, and the company realised that if men were to be trained, it would have to provide facilities for this from its own resources, with such assistance as it might obtain from the Provincial Governments and the Government of India.

The Institute is probably the only example in India of a technical education which ensures satisfactory employment, in the industry for which the man is trained, on his completing the course satisfactorily. This ideal of technical training has very seldom been realised. The students of the Technical Institute, if their ability and application are satisfactory, are at once, on leaving the Institute, provided with suitable posts in the works of the Company. The Institute is supported by grants from the Governments of Bihar and Orissa, Bengal, Punjab, Mysore, and by the Company. Applicants for admission are required to be under 22 and to have passed the Intermediate Examination of a recognised University, or its equivalent. The entire course is for a period of three years and consists of alternate weeks of class-room and mill work. Each student receives a stipend of Rs. 60 per month during the entire course.

So far 15 students have completed their course of training at the Institute. Two of these, having been trained for the Mysore Iron Works at the expense of the Mysore Government, returned to Mysore. The remaining 13 have been employed by the Company in the following departments:—Blast Furnaces, 4; Open Hearth, 3; Bessemer Converters, 1; Rail Mills, 3; Special Training, 2.

The Institute has attracted numerous students from all parts of India and the rigorous selection maintains a very high standard of efficiency. The number of admissions is limited by the number of men who can be recruited for superior positions in the works and by the size of the classes. During the current year the admissions were 23, and this number was selected out of 2,397 applicants from all parts of India.

The following figures show the applications and admissions for the current year:—

Bombay, 204 applications—2 admissions; Bihar and Orissa, 252 applications—8 admissions; Bengal, 996 applications—6 admissions; Punjab, 274 applications—2 admissions; Madras, 317 applications—3 admissions; United Provinces, 115 applications—1 admission; Central Provinces, 57 applications—no ad-

mission; Assam, 51 applications—1 admission; Mysore, 17 applications—no admission; Earoda, 19 applications—no admission; Gwalior, 4 applications—no admission; other Provinces 96 applications—no admission.

As various complaints have appeared in Indian papers to the effect that the Tatas are very fond of appointing British, American and other foreigners to "the superior positions in the works," even when qualified Indians are available, the Company should have stated what are the superior positions or which the Institute trains students and what positions with what salaries and prospects trained students have already obtained. Probably some of our readers may know the facts and publish them.

Village and Town-Planning in Ancient India

Rao Sahib K. V. Vaze, I. C. E., continues in the *Vedic Magazine* his series of informing articles on "Extent of Ancient Indian Engineering Philosophy". In the March issue he treats of town-planning. Various provisions show that sanitation and convenience were kept in view in those days. For example, it was enjoined:

Chandal, Charmakar, Shababas, Smanas and such other things which are dirty or injurious to public health should be away from water, temples, stores, residences, and main roads. The temples of gods, roads, and markets should never be considered as vacant and therefore fit for the collection of refuse. A place is considered vacant or abandoned, if one is permitted to throw polluted things in it.

Intermediate Education in the United Provinces

Prof. P. Seshadri writes in *Education*:—

The recent reform of Intermediate education in the United Provinces has not yet resulted in the numerous beneficial results contemplated by the scheme, owing largely to defects of execution and the absence of energetic pursuit of the original policy underlying the measure. It is undoubtedly capable of enriching and advancing Intermediate education in happier circumstances, though as yet improved conditions are perceptible, in some measure, only in University education which has been freed of Intermediate work and in High Schools associated with Intermediate education. If the reform is to be carried out in other Provinces of India, it must be done with a full knowledge of the heavy responsibilities involved and with a guarantee of all the facilities necessary for a proper function of the scheme.

Krishna a Lover of the Poor

Prof. T. L. Vaswani says in *The Kalpaka*:
 Krishna, like Jesus, like Buddha, like Mahaveer, is a lover, a champion of the Poor. An epithet which according to a Purana, Krishna loved the most was "Friend of the Poor." His dear ones, through the centuries, have found happiness in the cottage, have voluntarily embraced poverty. The rich make money—how? By murdering their souls. Krishna's *bhaktas* love poverty; for they are rich in the Lord's Remembrance—the only treasure that counts.
 Who were the first worshippers of Krishna? Poor cowherds and milk-maids and cows. Who were his companions in "Brindaban"? Shepherds and himself a shepherd of Humanity. Who brought him up in Vrja? Simple cowherds.
 The Krishna-cult knows no caste. As Sri Chaitanya said: "If a *mochi* (cobblers) has *bhakti*, I bow to him a thousand times." With what joy the poor cowherd Sudama goes to meet Krishna! Here is an extract from a mediaeval song:—Here comes the cowherd Sudama with a striped turban on his head. He almost feels like a madman for joy at the expected meeting with Krishna. This joy springs from a feeling that Krishna the Simple is a lover of the Poor.

Islam, and Peace and Toleration

Mr. G. F. Malik contributes to *The Review of Religions* an article on "Toleration in Islam," in which it is stated among other things:—

It is not a secret that in the past much human blood has been shed in the name of religion; and there exists still an unappeasable enmity between nation and nation on account of the difference of their religious views. Islam holds aloft the banner of peace.

Islam is a religion of peace, and it has laid down the basis of peace and harmony among all regions by making belief in the missions of all prophets and equally respecting them one of its fundamental principles.

Nevertheless it is a regrettable fact of history that the followers of Islam have been surpassed in causing bloodshed only by those who profess to follow Jesus, whom they call the Prince of Peace. It would be good for humanity if in the living present and in the future to come the followers of all religions tried to show by their conduct more than by their writings and speeches what their respective religions stood for. Though such writings and speeches are also necessary.

Indian Exports of Cotton Goods in the Seventeenth Century

In a paper with the above heading Mr. W. H. Moreland attempts to give in the

Indian Journal of Economics a general description of the export trade in cotton goods from India in the seventeenth century, together with a few data which may help students to an appreciation of its magnitude.

"At this period there were three dominant lines of commerce in Asiatic waters, spices and drugs, cotton goods, and the precious metals. Spices and drugs had to be distributed over Asia, Europe and part of Africa; in order to move them it was necessary to lay down cotton goods in the producing markets, because producers would take little else; and in order to obtain sufficient cotton goods, it was necessary to lay down gold or silver, because the effective demand for other imports was altogether inadequate. Thus at the opening of the century, the cloth trade was primarily of Asiatic interest, though the Portuguese had developed an additional outlet to West Africa and Brazil, but as time went on, European markets were opened up, first for house linen, and then for dress and decorative fabrics, until the trade came to interest the West almost as much as it interested the East. No one can hope to understand the extensive literature dealing with the commerce of the century until he has obtained a general idea of the nature of this trade, and my present object is to furnish a description which may serve as an introduction to the contemporary documents."

Relation of House Accommodation to Child Mortality

In the same journal, Mr. Raj Bahadur Gupta dwells on the relation of house accommodation to child mortality, and reaches the conclusion:—
 The more the congestion, the higher the mortality, and *vice versa*. Not only this, but it has been found over and over again on examination that children who survive in these overcrowded conditions grow pale and sickly, and have none of the vigour of youth. It has been estimated that boys living in single-room houses lose about 30 inches in height, and over 11 lbs. in weight, as compared to those living in four-room houses.
 We must point out in conclusion that our treatment of child mortality as being directly connected with house accommodation is not really at variance with the general belief which associates high infant mortality with poverty, ignorance and malnutrition. For poverty and ignorance themselves encourage overcrowding and insanitation. Dirt and overcrowding again bring about mental depression and impaired metabolism, which in turn react upon health and lead to impaired efficiency, unemployment and poverty. All this leads not only to a physical waste in energy and general enervation, but also to low standard of health and low resisting power, which play directly into the hands of immorality and disease. Thus the vicious circle continues. More often than not, intoxication and other evils add to the irresistible strength and sweep off the vicious circle and aggravate the effects of poverty and overcrowding.

Friendship between Meat-eater and Vegetarian

The following is part of a story from Sinhalese literature, translated by M. Muscus Higgins for the *Young Citizen*.

Maharaja Vidaha of Vidaha in India walked up and down on the balcony of his palace, smiling to himself. And sometimes even he laughed a rare thing with this grave Raja and his Rani, Udambara Devi, wondered what amused her lord. He had seen in the court below an unusual sight. Near the wall which surrounded the palace grounds stood two animals: a dog and a goat. The dog had some grass in its mouth and the goat was just putting down some meat on the ground. Both animals looked at each other contentedly. The dog began eating the meat which had been brought by the goat, and the goat enjoyed the grass carried by the dog. Both were very busy with their food, and when they had finished they lay down together for a while. Then they parted in a friendly manner, one going towards one part of the courtyard, and the other in the opposite direction.

The Maharaja had seen this going on for several days, and the peculiarity of this evident friendship made him think: "How is it that the dog comes to bring grass and the goat meat?"

This is the story. The goat used to steal grass from the elephant stables, and when one day the elephant-keeper found it out he gave the goat such a beating that he almost killed it. The poor animal reached the wall of the courtyard and fell down there exhausted. About the same time a dog with hanging head and tail arrived there in the same condition.

"What is the matter with you, Mr. Dog, that you look so dejected?" asked the goat.

"I would like to know the same thing about you," answered the dog.

Then the goat told its story, and the dog said: "My story is almost the same. I used to steal meat from the kitchen because I felt hungry, and to-day the cook has given me such a beating that I am almost dead."

"So you cannot go to the kitchen again," asked the goat.

"No," growled the dog. "That business is over. I would surely be killed if I showed my face there again."

"The same is the case with me," said the goat sadly. "What are we to do? Let us be friends and help each other."

At first the dog thought: "What is the use of having a goat for a friend?" But then both were very miserable and he concluded that it was better to have one friend, even if it were a goat, than to have no friend at all: so they swore friendship.

Then the goat had an idea: "Look here, friend dog, suppose I go to the kitchen and find a piece of meat. The cook will not suspect me as I do not eat meat. I will bring it you and you can eat it."

"Well, friend goat," replied the dog, "that is an excellent idea, but how will you get something to eat?"

"That is quite easy," answered the goat. "You must go to the elephant stables and get me some grass."

"Brilliant!" barked the dog. "Of course, the elephant-keeper will not suspect me as I do not

eat grass. He will think I am looking around to see that everything is in order. And when he goes away, I can take some grass and bring it to you."

So the two friends agreed and from that day the goat brought meat for the dog and the dog carried grass to the goat.

This it was that the Maharaja had observed, and he was so struck with the cleverness of their design that he let them have their own way, and thought he would make a question for his wise men based on the peculiar friendship of these two animals.

Each needs the other's services
And so good will extends,
And turns these natural enemies
To warmest friends.

Students Attack Military Training

The same monthly reproduces the passages printed below from the *Japan Advertiser*.

Organising to combat the introduction of military training into the schools of Japan from the middle schools upward, student representatives of 38 colleges and universities took the first step toward the formation of the National General Federation of Students Opposing Military Training at a conference in the room of a student of the Imperial University here. Indignation at the recent ruling of the Minister of Education, adding military training under active army officers to the school curriculum, was expressed in the speeches made.

A committee was named to send out an invitation to every student in Japan to affiliate himself with the new organisation. It is planned to establish a branch in each college and university, which will be entitled to a representation of three members in the National Headquarters Association. An active campaign of public speeches and literature will be conducted throughout the Nation by the students in the hope of getting Mr. Okada's ruling rescinded prior to its going into actual operation next April.

The student orators at the organisation meeting denounced the plan as a retrogression of civilisation and a programme calculated to revive the influence of the military caste. It was a shame, they thought, for the students of Japan meekly to submit to a scheme devoid of high ideal, a scheme which was in effect no more than a system of training for scientific murder. They considered the plan especially dangerous at the present time when the American people they believed were filled with martial ardour and were looking for, although perhaps unconsciously, a chance to show their strength in arms.

SEES CHANCE FOR JINGOES
As a result," said one student, "the adoption of this plan now will only electrify the air with the dangerous misunderstandings which it is inevitable that such a system will breed, and jingoes on both sides of the Pacific will avail themselves of the opportunity to throw the world into confusion again. The rising generation of Japan cannot afford to entertain the world with fire and the blood of the Nation's sons, a spectacle for which the world is eagerly watching as if for a baseball game merely."

to humour the caprice of a limited section of the militarists, who have not progressed with civilisation's march.

Attention was called by one speaker to the fact that the opposition of the students to the plan is a phase of the rampant anti-military feeling that is a reaction to the sword-worship which followed Japan's victory in the War with Russia.

Indians in Cana

We read in Bulletin No. 12 of *Indians Abroad*.

The Chinese were the first of the Oriental peoples in modern times to go to British Columbia. They helped in building the Canadian Pacific Railway, the first trans-continental railway in Canada linking up the Atlantic and the Pacific sea boards of the Dominion. That was in the latter half of the Nineteenth Century. The Japanese followed soon after but Indians were the last to emigrate to Canada. Of course in eastern parts of Canada there are settlements of Syrians, Armenians and Persians—all peoples of Asiatic origin. Swami Ram Tirath or as he was known, Swami Ram, who was a lecturer in Mathematics in a Lahore College had left for the Pacific coast a little earlier. His visit and personality created some interest in India and in Indian affairs among the peoples and in places where he addressed meetings. Some students followed to study at various educational centres in that part of America. Their letters to the Indian newspapers also awakened interest amongst the Indians. In the Fiji islands, which are not very far from British Columbia, there is a permanent Indian colony. But the conditions in Fiji and Canada are totally different. The Indian settlers in Fiji were taken there as indentured labourers, whilst those who went to Canada went there of their own choice and as free men.

EARLY EXPERIENCES

At that time also advertisements about Canada and its economic advantages appeared in the Indian papers. It is said of the first pioneers how it was, on the first day of their landing, not knowing about the new conditions in a new land, they had to tramp for some days to get work. The Canadians had no experience of India and the Indians and being a practical people gave these first Indians a chance to prove what they were capable of doing. Their first employer recommended them to other saw-mills and the Indians had no difficulty in getting work.

The Indian emigration was mostly from the Punjab and that only from 4 or 5 adjacent districts viz., Amritsar, Lahore, Jullundur, Ludhiana and Ferozepore. Nearly 80 per cent. of the immigrants are Sikhs. The general method of procedure for an emigrant in this case was that when he had heard from a relative or a friend in his village about the high wages paid in Canada and how one could improve one's standing, he would mortgage his little piece of land and pay his passage to the far distant country.

It did not take the Indians long to adjust themselves to their environments. The climate of British Columbia, especially on the coast, is like that of the Punjab in winter. No sooner had the

Canadians found out that the Indians were hard-working and efficient, our countrymen were given work by the railways for their construction work, for repairing tram-lines, in canneries, in the building trades, dairying, fruit picking and other kinds of farming. Indians also on account of their physical endurance got work in clearing and scrubbing land and logging etc. British Columbia is noted for its timber and the land was so full of stumps that it is quite an expense to clear up land. The Indians being British subjects were accustomed to British laws in India and on the whole they were a law-abiding community, this being an asset to their newly adopted land. In the meantime, a very small number of Indians had come to British Columbia from Fiji. Only 2 or 3 Indians who had been to Australia emigrated to Canada.

The Hindu Civilisation of Java

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes in *Current Thought* :

In the previous articles we have considered together the rise and decline of the ancient Hindu civilisation in Java and its supersession, first of all by the incursions of the Arabs from the Persian Gulf, and after that by the Dutch and British from the West. This more recent occupation of Java by conquest is clearly not of a permanent character because the white race cannot settle and bring up families in such a tropical and damp atmosphere. Indeed, already it is clear that a new era is beginning and the inhabitants of the lands which are nearer to Java and Malaya, such as India and China, will once more give their impress to the civilisation of those countries. Mere military conquest is very little. It often opens the way to a new spiritual conquest which goes far deeper.

Let us consider carefully the present situation. First of all in Java and Malaya, the population still remains Hindu in its background, but with a superficial covering of Mahomedan culture and religion. I have been often reminded by what I have seen in North and East Bengal where the population is definitely called Islamic to-day, but the character of the people is essentially Hindu, owing to the vast number of Hindu traditions. So in Java and Malaya, the Hindu civilisation is still to be seen everywhere beneath the surface.

But a new factor has come in, in comparatively recent years. A very large influx of Indian emigrants has poured into these lands from India, and an even larger number of Chinese emigrants has entered these territories from China. The numbers in Malaya alone of the Chinese are well over a million and the numbers of the Indian settlers are about half a million. In Java, the same proportion of Chinese and Indians may be found : but the actual numbers in Java are much fewer because the original inhabitants of Java are much more prolific and therefore the space for a new immigrant population is very limited. In both countries however, this new immigrant population from China and from India is already having its own remarkable effect upon the civilisation of south-eastern Asia. Along the coast of the Malaya peninsula we constantly find ourselves in an atmosphere, which is an exact equivalent of the Madras Presidency. The villages, the temples, the streets, the castes, and the religious rites and

ceremonies, are all directly taken over from India itself. At Singapore, on the other hand, everything is a replica of China. To the east of Java the old Hindu civilisation still remains in a series of small islands and even in Java itself a new Indian population is beginning to spread from the seaports inland. In other parts of Java, whole colonies of Chinese settlers have taken up their permanent occupation and residence.

As on many occasions I have watched this process of re-settlement going on, and studied the life of the people in Malaya and Java alike, the question has continually forced itself upon my notice, whether the Chinese civilisation from China or the Hindu civilisation from India, is likely to win in the long struggle for existence. At present, there are many signs that the Chinese civilisation is advancing more rapidly than the Hindu; but on the other hand, it is to be remembered that the whole past of both these territories is saturated with Hinduism because as I have explained, the Arab and European invasions only left superficial marks.

So it may well happen, that the new Chinese settlers, who enter these lands and settle down in them, will themselves adopt much that is truly Hindu. It has also to be remembered that in China itself, the Hindu culture played a very great part, owing to the spread of Buddhism from the beginning of the first century A. D. onwards. The Chinese of the South of China, who are entering Malaya and Java at the present time in such large numbers, had themselves in the past adopted much of the Hindu culture from Buddhist sources. To me, therefore, it seems certain that, in the long run, whatever the character of the new settlement that is made, whether from India or from China, the ancient Hindu civilisation, which has stood the test of so many centuries is not likely to be obliterated. The Indians who come over will carry with them their own Indian culture; the Chinese will, in part, become Hinduised.

There is one further possibility, which has often appealed to me with remarkable force. How is it that Hinduism itself in the present day cannot send out a new stream of spiritual missionaries to spread once more the Hindu culture by peaceable and non-violent means as it was spread so marvelously in the past? Is there not a field for Hinduism to expand in these territories, second to none in the world? Should it not be an ideal of those, who hold Hinduism to be the Sanatan Dharma and love the ancient Hindu tradition with all their hearts, to re-enter and recapture, by the pure force of love, these lands, which of old had been already permeated for many centuries with the Hindu spirit. This surely might be a glorious ideal for many of those ardent souls, who are followers of Swami Vivekananda and members of Rama Krishna Mission; or of Swami Dayananda and members of the Arya Samaj; or of some other progressive type of Hinduism which is not content merely with remaining circumscribed within its own narrow borders.

I have written these articles with the definite view in mind of suggesting this final thought; and it will be a great happiness to me, if, through the pages of this new Magazine, *Current Thought*, I can put into the hearts of the younger Hindu generation in India the ideal of spiritual expansion in those ancient lands which look beyond the borders of India across the sea.

The Political Situation in India

Mrs. Annie Besant tells us in the *Indian Review*:—

We have now, in India, the Congress which the Swarajya Party represents in the Legislatures; the all-India Liberal Federation, composed of the old Moderates and the advanced Liberals; the National Home Rule League, an all-India Association, with its definite programme of legislation, and allied through its Council to the National Convention and Conference. The two latter have no programme outside Swaraj, to be obtained by constitutional means, and the education of the electorate. They contain men of all political parties united only for the winning of Swaraj.

Outside these, there are those who are faithful to the idea of Non-Co-operation with the Government, and who work for social and economic improvement. There are Independents and Nationalists, with various political programmes, not clearly defined. There is the revived Muslim League which should form a strong regiment in the National forces, but I have not seen its political programme. But there is at present no common ground for political action outside the National Convention and Conference, to which men and women of all parties belong, and yet carry out their work in their own organisations in their own way, but uniting in the presentation of a Free Constitution for India. Before 1920, there was the National Congress, to which political bodies could affiliate themselves, and yet work along their own lines during the year, meeting once a year for general discussion, and passing resolutions which expressed the views of the majority without binding the minority. It thereby spoke for the Nation, but compelled none. It might be well if the Liberals, who largely made the old Congress, would receive it, *not as another party*, but as a political centre to which all progressive political associations might affiliate themselves in the old way. The body which still bears the name of the National Congress selects a single party to speak in its name in the Legislatures, does not discuss any political questions or give any political lead; it has handed over the purposes for which it originally existed to the Swarajya Party, which has, in some Legislatures, as in Madras, a microscopic minority, and holds a majority in none, except perhaps in the Central Provinces.

To win Swaraj there must be a united Nation, a strong popular agitation like that of 1917. Is the mother to be rent in pieces by her children? A fratricidal struggle to be the end of her glorious life?

"Who is a Volunteer?"

Mahatma Gandhi answers this question thus in the *Volunteer*:—

Since Volunteers must be the future army of India, too much care cannot be bestowed upon a proper selection of them. During 1921, whilst they rendered immense help they also hindered the National cause, for all of them were not of the required type. Every one of them must, no doubt, go through physical drill and must be able to compare with the trained soldier in performing the

must know first aid to the injured. They must also have the following qualifications. They must be—

1. Truthful, chaste, non-violent,
2. Amenable to perfect discipline and obedience to superior officers.
3. Respectful towards and friendly to the meanest of their countrymen,
4. Able to speak Hindustani,
5. Carding and spinning at least 2000 yards of yarn per month,
6. Able at least to cook their own food,
7. Free from the curse of untouchability, and,
8. Thorough believers in Hindu-Muslim unity.

Origin of the Purdah System

In a judiciously-written scholarly article on the origin of the purdah system, Prof. Muhammad Habib observes in *The New Orient* :—

Inquiries into the origin of social institutions are always difficult and in India they are even dangerous; for we have a national genius for casting the fierce rays of religious fanaticism on the most secular of social problems. Six hundred years ago the purdah system was instituted as a sensible protection against obvious evils; it has now become a part of the ordinary Indian Mussalman's religious creed.

The purdah system was the last desperate expedient of a society fighting with its back to the wall. Its institution is an evidence of the good sense of our ancestors and its continuation a proof of our own super-abundant folly.

I must premise that the purdah is essentially an institution of the Mussalmans, and the credit or discredit of the invention is exclusively theirs. And we must also dismiss the cheap explanation that the purdah originated from the habit, correctly or incorrectly attributed to the mediæval Mussalmans, of stealing and running away with non-Muslim girls. If the purdah system had been a method by which Hindu society sought to protect itself against the Mussalmans, the strict observance of the system among large sections of purely Muslim populations, such as those of northern Afghanistan and Central Asia, who are too far from India to have been influenced by it, would be inexplicable. They did not adopt the institution from us; they discovered it of their own accord and sent it hither. The custom is observed by all Mussalmans of India, and by such Hindus as have been socially—not militarily—influenced by the Mussalmans. The Mussalmans invaded Madras and Gujrat, but Madras and Gujrat have not learnt the system, because no large and progressive section of Mussalmans settled in those provinces. The origin of the custom has nothing to do with the Hindu-Muslim question, though its adoption by the Hindus has no doubt been due to that influence which neighbours always have upon neighbours. For just as the Mussalmans have adopted from the Hindus many customs not only alien but directly contrary to their creed, the Hindus also condescended to learn this new discovery in the art of life from the Mussalmans.

Even a cursory glance at the geography of the Muslim world will convince us of one very signi-

ficant fact. The purdah prevails in some Muslim countries and not in others. It is unknown to the Arabs of Northern Africa or to the Muslim Negroes who inhabit the interior of the Dark Continent. The Arabs of Arabia do not bow their knee to it and it is very laxly followed in Western Turkey. On the other hand (modern changes apart) the Mussalmans of Persia, Central Asia and Afghanistan are remarkable for their strict adherence to the system. Why so? Obviously a system followed only by the Eastern part of the Muslim world,—the part inhabited by later converts—could have no religious sanctity about it. It must be an institution of purely secular growth.

In his article Prof. Habib describes the horrors of Chengiz Khan's invasion and conquest of the countries where the purdah system has since then prevailed. Chengiz Khan and his Mongol hordes were not Moslems. The writer has described the horrible treatment which the women of those regions received at the hands of the Mongols. He holds that

"It was in the stormy atmosphere of the Mongol invasions that the purdah system arose as the last despairing effort of Muslim society to protect what it held most dear—the honour of its women."

He also holds

"The combination of the purdah system with early marriages to be the basic cause of most of our national misfortunes."

It's a Hard World

"The Root and Branch", published by B. C. Forest Service, has the following :—

A year has	...	365 days
Sleep, 8 hours	...	122 "
This leaves	...	243 "
Rest, 8 hours	...	122 "
This leaves	...	121 "
Sundays	...	52 "
This leaves	...	69 days
Saturdays ½ days	...	26 "
This leaves	...	43 "
Lunch 1½ hours	...	28 "
This leaves	...	15 "
Annual vacation, 14 days	...	14 "
which leaves One Day, on which (being Labour Day) nobody works— <i>The Mysore Economic Journal</i> .		

Research in Indian Medicinal Plants

The Educational Review writes :—

The Government of the United Provinces has just received an educational trust as the result of the generosity of the late Mr Kamta Prasad, I.M. S., to which wider attention deserves to be drawn. The trust is to be vested in the Vice-chancellor of

the Allahabad University, the Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces, and the Principal, King George's Medical College, Lucknow, and is to consist, for the present, of two Research Scholarships of the monthly value of Rupees one hundred each, the condition being that the scholarship-holders should devote themselves, in the Science Department of the Allahabad University, "to the chemical analysis of such of the Indian medical plants as have not so far been analysed. The work of chemical analysis is to be systematically done and in this connection the works on Indian Medical Plants by Col. K. R. Kirtikar and Major B. D. Basu are to be consulted." There is great scope in this country for the study of Indian medicinal plants, though we are conscious of the fact that some work is already being done in the line at one or two centres in India. Side by side with the attempts at reviving Ayurveda which are evident in the country, it is desirable there should be a systematic investigation into the medicinal plants of which such a large number are used in the Ayurvedic and Unani systems in India. The systems cannot otherwise be based on a scientific footing. Another advantage is likely to be the addition of a large number of cheap medicines to the western system of medical treatment which has gained such extensive vogue in India.

Adherence to National Religions

In our last issue, page 334, we reproduced from the Roman Catholic organ *The Light of the East* some passages in answer to the question, "Must one's religion be the national one?" Some more passages are quoted from the succeeding issue of the same monthly.

It is absolutely certain that community of religion is the closest tie that can bind the nation of the present to the nation of the past and the different members of the nation of the present to one another. To break away from our ancestors and fellow countrymen in the matter that most affects our souls and moulds our conduct, in the matter of religion, is to place between them and us a gap which only the deepest and most sympathetic charity can bridge.

A general change of religion may also imperil the national arts and national culture, and, if the new religion comes to us through another race it induces us not only to forsake the ways of our own people but to embrace those of the foreigner. The peril is so great that both missionaries and converts must be in constant watch against it.

Nor shall we hesitate to say that, if the foreign religion one accepts is the national religion of another people—a religion made, never mind how or by whom, to suit the special moral and intellectual temperament, the special civilisation, the special laws and government of another race—we fail to see how the acceptance of it can lead to anything but complete denationalisation.

Can a European accept either orthodox Judaism or orthodox Hinduism with their complex codes of ceremonial ablutions and outward rites, with their strict prohibitions regarding certain kinds of food, with their minute rules concerning all sorts of uncleanness, with circumcision or caste, without

losing all his European characteristics and becoming unable to lead the kind of social life which is that of his fellow countrymen? Can an Indian embrace the "Church as by law established in England," which recognises His Majesty the King as its supreme Governor in things spiritual and temporal, attends the orders of the English Parliament, varies in its discipline according to the changes of English civilisation, without denationalising himself? Logically, it seems to us, they cannot. A man cannot at one and the same time embrace two different social systems, nor can one serve two different and often rival masters.

But let this be as it may. We believe that the true religion must be the means—the only one to a certain extent—which God has instituted to unite mankind into one whole in spite of its many diversities. We need not therefore say anything in favour of religions that are exclusively national invented to suit the needs of one country or one race alone. National religions should keep at home.

Our only task will therefore be to prove that catholic religions, religions given to satisfy the religious needs, not of a special nation, but of all men, in no way imperil nationalism, national arts and national culture.

But we should like to preface a remark. There is in all the arguments in favour of keeping to one's national religion "right or wrong," a horrid defect. They contain an implicit blasphemy.

To say "my national religion, right or wrong," is in the mouth of a theist a blasphemy. On his lips the words also spell disloyalty to the country. For a theist knows that what God wills is best both for individuals or for nations, and that God can only will the truth. No doubt, we men with eyes of flesh may not see at once that what God has willed is for the best. But is this peculiar to this case? We do not accept the principle that honesty is the best policy, because we see honest dealers become rich faster than dishonest ones, but because we know that, there being a God of Justice, the maxim will ultimately work itself out in spite of appearances to the contrary. Poor indeed is the faith of the man who dares not entrust to God the future of his nation; and frail the philosophy of the man who doubts that truth works better than error.

How to Live Long

Dr. Daniel H. Kress, M. D., writes in the *Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health*:—

"Henry Ford says people can live to be one hundred twenty-five, but must quit tea, coffee, tobacco, and liquor." Thus reads the headline of a special to the *New York Times* of August 12. Henry Ford, while enjoying a little leisure in company with Mr. Edison and Mr. Firestone at his Wayside Inn, is said to have made the statement, that it is possible for man to live to the age of one hundred twenty-five if the working parts of the human automobile are kept free from carbon. By taking as good care of himself as he would of one of his automobile engines, he said he might reach that age.

Being asked, "If the carbon is already there, how are you going to get it out?" He replied, "By mastication." And continued: "You know that when you chew the food well, it satisfies you sooner, and you don't need so much. Get

only good food. White rats lived three days longer at the hospital without food than the ones that were fed on white breads alone. We eat no white bread in my house."

Coffee, tea, tobacco, and liquor find no place in Mr. Ford's prescription to prolong life. They will not be found, he predicts, on the table of the man of the future, and "it is not so far in the future either," he said.

Edison's great-grandfather was so influenced by the life of Carnaro that he adopted that man's simple mode of life, and lived to the age of one hundred two. His son, the grandfather of Edison, was brought up in this same simple manner, and lived to the age of one hundred five. To him were born seven sons, of which Edison's father was one. They all lived past the fourscore, three of them nearing the century mark. Edison attributes his vigorous health and usefulness chiefly to the fact that his great-grandfather had the good sense to adopt the simple habits of Carnaro, which he himself in the main follows.

LUTHER BURBANK'S HEALTH PROGRAMME

Mr. Burbank, the plant wizard of the world who has accomplished more than any living man in the development of plant life, is also a man who is most temperate in his manner of living, and a fierce antagonist to the use of tobacco, tea, and coffee. Mr. Burbank is a marvel in his line as Edison and Ford are in theirs.

While it is not possible for all living to reach the age of one hundred twenty-five or even one hundred years, should time continue, it is possible for all to live longer than they do, and accomplish more while they live, by adopting the simple habits of Mr. Ford, Mr. Edison, Mr. Burbank, and others whose names might be mentioned, men who to-day are accomplishing things out of the ordinary, in spite of the advanced years of some.

Old Thomas, Parr, who is buried in Westminster Abbey, England, died at the age of one hundred forty-nine. When examined by the king's physician a short time before his death, he was said to have been in excellent health; his arteries were still soft and elastic. The doctor who examined him said he saw no reason why he should not live another ten or twenty years. Unfortunately he was taken to the king's court. One year of such living was sufficient to end his earthly career. All his life his habits were simple. He neither drank nor smoked, and he practically subsisted upon a fleshless diet altogether. The food on the royal table caused his death.

The Vernacular as the Vehicle of Instruction

Prof. R. M. Joshi says in the *Sydenham College Magazine*:—

India is probably the only country in the world where a case has to be made out for using the mother-tongue as the medium of all instruction. Elsewhere the proposition would be regarded as axiomatic. The strange phenomenon in India is a result of historical circumstances.

"But," it is said, "it must be admitted that in the present circumstances of the country, learning English is an absolute national necessity. For India to be a part of the world must have a lingua franca. We

have now got one in English. Why not make the most of it?" Now the *lingua franca* argument is, in the first place, a bit overdone. Little Switzerland is a nation, as good as any other, with three official languages—German, French and Italian. Canada, vast in territory but small in numbers, is a nation with two official languages—English and French. The South African Union has two—English and Dutch. Again, does any one in his senses believe that English can ever be in this country a *lingua franca* in the sense of a language understood and spoken by the mass of the people all over the country? Have not our very first efforts at getting a responsive electorate in the mofussil revealed the fact that the conduct of the business of our provincial legislatures in English is largely responsible for the apathy towards the same of many of the members from the country-side, and still more so of their constituents? Are not English-educated Indians themselves coming more and more to realise the necessity of re-distributing the present provinces on a linguistic basis?

But even granting that a good working knowledge of English must be regarded as a necessary part of a good general education, does it in the least follow that English must be the medium of instruction all over the country even in the secondary schools? In English public schools and universities at the present day, a good knowledge of French and German is regarded as an essential part of the curriculum; but they do not on that account make the students learn history, geography, mathematics, etc., all through the medium of French or German and with the help of French or German text-books. They do, of course, prefer the direct method of teaching these languages to the grammar-translation method, and so do we now with regard to English here. But we go further and delude ourselves that four or five years of the direct method are bound to give the boy such a mastery over the English language that he may then use English as the medium of his learning with the same ease as his mother-tongue—and that too, when the direct method is used, not by an Englishman but by an Indian, himself feeling pretty shaky about his English and exerting himself to give a good, make-believe show of his direct method.

To raise the level of our university education, we must first raise the level of our matriculates. To do the latter, we must, among other things, free the students of the secondary schools from the tyranny of using English as the medium of instruction. It is of no use to do that only up to the fifth standard. What is necessary is that candidates should be at complete liberty to answer all papers, except those in English, through their vernaculars.

Islamic Prayer

The following extracts are taken from *The Muslim*, which is the organ of the Ajuman-i-Islam, Singapore:—

It may be said that prayer is an attitude of the mind and why should it be necessary to bow, prostrate and stand? The answer is that the external position is a reflex of the internal attitude. When we wish to shew our respect to a Master we do not simply say by word of mouth: I respect you, but we express it by some physical action.

Every idea of the mind is expressed by means of the organs. So when a Muslim folds his hands on the breast he expresses the natural position of attention and regard. We unconsciously adopt this attitude when we meditate or when we listen to an orator. This folding of the hands also signifies resignation. Physical and spiritual conditions are in this way blended together. We see pictures of captured warriors with folded arms awaiting their judge. A Muslim bows on his knees in prayer. There is nothing strange in this. This represents the reverence of a Muslim. In our daily experiences, we see other peoples bowing themselves before kings and queens. The prostration of a Muslim is the physical expression of humility and prayer for helpfulness.

All the postures that a Muslim takes in his prayers have some meaning. The standing means attention and regard, expression of solicitude and the courting of favour. The bowing and prostrating mean humility of mind, gratitude, love and sincerity. All feelings of pride and conceit are banished when a Muslim lays his head in the dust before the Almighty presence of God.

WHY WE MUST PRAY FIVE TIMES DAILY

It may be asked why it is necessary to pray five times a day. The answer is that just as it is necessary to feed ourselves for a fixed number of times a day, so it is with the soul. If we take no food for 2 or 3 days, we will be greatly weakened and reduced in flesh and power. So in the case with the soul, Prayer brings strength to the soul; it is in fact its diet. Lack of prayer means starvation of the soul. It is now admitted on all hands that the keeping of the soul in good state is much more important than the keeping of the body.

In Islam the prayer is not set apart for a particular day on which no work is done as in some other religions. Islam gives quite a new meaning to prayer by introducing it into the every-day affairs of man. No particular day is set apart and it is therefore that sabbath is unknown to Islam. Every day is a holy day in which a Muslim may hold communion with God without giving up his worldly occupations. Islam thus restrains the institution of monkery. Islamic prayer is to be considered as a means of the moral elevation of man.

India's Inheritance

In a paper by Rev. N. Macnicol published in the *Young Men of India* occur the following passages:—

Let me say a word now of some gifts that are not peculiarly the property of Maharashtra, but that have come to you as an inheritance that is the possession of the whole people of this land. These are gifts that are not merely intellectual, but that, while they have expressed themselves in certain ideas, have contributed greatly to the fashioning of the Indian character. There are three such ideas which I would do little more than name. First there is the *idea of unity*. The long desire of philosopher and saint throughout the ages, deeper in its roots in India than in any other land, has been to sum up all things in one. How they solve this ultimate mystery, or whether their solution can satisfy any human heart, I am not now

considering, but we can say without any hesitation that, in seeking this end with such passion and resolve, they were seeking the deepest thing in the universe. They were seeking God as the ultimate principle of all things. Therefore, to belong to a race that has followed such a vision, even if it were only to be "in wandering mazes lost," is a fact, once you have had a glimpse of it, to inspire and uplift those who have come after.

Again, a second desire that has entered into the blood of India is the *passion for liberty*. This is not such a liberty as has so powerfully attracted Western peoples, but something that reaches a deeper freedom from all that bondage which seemed to them sometimes to be life itself. Release from chains that fetter and enslave the spirit—that is what India through all the centuries has most passionately desired. They saw that it could only be attained when they reached that oneness with the Ultimate which, as we have seen, was their goal, but on the way there they are striving continually to break their chains. They failed, I think we must confess all but a few great spirits, who escaped into some dim shadow-land where there were no longer any fetters. They failed, and India has been more than most lands enchained in bondage to its priesthood, in a social bondage, in bondage to harsh and tyrannous over-lords. Yet the protest of the soul of India has ever been against such enthrallment, and the cry that comes to us down the ages from its saints is, just as it was the cry of St. Paul, "Who shall deliver me?" You who come after have your feet set upon the way of freedom. It is for you, as the children of those forefathers, to see that you are not entangled again in any yoke of bondage, that you yourselves in your souls are free in fellowship with God, and that all chains that bind the souls of others are likewise broken.

A third conception that has been powerful over the soul of India for many a century is that expressed by the word *ahimsa*, or "non-killing." Some would identify it with love. If it has not all the positive content of that word, it means at least that one should refrain from injury and so far show compassion. It is a lesson which has done much to make the Indian spirit gentle, free from the harsh and aggressive temper that disfigures so many other peoples. It should preserve the India of the future from those wars by which other nations have sought to prove their greatness, and should enable her to be to the world a pioneer of peace.

These are some of the inspiring ideas that come down to you from the religious life and literature of ancient India. There are many others, some of them, like Transmigration and Karma, only at most partially true, but all of them great awakening ideas, worthy of a race that has never been content to live upon the surface of things.

A Suggestion for Removing Middle-class Unemployment

Sir George Godfrey, Agent, Bengal-Nagpur Railway, express the following opinions in the *Bengal-Nagpur Railway Magazine*:—

We are all struggling to secure economy in working results. In my opinion one of the chief

obstacles to economy is the large number of men that have to be employed on the lower kind of clerical work in all Railway Offices and as Porters and Pointsmen at all our stations.

The eastern side of India, (I cannot speak for the west), is on the verge of a great unemployment problem, not amongst the coolie-labour class, because that class is never in excess of demand, but amongst the sons of the lower middle class. In my opinion, the solution of the problem will be that this class should take up much of the work which is now done on Railways by the Coolie class.

At Home and in Europe generally, Porters, Pointsmen, Coupling Porters, and other men doing work of this nature are intelligent, they are well paid and they are efficient—in their off time they take part in the social amusements and entertainments of their community. In many cases Porters on English Railways have risen to be Chief Clerks at stations, Station Masters, and even to higher ranks.

We could afford to pay our Pointsmen a bigger wage if they were more intelligent and did the work of two of the present type, and this would not be difficult. I should much like to see the young boys who are growing up now, who are sons of the lower-paid clerks, Assistant Station Masters, etc. taking to this kind of work. The coolie class could then be relegated to their proper work such as agriculture, earthwork, permanent-waygangs, etc. This solution, however, of the unemployment of the offspring of the lower-paid clerical classes, of which the numbers are increasing so rapidly year by year, would mean such a complete revolution of the social ideas of that class that I do not feel very hopeful that it can be brought about.

Different Classes of Railway Passengers

According to the same magazine,

The population of India is over 300 millions and the passenger figures for the year 1923-24 are :

1st class	...	917,700
2nd	"	5,132,800
Inter	"	8,128,900
3rd	"	502,851,100
Season and Vendors	...	55,664,900
Total	...	571,695,400

The Work and Position of Teachers

Mr. V. Ramchandra Rau contributes to *Welfare* a thoughtful article on "Our Elementary and Middle School Teachers" in the course of which it is stated:—

One often hears the contention that our educational machinery is not equipped with the best of brains in the country: that the profession of teaching is one of the noblest and most responsible of professions, and that we want only capable and sincere men to make the young people of today the good citizens of to-morrow. With regard to the first of these contentions, it is a sad but undeniable truth that our educational institutions are not only not equipped with the best of brains

but often driving away men qualified for, and doing excellent work. My statements refer only to teachers below the high school grade, and let me not be mistaken as bringing within the sphere of my remarks teachers in any way connected with a High School, i. e. from the Fourth Form upwards.

The truth is that the profession of a teacher has no longer any attractions for really good and capable men. As it is, the teacher is a creature of circumstances, and is made to adjust himself to them. The work he does is in no way inspiring. It is not even congenial, but the teacher has to make it so. And when the teacher has created work that is congenial and in some measure inspiring, he has not the soul or the spirit to pursue it. Why?

For the simple reason that 'teaching' has become the refuge of a class of persons, who either because they could not successfully solve the grim problem of unemployment, or because they have 'some private ends to gain,' take to it and not out of any sincere motives for the cause of education, or for the equally noble cause of the uplift of the children of the country. It is a matter of common knowledge that at least half the number of teachers recruited in our elementary and middle schools are men with ambition; men, who do not mean to stick to their line, but who do mean to abandon it as soon as a better opportunity offers itself to them elsewhere. Such men are above blame; for, do we blame a man for wishing to improve his prospects of earning a better livelihood? The second variety in this class consists of people, who have failed in their college career, and who, unwilling to waste their time, and anxious to earn something, out of necessity or expediency, offer their services as teachers. Now, we may very well dispense with the two foregoing sets of teachers. But, all the same, it should be noted that the greatest disservice to the cause of education arises from them. Their interest is transitory, and their responsibility is light, for they may be going away at any moment, at the end of a year or two, and their work in the very nature of things cannot be expected to be anything but inefficient and unsatisfactory.

Why then, it may be asked are such kinds of teachers entertained? The answer is simple: institutions like individuals have false notions of economy, though, be it understood, the economy is not false—it is true, it is something palpable for the time being. But, the notion of it is false, of course, when you have in view the end and aim of all real education. When you want to produce the best lot of students in your school when you cannot secure the best of teachers because of insufficiency of funds; when naturally, you have to employ third-rate teachers, and when, in consequence, your pupils do not attain the standard of progress expected of them, then you feel that your economy has not been worth while, that it has been suicidal. This will lead us into the further question, how far the heads or managing bodies of institutions are earnest in the purpose they have set forth before themselves, and how far Government and State aids have been able to remove their difficulty.

We now come to the third set of teachers. These are the men with whom we are really concerned. They have no soaring ambition; or if they have, they have not the wherewithal of

realising it : they can think of no other means of livelihood. They are forced into the profession, for which they have to cultivate a liking and an affection.

[For other articles in the March *Welfare* see "Readers' Guide to Welfare for March, 1925," published elsewhere.]

Buddha and Asceticism

We read in the *Mahabodhi* :—

Although the Raja Suddhodana tried to keep the facts of life hidden from his son's eyes, there came a time when Siddhartha saw the black cloud that hangs over all men—old age, sickness and death. Once he had seen the cloud and pondered on it, his riches, his palaces, his gardens, lost their beauty in his eyes and he became serious and troubled. Then came a day when he said, "Forth must I go and seek until I find some means whereby I and all men may escape these grievous ills—sickness, old age and death. As he resolved, so he did; he put off all his princely state and wandered forth as a beggar.

Meeting with ascetics, he determined to learn from them and to subject his body to every hardship and severity, gradually cutting down his food 'till he was living on a few beans a day. But by reason of these privations he became very thin—a living skeleton. After several years of these practices, he realized that he was no nearer his goal, in fact, if anything he appeared to be farther away, for with a wasted body, he had weakened his mind and it had become unable to bear the burden of continued meditation.

From this time forward he ate sufficient food and wore sufficient clothes. One day, coming to a pleasant place beside a broad flowing stream and seeing the cattle cross by the ford to the further side, he thought how it might be possible for him and all mankind to cross the great flood of ill and win to surety. And he sunk himself in profound meditation.

Youthfulness Even for Old Teachers

Mr. Haridas Roy says in the *Teachers' Journal* how teachers may remain youthful in spite of age. A part of his observations is quoted below.

If you think of yourself as perpetually young, vigorous, robust and buoyant, if you feel interested in the hopes and aspirations of the young people and especially in their youthful amusement and sports, if you always keep in mind the bright, cheerful and buoyant picture of youth in all its splendour and magnificence and if you believe that you are still in the enjoyment of youth, it is sure, as sure as the day follows the night, that you will retain your youthful appearance and strength in spite of your age. Perpetual rejuvenation is possible by right thinking. You must look as you think and feel because it is thoughts and feelings that change our appearance. The London Lancet—the highest medical authority in the world—gave a splendid illustration of the power of the mind to

by her lover had gone mad, she lost all consciousness of the passing of time. She thought her lover would return and for years she stood before her window and waited for him. When she was over 70 years of age, some visitors including physicians saw her and thought she was not over twenty. Her skin was as fair and smooth as a young girl's. Her firm conviction was that she was living in the very time her lover deserted her. This conviction controlled her physical condition. She was just as old as she thought she was.

"What Can We Learn from America?"

Prabuddha Bharata has published notes of a lecture delivered by Swami Bodhananda dealing with the above question, from which we extract the following passages :—

There are two kinds of labour—the skilled and the unskilled. The skilled labour, such as the carpenter or the brick-layer, gets \$ 15 a day in America. It means that he earns Rs. 46 a day. And how much does your carpenter get? Perhaps not more than Rs. 14 a day. Then the unskilled labourer, a sweeper for instance, gets \$ 5, i.e. Rs. 15 a day in America. This great wealth of America is not of course, equally distributed. They say that five per cent. of the people possess ninety-five per cent. of the wealth. Still there is no poverty there—nothing like this appalling poverty that you have here in India. In America, if a man is willing to work, he is not lazy, he can earn easily Rs. 15 or something like it a day. So America being a free country possesses these great advantages. It is all due to her freedom, I believe as a principle that unless a nation is completely free and independent to shape its own destinies, it cannot prosper.

I am interested in economics, I want to see my people well-fed, well-dressed, self-reliant and prosperous. Swami Vivekananda used to observe that there cannot be any Yoga (religion) unless there has been some Bhoga (enjoyment).

Three things have impressed me deeply in America. The first is the American educational system. In America every child whether a boy or a girl, must go school, until he or she is fifteen years old. This is the law of the State. The children of poor families are supplied with books, pencils, paper and all other things necessary for education by the State. And the education imparted is completely free, no tuition-fees being received from anyone. By true education I mean, and I know you all mean, the spiritual education. The education of America which I am speaking of, is secular education. Still this secular education, this literacy, is also necessary for the progress of a nation, and we also badly need it.

The second thing that has interested me in America is its sanitary arrangement. If there is an outbreak of any epidemic disease, hundreds of people will volunteer their services, and the State will provide money to start institutions to investigate the nature and the cause of the disease and to stamp it out. If the State has not money enough, it has a right to conscript the wealthy. In times of national emergency, the State collects the wealth of the millionaires and uses it for public good. For instance, in the case of a flood, fire or

not forthcoming, then the Government has the right to conscript the wealth that Rockefeller and others possess. So, that is the great advantage of the people's government. Although the national wealth is unequally divided in America, still it remains in the country and is available in times of national need. The wealth is the people's wealth and the government, as I told you, is the government of the people for the people by the people. The administration is always for the good of the people, and the higher executive officers take pride in saying, "We are the servants of the people." I heard three of the great Presidents in public lectures say that.

Then, apropos of sanitation all the children of America are examined by State physicians once in a while. The American people have discovered a great psychological truth. They believe that if the children are physically defective or have some physical ailments, they develop such habits as truancy, delinquency, telling lies, stealing, etc. The scientists have established it, and that explain the people's great attention to the health of their children. Then the third thing that has impressed me in America is the general prosperity of the country. I have already told you about it and do not like to say anything more on the point.

We badly need these three things here in India for our national welfare. The first is education; the second health; and the third, wealth. Every member of a nation has a right to them.

Cochin Again Leads

Stri-Dharma writes:—

In certain directions so quickly does the women's movement advance in India that each month sees some new and noteworthy step forward being taken. This month we are happy to record that a woman has been nominated to an Indian Legislative Council for the first time *in her own right*. The Government of Cochin has nominated Mrs. T. Madhavi Amma as a member of its new Legislative Council. It will be remembered that the sister State of Travancore was the first to include a woman member, but Dr. Lukhose Poonen, the lady in question got her seat in the Council by virtue of her appointment as a substitute for the Mahar physician, a man. Now Mrs. Madhavi Amma is the first woman *directly* appointed as a member of an important Legislative Council. We congratulate her on being the recipient of the historic honour and hope she will be the forerunner

of many Indian women M.L.C's. Cochin State has been ever in the van as regards women's progress, which is what one would expect to a State where matriarchy still holds sway, where the rate of female literacy is the highest in India and where the wife of the Maharajah wields very great political influence.

The Age for the Consummation of Marriage

With reference to the recommendation of the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly that the Age of Consent for married girls in the case of their husbands should be raised from twelve, its present number, to thirteen years instead of fourteen as was fixed in Dr. H. S. Gour's Bill, the same journal observes:—

It is heart-breaking to find the Indian men who are supposed to be India's leaders into the Promised Land of Self-Government so little able to govern their own lower natures that they are willing to offer up to it, or to it in other men, the bodies of girl-wives of thirteen. These children will then become mothers at fourteen. To talk of consent in the case of a child of thirteen is a frightful abuse of language. Perhaps the public would awake if one could broadcast some graphical illustrations of the agonies suffered by girl mothers in delivery, the deaths that result in the case of some, the weakening of the body and the consequent life-long depression in spirit of others, the physical degeneracy of the children and of the race-stock born of such child-mothers in consequence. We have seen only four protests in the press against this disappointing proposal of the Committee, namely in *The Servant of India*, *The Modern Review*, *The Madras Mail* and *New India*. No political move could do India more harm in the eyes of the outside world than the attitude to its young womanhood taken by the Select Committee. Other countries protect their girls until sixteen and they consider any nation barbarous in which a girl is entrusted into a man's hands before that age. India will be lowered in the eyes of all by such disclosures as are published in the Committee's Report. It is still possible for the Assembly and Council of State to pass the Bill in its original form. We call on them to do so. Every woman society ought to call on them to do so and save the girlhood of the nation.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Theism and Laws of Nature

Writing on "Theism and Laws of Nature" in the *Harvard Theological Review*,

Mr. F. R. Tennant of Trinity College, Cambridge, observes:—

Without the similarities and the

of phenomena, without some regularity in Nature, there could neither be thought nor knowledge, prudence nor prescience, science nor theology, intellectual nor moral status. It is in virtue of a reign of law that there is a cosmos to have meaning and a human reason to discover it. In reign of law, moreover, we have as sufficient an explanation as can be forthcoming, so long as we know but in part, of that greatest crux of theism, the existence, within an order that subserves the highest goods, of evil as a necessary by-product. Theism necessarily takes the highest good which a physical cosmos can instrumentally possess to be subservience to the rational and ethical status of finite spirits, and their communion with God. In the settled order of Nature it sees a necessary precondition of that highest good. In so far as Nature is intelligible and has a meaning, and these qualities must have a sufficient ground, the theistic interpretation becomes the most reasonable. The world is a cosmos. Newton did not make a chaos into a cosmos when he discovered his laws of motion and gravitation; it was a cosmos already in the time of Ptolemy. And it is not merely its cosmos-form, its repeatable similarities, that Nature shows to science; more significant is the epigenesis, the evolutionary development from lower to higher, the suggestiveness of increasing purpose which it presents. This suggestiveness, expressed in terms of teleological, aesthetic, and moral arguments for the being of God, has always been the basis of common-sense natural theology, and has always commanded the respect of philosophers even when, like Hume and Kant, they have been severely iconoclastic. That so much of order as the world presents can be the outcome of blind chance or undesigned and ungrounded coincidence has generally been as shocking to human reason as it would be to have it argued that Hamlet was produced by the shuffling of some founts of type. It is difficult, to say the least, to conceive of a world being elaborately intelligible and also amenable to ethical ends, unless it be the outcome of intelligence. If Nature's regularity and adaptiveness is to have a ground, as indeed it must, we can find no such ground in Nature itself or its parts, nor in the mind of man, which cannot begin to be rational unless external order be first presented to it; the only alternative then is the theistic. A reign of law such as we find, and such as is not to be confounded with its pseudo-scientific travesties, is one of the strongest links in the chain which binds scientific knowledge to religious faith.

Baby Talk

Mr. James Sonnett Greene writes in *Hygeia*:

"Now, in the sense that a child gradually acquires the faculty of speech through his faculty of hearing, it is strictly true that he does—naturally, as it were—pick up his speech. But this brings us to the question as to what kind of speech he is going to hear. Will it be straightforward, normal, standard speech; that is, speech preceded by definite, complete thought, and consisting of correctly and distinctly articulated words, put together in straightforward, complete, grammatical and logical sentences, the whole being governed as

to intonation, rhythm and accent by the innate musical ear?"

"Training in speech should begin as soon as the awakening intelligence of the child prompts him to struggle after speech. The worst thing to talk to a baby is baby talk.

"From his earliest years a child should be spoken to in correctly and distinctly articulated words, put together in simple but complete sentences. Frequently it has been observed that the only child of a fully mature, staid, educated couple far outruns the average child in mentality. The explanation is that, having spent most of his time with his parents, he has acquired good speech habits and a good vocabulary. Surely we here see the folly of leaving a child mainly under the influence of some uneducated, loose-talking nurse girl, and the wisdom of guarding him from the bad speech habits of other children.

"The most evil outcome of talking baby talk to babies, and particularly of imitating their omissions and substitutions of consonants because his mutilated speech sounds 'so cute', is that such speech often becomes confirmed as a habit. Hardly anything could be better designed to confirm defective speech in a child than for him to hear it constantly imitated.

The Growth of Protestant Missions

We read in *The Literary Digest*:

United States, for instance, gave forty-five times as much to missions in 1923 as in 1859. The volume, edited by Charles H. Fahs, of the Missionary Research Library, and Professor Harlan P. Beach, of Yale University, shows that about 700 organizations, with head quarters in North America, Great Britain, continental Europe, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, are conducting the Protestant foreign missionary enterprise, tho of this number only 380 actually send out missionaries. The total income of the 700 organizations devoted to foreign missions, as reported in 1923, was \$69,555,148. Of the total income stated, \$45,272,793 was received by societies having headquarters in the United States, \$3,357,739 by Canadian societies, and \$13,342,499 by British societies. Continental societies had an income of \$3,631,005, the great part of this coming from Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands and Switzerland which were neutral in the World War. Germany's gifts, which amounted to \$2,118,935 in the year preceding the beginning of the war, dwindled in 1923 to \$297,400, to such a point had the general collapse affected the Protestant Church in Germany.

The quarter-century has seen a marked development in the strength of the growing Protestant Christian constituency in the field. Here are the figures:

"In number of communicants, Asia has increased from 622,460 to 1,533,057; Africa has increased from 342,457 to 1,015,683 (Europeans permanently resident in various parts of Africa not counted here); aboriginal or indigenous populations in Australasia, Netherlands, Indies and the Pacific Islands, from 117,092 to 647,728; Latin America and the West Indies, from 132,388 to 368,228. In North America, north of Mexico, number of communicants among American Indians, Eskimos and Asiatic immigrants has increased from 20,506 to 48,711. The great increases in Asia have been in

China from 112,808 to 402,539; India, 376,617 to 811,565; Japan, 42,835 to 134,547; while Korea showed extraordinary growth, 8,288 to 277,377.

"In the Philippines, taken over by the United States in 1898, there were only 266 Protestant communicants reported at the beginning of the century; there are now 64,184 reported. In the Netherlands Indies, a region little known by Americans, there has been a very marked movement toward Christianity in certain islands, and the communicants reported in 1900 as numbering only 36,187 are now reported as 475,848.

"A total of communicants, baptized non-communicants and others under Christian instruction numbering 3,342,378 is reported for the 116 areas for which missionary statistics are given. Under the comparable categories for a quarter-century ago, the number was 3,613,391.

"Machines Have Not Degraded Labour?"

Mr. Paul W. Brown, editor of *The Executive's Magazine* writes:—

"The year 1870 witnessed the taking of the first real occupations census by the Federal Government. It is an easy matter, therefore, to divide the number of skilled workmen in the different trades by the number of millions of people, to do the same for the census of 1920, and thus place before our eyes a complete picture of the effect of modern industry upon the development of the individual skilled workman.

"The carrying out of this plan blows to shivers the myth of the degradation of the skilled worker by the introduction of the automatic machine. The number of skilled workers has substantially increased. This statement is based on an examination of seven of the principal building groups; five of the leading woodworking shop trades; seven of the leading groups in the iron and steel trades, beside three trades not readily classifiable—stationary engineers, engravers and bakers. The workers in these various groups show 25,149 skilled men per million in 1870 as against 37,739 skilled men in 1920. In relation to the population, the number of skilled workers of these groups in the United States increased 22 per cent., in the fifty years.

"No doubt, the skill of the American craftsman averages much higher to-day than it did fifty years ago. Take the stationary engineer, for example; in 1870 the engines were small and simple affairs, while to-day the engineer usually has to care for and supervise one or all of a group of complex devices, including dynamos, ventilating fans, steam heating systems, air compressors and refrigerating machines. The trades that have been born—structural steel workers and electricians, for example—are of infinitely greater complexity than those which have almost disappeared, such as coopers and wheelwrights. And the modern machinist works to ten-thousandths of an inch, where his father worked to hundredths or thousandths.

"The modern industrial nations have learned how to make machines do the work of skilled men only to set these skilled men at new tasks requiring greater dexterity of hand and a wider comprehension of mechanical principles. The man who stands by the automatic machine to-day is not the son or grandson of the skilled craftsman of 1870;

his ancestor at that period was shoveling in the street under a broiling sun, or tugging at steel bars in a rolling mill, or doing back-breaking work in the field, now done by high power implements drawn by horses or tractors. Modern industry has not degraded the skilled workman; it has only enlarged and exalted his opportunity. The census of 1870 showed 25,066 human beings per million doing work as domestic servants, while in 1920 that number stood at but 12,023. The modern machine has added to, not subtracted from, the dignity of man and the height of his calling."

The Spanish Army and the Riff Army

Captain Gordon Canning observes in the *British Review of Reviews*:

It is an extraordinary fact that the Spanish Army in Morocco which varies from 50,000 to 120,000 has never, during a period of 14 years, been able to defeat the Riff tribesmen who, until the last few months, have seldom numbered over 20,000. Besides the Spanish superiority in numbers, one must also remember the weapons of offence and defence which modern science places at the disposal of Spain, and of which the Riff tribesmen are altogether devoid; as well as the immense sums of money at the command of the Spanish Government.

Now, what are the causes which can be assigned to explain the success of these small forces over the Spaniards? There are three:

- (1) The mountainous country.
- (2) Patriotism.
- (3) The incompetence of the Spanish High Command.

The patriotism of the Riffs has nearly always sustained them for 2,000 years against the aggressions of the foreigners, and even when temporarily subdued it has invariably broken out once more and inspired them to renewed suffering, until their country was again at liberty and no foreigner trod their soil.

The difficulty of subjecting the Riff tribes has frequently been compared to that with which the Indian frontier forces are confronted. However, the Riff country is not nearly so inhospitable and rugged as are those spurs of the Hindu Kush, while its capital and centre of resistance has always been the most vulnerable point to its opponents in command of the sea.

Though the Riff is mountainous it is by no means invulnerable; and if, in the portions which had been Spanish possessions for several years, roads had been constructed, work offered, education begun, and women left unmolested, the resistance would have subsided and doubtless the remainder of the country would have been pacified.

None of these things has been done, and as no benefit has accrued to the tribes under Spanish rule, no allegiance can be expected of them when their fellow tribesmen rise.

The difficulty of the country helps the Riff soldier in the warfare which Spain permits him to carry on, but if France chose to violate the treaties her army would find little difficulty in subjugating the country.

Sydney Smith and Scots' Humour

It is generally assumed that it was Sydney

Smith who affirmed that a surgical operation was necessary to get a joke into a Scotsman's head? But according to the Dundee Advertiser:—

Mr. William Harvey, F. S. A. Scot., lecturing in Dundee on "Scottish Wit and Humour," declared that it was not true, and that, indeed, Sydney Smith said something very different.

Dr. William Chambers tells the story in his largely forgotten but wonderfully interesting life of his greater brother Robert. Long after Sydney Smith had left Edinburgh and settled in London, Dr. Chambers met him. They talked of the old life in Scotland and of national characteristics.

"You must have seen that the Scotch have a considerable fund of humour," said Chambers.

"Oh, by all means," replied Smith, "you are an immensely funny people, but you need a little operating upon to let the fun out. I know no instrument so effectual for the purpose as the corkscrew!"

"Persia, the Victim of Russo-British Rivalry"

Mr. Louis Fischer, an American newspaper correspondent at present in Russia who served during the war with the British Army in Palestine, concludes an article on the above subject in *The Current History Magazine* thus:—

These are the characters and stage setting in the Persian drama; Persia, the prize, represented by its most promising leader, Riza Khan; Soviet Russia by her new Ambassador, Boris Zacharovitch Shumiatsky; Great Britain by her Minister Sir Percy Lorrain; the United States by Dr. A. C. Millspaugh, and finally, Germany, approaching from the background carrying her Berlin-to-Bagdad experience with her as a Baedeker and Machiavelli in one. Only the blind Utopian can imagine, or even hope, that in his generation the struggle between Russia and Great Britain in Persia will be composed. It seems to be Persia's fate, both on account of her geographical location and her natural wealth, to be the bone of contention of these two powers.

The Living Age writes on much the same topic:—

A Telegraphic dispatch recently appeared in the British press to the effect that the American Financial Mission to Persia, under the direction of Dr. Millspaugh, which has been in charge of that country's fiscal administration for the past two years, had proved a failure; that the Persian Government had hoped to attract American money to that country when it appointed the Mission and this hope had not been realized; that the people imagined the Americans would reduce taxes, instead of which they had proposed additional imposts. As a result, according to this account, the Mission had become exceedingly unpopular. Dr. Millspaugh had twice tried to resign, and it was expected that he and his associates would shortly be relieved of their duties.

As an illustration of at least a state of mind---

whose state of mind we are not in a position to suggest, for we are totally unfamiliar with the facts--the following comment upon this dispatch, from *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the leading Berlin organ of Hugo Stinnes's successors, is interesting reading:

"We must allow for the fact that this report reaches us from an English source, that English influence in Persia has been decidedly on the wane since 1921, and that England is naturally striving to recover her former precedence. In this connection the following statement by a high Persian official is significant: 'So long as the American Mission is in my country, England will give us no rest.' Rumor has it, moreover, that England is paying a monthly subsidy of a thousand pounds to several influential Persians in Teheran, whom she employs as spies and for the purpose of promoting discord between the Americans and the Persians. It is also reported that England was behind the recently suppressed revolt of the Sheik Muhammad, and is financing the constant incursions of the Kurd leader, Simko."

Egypt and the Sudan and England.

"An Egyptian Publicist" examines Egypt's claim to the Sudan in the *Current History Magazine* and quotes official correspondence between Lord Salisbury and Sir E. McMahon, Lord Cromer and Lord Salisbury, and Lord Kitchener and Lord Cromer in support of the following passages in his article:—

The only conclusion to be drawn from these communications is that the conquest, or rather the restoration, of the Sudan was at the expense and in the name of Egypt. England helped as an ally, just as Egypt helped England in the World War in Palestine.

BURDEN BORNE BY EGYPT

A glance at the record of expenses and casualties of the Egyptians during the restoration of the Sudan shows clearly that it was Egypt that contributed almost the whole man-power and the financial and other resources:

(a) The Egyptians provided 25,000 men, while the British army was at the beginning, 800, and never exceeded 2,000 men. That is to say, it was never more than one twelfth of the Egyptian army. Moreover, the long drawn out campaign waged against the Mahdi and his successors, and culminating in the victory of Omdurman, would have been impossible without the patient toil of thousands of Egyptian workmen in building railways, working the river haulage and maintaining the far-flung lines of communications.

(b) The expenses of reconquest amounted to £2,400,000. Egypt paid two-thirds of this and was ready to pay the other third, but for the arbitrary objection of the Public Debt Commission;

(c) From the time of the reconquest, the Egyptian Government has paid for the upkeep of 10,000 Egyptian soldiers, who cost her £18,000,000. The Egyptian Army, in fact, provides the whole military garrison of the Sudan, with the exception of a single British battalion of 2,000 soldiers, whose expenses never exceed £200,000;

(d) From the time of the reconquest, it is the

Egyptian taxpayer that has borne the whole costs of building railroads, public buildings, telegraphs and, in short, of the whole administration of the Sudan, totaling a cost of £5,600,000 :

(e) The Egyptian Government has made good the annual deficit in the Sudan budgets, a deficit that has cost Egypt up to now a total of £5,350,000.

In short, it is the Egyptian peasant who has been taxed for the upkeep of the Sudan administration. He is the one who will have to pay the benefits expected to be made by the British shareholders of the wealthy cotton plantations in that country.

Although it was Egypt that actually conquered the Sudan and also paid the entire expenses of the administration since the conquest, yet Egypt was forced in 1899 to sign the Convention of the Sudan Condominium. The text of the convention provided as follows :

"The British and Egyptian flags should be used throughout the Sudan; (b) the supreme military and civil command should be vested in one officer, termed the Governor General of the Sudan, and to be appointed by a Khedival decree on the recommendation of the British Government (c) Proclamation of the Governor General should have the force of law; (d) the jurisdiction of the Egyptian Mixed Tribunals should not extend to or be recognized for any purposes whatsoever, in any part of the Sudan; and (e) no foreign consuls should be allowed to reside in the country without previous consent of the British Government."

"After Forty Get a Hobby"

We read in *The Playground* :—

Dr. Lewellyn F. Barker, Professor Emeritus of Medicine in Johns Hopkins University and former physician-in-chief of Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, believes play is potent to keep the middle-aged man fit instead of letting old age win years before it has a right. Reasonable diet, sufficient sleep and a hobby make up Dr. Barker's prescription.

"It is an easy thing to tell a man 'not to worry' but he is likely to reply with the question : 'How can I stop it ?' Recreation offers a means. Every man should have at least one or two hobbies to divert his mind and to relax the tension of business cares. Gardening, fishing, an interest in art, music or books, or engaging in some social-welfare activity may provide a fit hobby. Every man must pick his own hobby through inclination and by a process of experimentation.

"Play is the best kind of exercise, but the middle-aged man must use care in the selection of the games in which he indulges. Tennis is good exercise for the man of 40 who is content not to play it too strenuously, but for a man past 40 golf is perhaps better fitted to his needs. Riding and walking are also excellent forms of exercise.

"Calisthenic exercises will do much toward keeping a man in condition, but calisthenics should not be overdone. Men who are past 60 will often find that the exercises best fitted to their needs are simple ones that can be performed in bed while under the covers and out of danger from exposure to cold.

"But real play is the thing of which the middle-aged man is most in need. He should give a week-end or an afternoon each week to recreation. He will find it will pay him to take a day off now and then and to make semi-annual vacations a regular practice—at least two weeks in the summer and a shorter vacation in mid-winter. The chief object of these vacations should be to get into the open air and as far away as possible from the sights and sounds of the city and the thoughts of business."

Cecil Rhodes and Asian Independence

After describing the imperialistic aims of Cecil Rhodes in *The Chinese Students' Monthly*, Dr. Taraknath Das observes :—

Cecil Rhodes held that it is the will of God that Great Britain through the co-operation of the United States of America and, through the superior genius of the Anglo-Saxon peoples would dominate the world for justice, peace and liberty. We find that Great Britain is ruling India and dominating major parts of Asia and other sections of the world keeping hundreds of millions of people under subjection, denying simple justice and freedom ; and we can safely assert that British imperialism has been a curse to the world and has been the cause of more wars than any other factor in recent times.

God is not so unjust that He has decreed once for all that the peoples of Asia, which were far more civilized than those of Europe many centuries before the Christian era, be kept under perpetual subjection of the Anglo-Saxons or other Europeans. The present degraded condition of the peoples of Asia is more due to their faults than any other reason. They have to struggle to rise again. Britishers do not depend upon the will of God to carry out the scheme of dominating the world, particularly Asia and Africa. They use all possible means to attain their end of extension of British imperialism on a solid foundation, even by destroying a possible competitor or a rival by war, starvation and political isolation.

Are there young men and women in India, China and Japan and other parts of Asia and also in Africa who see the vision that their God-given duty is to give all their energy of life and all the wealth in a well-calculated manner, particularly by spreading education, and with the co-operation of all peoples under subjection to secure freedom of the oppressed peoples of the world ? A few Cecil Rhodes of new type are badly needed in all countries of Asia and Africa. They should inscribe in their hearts the ideal of Asian independence, equal opportunity and no discrimination against any people, because of race, to be achieved through concerted action in all parts of the world.

Their ideal cannot be achieved within a year or two nor can it be achieved by merely delivering speeches, by adopting resolutions or by rousing racial bitterness between the East and the West. Life-long consecration to the ideal, untiring work to spread the gospel of freedom, augmenting wealth by developing national intelligence and efficiency, industrial and economic strength and proper international understandings are needed to win the victory. None with a light heart and hasty

judgment should respond to this call. Only those who have a vision and sustained energy should undertake to perform the duty of crowning human freedom through many-sided activities—World Peace with Justice and Liberty to All Peoples, to be Achieved Through Asian Independence.

"Conquest of India by Alexander the Great"

P. A. Malpas remarks in *The Theosophic Path* that:

The Greek and Latin histories of the 'Conquest of India by Alexander the Great' ought most emphatically to take their place among the first to be cremated.

Think how they were written! The chief offender is Flavius Arrianus, or 'Arrian,' who lived about the time that Vespasian was destroying Jerusalem, say nearly four hundred years after Alexander's fairy-tale conquest. Arrian took his history from the pages of Aristobulus and Ptolemy. These histories are lost to the world.

But what of that? Well, these good bookwrights wrote their histories in turn on the evidence given in the history of Megasthenes. This was a Greek who visited India some years after the 'glorious conquest' of that country by Alexander (*which never happened!*).

Now here is the point. These second-hand Greek authorities never once set eyes on a single word written by Megasthenes! As for the third-hand Arrian . . . !

Could any history ever be a more illegitimate grandchild than Arrian's history? It is a book written by a man who took it from two other men who never saw a word of the history from which they took it in their turn.

The Greeks certainly 'fancied themselves' at that date when Alexander invaded Afghanistan and Beluchistan—say between 325 and 330 B.C. And really their civilization was something of which to be proud. Less than a hundred years ago we English were content to base all our art and sculpture on Greece, and our polished men could never speak more glossily than when quoting Greek tags—in short, we were content to recognise that Greece was greater than ourselves.

But that does not in the least interfere with the fact that Indian civilization was then far superior to that of Greece in almost everything except boastfulness. Greek civilization was the infant grandchild of an India hoary with age—and that is why today artists and theologians and folklorists find Indian art and literature always showing *Greek influence*. It is wonderful how heredity sells. But even so, our most learned authorities refrain from speaking of the 'influence' grand-babies have on their grandparents; they do not rhapsodize over the squalling infant and declare that "his grandfather takes after him wonderfully!"

Indian Medical Men and Medical Research

In the opinion of Major-General Sir Gerald Giffard, I. M. S. (Retd.), as expressed in the *Journal of the East India Association*:—

It is a sad reflection that, up to the present, Indians have shown hardly any aptitude for medical research. For more than twenty years I have urged the need for research on the students and young qualified medical men in the Madras Medical College, but so far without result. The great discoveries in tropical medicine have all been made by Europeans. I have discussed this matter with my Indian friends on many occasions. The answers given to my questions generally are that Europeans have always held the appointments in India which provide opportunities of such work, and that the Indian medical student and practitioner are too poor to spend their time at unremunerative work. This cannot be the correct answer. If it were correct, how comes it that Laveran, Ross, Rogers, Donovan, and all the others have made such world-renowned discoveries. They did not hold big appointments and were not attached to large scientific institutions, yet they did their splendid work. No one would be more pleased than the European medical men of the world if Indians followed in their footsteps and advanced the science of tropical medicine. The future of medicine in India will largely depend on the advent of Indian medical discoveries.

City Planning and "Regional Planning"

The New Republic says:—

Most people are now fairly familiar with the phrase "city planning" and what it connotes. We predict that in years to come "regional planning" will be heard even more frequently. Among the engineers, architects and others who think about such things, the belief is growing that the problem of the great modern city cannot be solved except by working on a scale which includes as well a large area of the surrounding countryside. These men long ago realized that new transportation lines do not relieve congestion, but only increase it; that with land values left strictly in private hands, the problem of decent housing for people of modest means is unsolvable in thickly-inhabited areas; and that we must think, not of facilitating more growth, but of making cities smaller. This is to be done by creating satellite centres on the outskirts, and perhaps by limiting these satellites in size by encircling them with bands of agricultural or park land.

The Women of Japan Today

The following items of information are gathered from an article in the *Japan Magazine*:—

In the towns, common school girls mostly wear foreign clothes. In the provinces, they are not so westernized in dress as in the towns, and it is generally the rule that all school girls wear maroon or purple *hakama* (skirts).

Girls are graduated from high school at 18 or 19. This age was the marriageable one in old days, but nowadays it is 22 or 23, although the old idea is still retained in the provinces where the daughters are married soon upon their graduation from high school.

Marriage is arranged mostly through third parties. A respected gentleman or his wife volunteers to match suitable parties from among friends or relatives. The parents of each are told of the lineage, age, character, education, looks, etc., of the other. If the proposal is found worthy of consideration the son and daughter are told of it by the parents, and if they are not opposed, they hold a formal interview at a fixed place, after which a match is made, if each is pleased with the other.

There are different methods taken nowadays for removing the evils from marriages arranged through match-makers. One of them is that after the formal interview, they have friendly intercourse with each other for about a year under the supervision of the parents, after which they marry, if each satisfactorily understands the other.

Even to-day, old marriage system is not considered objectionable, provided that the go-between has sense and high personality.

The love-match is not thought of in the middle order of Japanese society as quite ideal. There are, however, many men and women, who are free and fetterless of family restraint, and make good matches of their own selection, an unavoidable course taken by persons placed in such circumstances.

Middle-class men usually marry middle-class women. Japanese married women are unequalled in faithfulness. In large towns, newly married couples form new homes of their own as a result of the introduction of new ideas, but in the provinces, it is not allowed, and the bride is duty bound to serve the parents of her husband as faithfully as she serves him. This is an important item of the marriage conditions, the old idea being still held among the provincials that she is married into the family of the husband as well as to him.

Such wives must work busily as housekeepers as soon as they are married. They cook the meals sometimes with the aid of a maid. They sew and wash the clothes for their families. This regular household work keeps them so busy that they have scarcely time to rest. Upper class women have more leisure, their household affairs being left to the management of numerous maids. Lower class women can be contented with a simpler life than the middle-class, as they need not maintain their houses as well as the latter. Middle-class wives are, therefore, in the hardest position among Japanese women and may be compared to German housewives.

Newly educated young men and women are inclined to speak disapprovingly of wives being so occupied at home which they regard as the outcome of antiquated ideas. Women of such homes are interested in social questions, although they form still but a fraction of society.

Exchange of Christian and Moslem Inhabitants

P. Gentizon discusses in *L' Illustration* what has been done to give effect to the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey according to the Treaty of Lausanne, and asks—

What will be the result of this obligatory ex-

change of inhabitants? It is certain, in the first place, that even when it is complete it will not mean stability for either country or a definite localization of the newcomers. Hitherto the emigrants have been compelled to obey official orders and settle in the regions assigned to them. In other words, numbers of them have been taken to places which do not suit them at all, and it is perfectly certain that the exchange of populations, properly so called, will be followed in turn by a movement of the exchanged populations within their new fatherlands, which may reach very considerable proportions. Among the emigrants, some—the intellectuals, for example—will wish to live in cities, others in more fertile districts or regions better fitted to their special skill. That is why a number of years must pass before all the sufferings which have been caused by this unique uprooting of the life of peoples can be effaced. From the economic point of view the exchange of populations will translate itself on each side into a large decline in production; but it is also certain that from a political standpoint the reciprocal departure of the minorities from Greece and Turkey will constitute the best possible measure for re-establishing peace and quiet in the Eastern Mediterranean. It would indeed have been preferable that the conflict of races, nationalities, and religions should have ended in an ideal of concord and fraternity between all these nations that have been so inextricably intermingled, but human passions and human weaknesses would not have it so. Instead of persisting in the quest for what may have been no more than a chimera, the popular mind finally preferred a complete divorce to a marriage that for centuries has been unhappy. The hour of separation for incompatibility has struck, and this solution, however sad it may be, will certainly facilitate the regeneration of the Near East. Hitherto large majorities have spoken Greek in Turkey and Turkish in Greece, and misunderstanding arose because it was impossible to comprehend one another's language. This time, with the exception of the Greek groups in Constantinople and Turkish groups in Western Thrace which have not been included in the exchange, a sharp line of demarcation has been traced between them—the Greeks on one side, the Turks on the other. In this way the Christians need no longer complain of handicaps, nor the Mussulmans be submitted to exaction. There will be no more master, no more *rāja*, no more dominant race, no more of the eternal subject-race. Minorities having disappeared, there will no longer be that frenzied competition within the bosom of the same nation, that chaos of contradictory pretensions, that clash of opposed ideas, that silent warfare of different religions, that conflict of races whose qualities differ.

Hitherto most of the wrongs with which Turks have been reproached were due to the structure of their government. To dominate and control strong and unassimilable minorities, they felt themselves compelled to use the dogma of Islam with the greatest rigidity. Henceforward, being alone in their own country, they will be able—though without running any risk—to interpret these same conceptions in a broader way. The exchange of populations will have the far-reaching consequence of facilitating and making possible a kind of liberalism in Turkey. In Greece it will have the advantage of increasing national unity and homogeneity. It will therefore constitute a guaranty

of a more favourable future for the people of the Near East.

Soviet Russia's Secret Police

It is not merely autocracies, plutocracies, oligarchies and middle class governments which have secret police. The proletariate government of Soviet Russia has the same agency. Georges Popoff writes in *Pester Lloyd* of Budapest:—

What is the Cheka? It is a political secret police. But that alone would be nothing remarkable. It would not be worth wasting words over; for every country has something similar. England has Scotland Yard, France the *Sûreté*, America her Secret Service. Furthermore, all these institutions bear some resemblance to the Cheka, and vice versa. But the resemblance goes only part way. It exists to the extent that the Cheka, like the other bodies mentioned, performs the functions of a political police. But its activities do not stop there by any means. It is a far more important organ of the Russian Administration, it is far greater in every way, than the ordinary Secret Services of bourgeois countries.

Between December 1917 and September 1918 nine hundred people, in round numbers, were executed in Petrograd, and nine hundred more elsewhere in Russia.

But the system has produced even worse abuses than executions—even executions *en masse*. I need only mention the custom of seizing hostages, which the Cheka adopted—or rather resurrected from the darkness of the Middle Ages—as early as 1918. Its officers seized one hundred, two hundred, three hundred, and even more, perfectly innocent men, women, and children, incarcerated them in the damp cellars of the Lubianka Prison, and announced that they would all be shot the moment any person whatsoever tried to kill a Soviet leader. Mothers and wives were held as hostages until their sons and husbands surrendered to the Cheka; and even today the Cheka still regards the hostage system the main prop of its power.

A German's Indian Impressions

W. Staegli has recorded in *Berliner Tageblatt* his impressions of India. According to him, the Maidan in Calcutta:

Is surrounded by a row of ugly buildings in what some one has called 'the speculation style of architecture'. These accommodate several rather mediocre hotels, clubs that discuss the ideas of yesterday, and shops that sell the fashions of day-before-yesterday. On the north stands the old Government House, seat of the Indian Administration before its removal to Delhi. It is an imitation of a baroque country-palace, now happily concealed by a screen of trees and trellises. To the south looms a sort of marble wedding-cake, which I at first thought was a temporary exposition-building but learned later was a museum. Compared with the Taj Mahal, it is like Mrs. Newrich beside a princess.

The Victoria Memorial is spoken of as the marble wedding-cake. The writer continues:—

Scattered over the lawn that separates these two masterpieces of our superior European culture are some thirty statues. Happily they do not stand in a row like those in our Siegesallee, but in other respects they resemble them. They represent the Governors of India from Clive—that wonderful cross between Napoleon and a footpad who founded British rule in Asia—to the elegant, well-groomed lords of the present era, whose noble titles qualify them to rule for a period of five years over three hundred million natives.

Calcutta has a million and a half inhabitants; of whom about twelve thousand are Englishmen and practically all the rest Indians living in dusty 'Black Town.'—among them Rabindranath Tagore. The city has no concerts or theatres, except a few mediocre movie-shows, but there is a university for Indians. The climate keeps Europeans from undertaking strenuous intellectual labor. All the hotels are surprisingly poor, especially in respect of food, for neither Indians nor Englishmen are good cooks. A couple of Italian restaurants are oases of European culinary culture.

On the other hand, football, golf, tennis, and horse-racing are very popular. Indeed, the Indians themselves have become excellent sportsmen. I saw an important match in which the Indians thoroughly drubbed the English. Most important of all, the natives have learned to follow such events intelligently and to bet on them; so that here in the land of the Vedas and Upanishads the sporting-pages in the newspapers are devoured with equal eagerness by whites and browns.

About "Tagore, the Poet", the German visitor writes:—

At length he appeared, a tall, slender gentleman, with kindly, delicate features and a beard,—a rarity in Bengalese society,—wearing a long robe of yellow silk, a high lilac, satin cap, and sandals on his bare feet. He removed the latter when he entered the room. I was introduced to him, and he spoke in a most appreciative way of Germany and her spiritual kinship with India. He regretted that a narrow-minded bureaucracy still keeps Germans from visiting India, and thus forcibly prevents direct contact between German thought and science and the intellectual life of his own country.

On Indian temples in general he observes:—

As a rule Indian temples are designed not so much to be seen with the eye as to be felt with the spirit. Only a person who is prepared to open his ears to the language of the stones and to feel the experiences and the emotions incorporated in them will discover the secret of their meaning. He must catch the swelling rhythm of the three or fourfold temple-design, rising from pinnacle to pinnacle to the loftier dome that covers its sacred shrine. He must let the language of these strange images of the gods, half-human and half-animal, sink into his soul until he feels in the depths of his own consciousness how truly they express man's primitive awe and secret terror before the mysterious forces of nature. He must interpret the lines of the towers not as he would in Europe, where each stands out straight and distinct. But

in all their undulating and tendril-like confusion, as symbolizing clusters of human arms lifted in passionate appeal to God.

Of the black pagoda at Konarak in Orissa, he writes:—

Unlike many conventional Indian temples, this one shows evidence of being designed by an original mind and a master hand. Colors have been consciously and effectively used to emphasize structural details. The crossbeams of the pagoda contrast in deep black against the predominant gray of the building, while the dance-hall in front is of brilliant red sandstone. Conscious emphasis has also been laid upon individual members of the group in their relation to the whole; for example the dance-hall is managed so as to give a clear view from the main entrance to the dominant central edifice. Last of all, the Indian's passion for expressing movement manifests itself in a remarkable device; the whole temple is conceived as if it were moving away from the observer on an immense carriage; it stands upon ten gigantic wheels, which the four horses of the sun are drawing toward the neighbouring ocean—an arresting and truly Indian conception.

A Huge Paper-making Scheme

We read in *Chambers's Journal*:—

It is common knowledge that the paper on which most newspapers are printed is made from wood, and that large areas of forest abroad, more especially in Newfoundland, are being devastated to maintain the supply. The wood is literally ground up into pulp before it is fit for manufacture into paper, and this process requires a large amount of power. A huge scheme for producing the necessary power from water and for laying down a factory to produce 120,000 tons of paper a year is now being carried out for the Newfoundland Power and Paper Co., Ltd. by Sir W. G. Armstrong, Whitworth, & Co., Ltd., Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

The paper-making machines, which have been supplied by a Lancashire firm, are said to be the largest in the world. They turn the paper out in a width of 219 inches. To supply the paper-mill, 200,000 cords of wood per annum will be needed and this huge quantity will be taken from forests estimated to yield 10,500,000 cords. [A cord=128 cu. ft.]

Imperialism and Democracy

The American *Locomotive Engineers' Journal* writes:—

The American nation was founded on a protest against imperialism. The Revolutionary War was fought to vindicate the right of an exploited people to rebel against the empire which sought to hold the new continent as a colonial dependency. For a hundred years, the traditions and political policy of America vigorously opposed the imperialistic policies of the European powers. The famous Monroe Doctrine was a warning to the imperial rulers of the Old World that the United States would go to war, if need be, to prevent the extension of imperialism

in the Western Hemisphere. The whole genius of American democracy, as opposed to autocratic imperialism, is summed up in Abraham Lincoln's great declaration: "No man is good enough to govern any other man without that man's consent." Less than a generation ago we still cherished this principle when the American people became righteously indignant at the suggestion that we should copy the "dollar diplomacy" of Europe in dealing with China and Japan. But it is the gravest menace now imperiling American democracy. For imperialism has become enthroned in America. Its spokesmen and apologists determine governmental policy.

Indeed, America has so far strayed from the principles of its founders that today it leads the world in the extension of economic imperialism, a much more subtle and complete form of exploitation than the military imperialism of old Europe ever achieved.

Democracy and imperialism cannot be reconciled. One or the other will have to go. Which shall it be?

Imperialism is caused by the lure of larger profits by exploiting a weak or supposedly "inferior" people than can be made from legitimate business enterprises at home. Profit is the taproot of the whole imperialist system. If the victimized people object, the military forces are called in to establish "law and order" at the point of the bayonet. If they are powerless to make opposition, then their natural resources and public utilities are gobbled up by the imperialistic interests "developing" the country.

The journal then mentions incidents and facts illustrative of American and Spanish imperialism, and concludes:—

India stands out as the world's worst example of ruthless imperialism. Ever since the days of Warren Hastings the people of India have been bled economically and dragooned by British militarism in order to supply British manufacturers with cheap raw materials and British investors with tremendously profitable investments. The article by Mr. Das in this issue is a scholarly, conservative presentation of fact, which does not attempt to depict the tragic cost of imperialism in human agony. A dispatch, during the past week, states that three Indian members of the Bengal Provincial Council have been arrested without charges and imprisoned indefinitely without a warrant. The activities of imperialism in India are matched in Egypt and Ireland, only on a smaller scale. The victimization of China by the imperialistic "Christian" powers is equally shameful. As in India, the white man has forced opium on the natives to drug them into submission and extract still larger profits.

During the War we gnashed our teeth at German imperialism. Is British or French or American imperialism any better? Are they not all made from one piece of cloth, differing only in the colour of their uniform?

Mr Das's article, referred to above, is very well documented and ought to be reproduced by our dailies.

Women's Conference on the Cause and Cure of War

The *Woman Citizen* of America devotes a well-illustrated article to the recently held American Women's Conference on the cause and cure of war. The causes of war, as brought out in the discussions, have been summarised by the Committee.

They classified causes into psychological, economic, political, social and contributory. Under *psychological* they listed fear, suspicion, greed, lust of power, ambition, revenge, hate, jealousy, envy; under *economic*—aggressive imperialism, economic rivalries, government protection of private interests abroad without reference to the general welfare, population pressure, profits in war, disregard of the rights of backward peoples. Under *political*—the principle of balance of power; secret or unjust treaties and the violation of treaties, disregard of the rights of minorities, partisan politics, political sanction of war, and organization of the state for war, ineffective or obstructive political machinery. Under *social and contributory* the Committee included; exaggerated nationalism; competitive armaments, religious and racial antagonisms, general apathy, indifference and ignorance, war psychology (created through motion pictures, textbooks, home influences, the press), social inequalities, social sanctions of war, lack of spiritual ideals.

As regards the cures we are told:—

If the causes were legion, the cures were a multitude, but three or four stand out as the most stressed subjects of discussion. On one of these the Conference was unanimous and ready to act at once—the World Court.

Other cures developed in the discussions were the codification of International Law, the League of Nations, in various phases, the Protocol of Geneva, the operation of governmental international agencies for economic and social ends, education in its international aspects, the missionary as an agent for world peace, the right teaching of history, medicine as a factor in internationalism, the influence of the press, and of diplomacy.

Back of all the Conference discussions ran the realization that the world's interests—financial, political, economic, social—have become one. A vivid demonstration of international linking of interests came in Raymond Fosdick's account of such agencies as the Rhine Commission, the Postal Union, League of Nations Commissions on Opium, Health, Traffic, etc. Health, for instance, is no longer a local or even a national matter, but international. Influenza was as international as the war—starting in German prison camps, it swept around the world, taking uncounted toll of civilians who should rightfully be added to the war casualties. Bubonic plague comes out of the wastes of Arabia, is carried on to Southern Tibet, to China, and out to the ports of the world. So with infantile paralysis. And with the modern round-the-table method these common enemies are combated by standardization of serums, so that they are the same everywhere; by an information bureau that sends information on diseases and is "on the watchtower for the human race." This is the conference method, applied to social matters, that the League would apply—does apply—to the disease of war.

THE LEAGUE PARAGRAPH

The paragraph as passed, which was stronger than the original draft—and weaker than one we would have wished, reads:

The Conference recognizes the immense service rendered by the League of Nations to the ideals that are dominant in the United States of America. It is the only functioning world organization providing for the realization of those ideals. The Conference therefore believes that, whether our Government enters the League or not, it should as far as possible enlarge our responsibilities in League plans and cooperate with its activities.

Inasmuch as the Protocol of Geneva is the most advanced proposal ever made for the outlawry of war, the Conference believes that the United States should hold itself ready to take sympathetic and cooperative action in the furtherance of the success of the Protocol.

The text of the adopted report on cures combines the various points of view about outlawry. It reads:

Work for the outlawry of War with the understanding that this involves two definite steps: (a) The enactment through an adequate agency of international law declaring that war is a crime in which an aggressor nation should be dealt with as a criminal. (b) The use of international machinery through which such a law can become operative among all nations. This involves and actually compels permanent world organization, which shall be continuously operative.

This one law would be but one of a whole body of international laws needed to conduct the world on the visioned basis of law instead of force, and the Conference also endorsed in its program the progressive codification of international law, Arbitration treaties making for international conciliation, the revision of existing treaties that violate international justice and a share in movement toward reduction of armament were also endorsed.

But the most striking recommendation was the restoration in the Department of State of the office of Under Secretary of State for Peace, whose special function shall be to foster international understanding and peace.

Coming to Economic Forces, the Conference recommended access to essential natural resources and raw materials, development of channels of distribution, establishment of a commercial code between nations to define unfair competition and taboo the exploitation of weaker peoples by the stronger; establishment of a fair industrial code. As means of accomplishing them it recommended international conferences on world resources and the utilization of such agencies in the economic field as the International Labor Organization.

Discussion, from platform and floor, of the social and educational forces that contribute to peace had a wide range—such as exchange professorships and fellowships in the educational field; cultivation of inter-racial understandings and tolerance, even by such simple human methods as hospitality to foreign students. The moving-picture came in for its share of responsibility, and the proper selection of textbooks. There is no space here for the sections of the report that sum up these things, nor to digest the speeches.

The claim of Professor Donald Taft of Welles College that the next war is being prepared in the text-books was perhaps the most striking. He

displayed charts showing by parallel extracts from school histories, the contrary impressions of the great war and the peace settlement that are being given to children of France and Germany. Here is one instance:

"As to the policy of the 'armed peace,' French children read: 'Germany's assertion that she was encircled by enemies was a mere pretense. The danger from the wicked Germans alone made European armaments necessary.' German children read: 'Germany was encircled by her enemies and her armaments were purely defensive.'"

About this Conference we read in *The New Republic*:

Residing over the five hundred were some of the notable figures in the contemporaneous history of women's affairs: Mrs. Currie Chapman Catt, veteran of forty battlefields for equal rights, looking forward to forty more struggles for causes not less worthy, a woman with a mind like a nickel-plated dynamo, and a personality which, if you insist on interpretation in masculine terms, is a combination of Gladstone and Savonarola, with a dash of Disraeli;.....

About the results it is stated in the same paper:

Chief of these results is efficiency without cynicism; this reporter, who has been attending public meetings of various sorts for a fifth of a century, wishes to make deposition that no group of men whom he ever saw or heard of can assemble and conduct affairs so competently and yet spiritedly as these ladies. It isn't merely that the meetings began and ended on time, or that thirty mute speakers spoke for thirty minutes; but that the participating audience also played its part incredibly well. Questions from the floor were really questions, not minority reports; and they showed that the preceding speeches had been listened to and understood, a phenomenon incomparable.

The convention, furthermore, was honest in its agenda.

Not the least striking aspect of the conference, and a refutation of the charge that women do not know how to conduct their business in a business-like way, was the efficiency with which the facts presented before it were written into conclusions, and the groundwork laid for continuing action—action both in the detailed study of war's causes and cures, and in educating the general population as to what should, can and must be done if war is to be abolished.

The Geneva Protocol

Mr. E. E. Dillon writes in *The Commonwealth of Australia*:

The framers of the protocol had three objects in view, viz. arbitration, security, disarmament. These three objects are also sought by the covenant. In drawing up the protocol they have not gone beyond the scope of the covenant. They have given definiteness to what is there implicitly contained.

As to Arbitration, they have sought to make it compulsory as regards all disputes except those

arising out of domestic matters. Is not this practical common sense? The present system of periodically sacrificing the lives of thousands, nay millions of young and innocent nationals over matters that the moderate men of each nation could satisfactorily settle in 24 hours of conference amounts to criminal insanity, and is certain to bring about another Armageddon. But arbitration, by having both sides stated in public for the nationals of all countries to hear and weigh, coupled with the decision of able, honest, impartial and disinterested third persons, is more likely to accomplish justice, and avoid war, than the present system. The effects of the insidious propaganda, even now being carried on in the press of each country, and of which the young men who will die are quite ignorant, would be nullified by arbitration. To any one whose preponderant leanings are towards justice, humanity or civilisation, there should be no hesitation in choosing between universal arbitration and the present system of universal armed force.

As to Security, the protocol brands aggressive war as a crime, and defines an aggressor nation as one which goes to war in violation of its undertakings under the covenant and protocol, and directs the council to call on the rest of the nations to apply sanctions against the aggressor and to come to the assistance of the attacked or threatened State.

One can understand Pacifists objecting to this clause, because they see no difference in objective miseries between aggressive and defensive wars, and because they think the League should have no sanctions at all. They waive their objection, however, hoping that there never will be any need to enforce arbitral decisions, and believing that wars (if there are any), will be far fewer than under the present system of organised universal conflict. But how can those who believe in armed force logically object to it! Moreover, the physical assistance which any nation is obliged to give against an aggressor is very much within its own choice. The League has no army of its own and can give no orders to any nations' armies. There is no compulsion on any nation to actually join in the fighting unless it likes.

As to Disarmament, it must be remembered that the protocol is not to come into force until a plan of universal disarmament has been universally agreed to, and it provides for the calling of a universal conference for that purpose in June next. "No plan, no protocol."

Louis XIV and Aurangzeb

Sir Theodore Morison, principal for years of Aligarh College, whom no one will accuse of anti-Moslem bias, has an article in the *March Contemporary Review* on Louis XIV and Aurangzeb. He begins it by drawing a parallel between the careers of the two monarchs, but observes:—

"These certainly were curious coincidences; but they were accidental and do not afford matter for instructive comparison. Indeed, I must own that historical analogies usually inspire me with distrust."

At the same time Sir Theodore says:

"Both Louis XIV and Aurangzeb were confronted with the familiar problem of religious non-conformity and both tried the yet more familiar remedy of persecution. Both found on coming to power that religious toleration was the established practice in their kingdom and both deliberately set it aside. With what results to France? With what results to India? Those are the questions which we must here consider."

After describing what Louis XIV did, Sir Theodore Morison observes:—

"It was some time before France realised the price that had to be paid for intolerance and longer still before any one dared to breathe it to Louis himself. But Vauban ventured to speak the unpalatable truth.....In a memorandum addressed to his official chief, Louvois, he thus tabulated the losses which the persecution has caused to France:

(1) 'The desertion of eighty to a hundred thousand persons of all conditions who have left the kingdom carrying with them 30,000 *livres* of good money.

(2) 'The damage to our special arts and manufactures, most of which are unknown abroad, and which brought to France considerable sums of money from all the countries of Europe.

(3) 'The ruin of the best part of our trade.

(4) 'It has swelled the fleets of our enemies with eight or nine thousand of the best sailors in the kingdom, and their armies by five or six hundred officers and ten to twelve thousand soldiers, better trained to war than theirs.'

"It would be difficult to frame a more damaging charge. The number of Huguenots driven into exile is variously estimated at 150 to 400 thousand. Every protestant country was enriched with a strain of Huguenot blood. The exiles spread a knowledge of the superior civilisation of France and at the same time a fierce determination to resist the domination of Louis XIV, out of which sprang the League of Augsburg, the great coalition which was to drain France of her strength in a long and ruinous war. But serious as were the wounds which the policy of Louis inflicted on his country, they were not mortal. France passed through the ordeal weakened but unbroken. The sentiment of nationality gathered strength in the course of the eighteenth century and gradually observed to itself the passionate emotions which had in the sixteenth century been associated with religion. By the time of the Revolution, patriotism dominated all other claims to allegiance, and in 1789 the Constituent Assembly annulled the Revocation by proclaiming the equality of all citizens before the law without distinction of religion."

This is followed by Sir Theodore's observation on the career of Aurangzeb.

"Very different was the history of religious persecution in India and far heavier the personal responsibility of Aurangzeb. The doctrines of his faith afforded him little justification. Contrary to the opinion generally current in Europe, Islam is a tolerant religion. The duty of toleration is plainly enjoined in many passages of the Quran; the clearest injunction is in the verse, 'Let there be no compulsion in religion', and forcible conversion is condemned in the text: 'But if thy

Lord pleased, all who are in the world would have believed together. Wilt thou then compel men to become believers? No soul can believe but by the permission of God."

In course of time the tolerant attitude enjoined by these texts and observed by the Caliph Umar and others changed to intolerance.

"There can be no question that the Hindus were grievously oppressed by the rough soldier kings who ruled northern India between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries and that the glory of Islam was often the ostensible pretext.

"But this oppressive policy of sectarian domination was publicly reversed a hundred years before Aurangzeb came to the throne. His great grandfather Akbar, laying aside the prejudices in which he had been brought up, abolished all invidious discrimination between his Muhammadan and Hindu subjects.... In 1574 (i.e., twenty-four years before the Edict of Nantes), he established complete toleration by annulling the tax upon non-Muslims at an enormous loss to his revenue.... From this time forward there was genuine toleration throughout the Mughal Empire....

"Nationality was a conception that had not found its way to Asia in the sixteenth century and we should not be justified in saying that Akbar attempted to evoke a national spirit among his subjects. But unquestionably he established conditions which were propitious to the formation of a national sentiment, and I believe that even at this day we can find in Northern India some traces not quite obliterated of his unifying policy, such as are not to be found in those parts of the Peninsula to which his rule did not extend. Is it unreasonable to suggest that, had all the peoples of India been encouraged for another century to offer their undivided allegiance to the Moghul throne, loyalty to the monarch might, as in Europe, have broadened out into patriotism?"

"Those hopeful possibilities were shattered by Aurangzeb....

"When Aurangzeb mounted the throne of Delhi, I have no doubt that he had convinced himself that it was his duty to extirpate idolatry from his dominions and, in spite of the obvious impossibility of the task, he set about it with fanatical vigour. Space forbids a recital of all the measures by which he attempted to bribe or compel Hindus to abandon their religion....

"At the close of his life some realisation of the disaster he had brought on his Empire seems to have visited Aurangzeb. In one of his last letters he wrote—'Old age has arrived. Weakness subdues me and strength has forsaken all my limbs. The instant which has passed in power has left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the Empire. My time has been passed vainly,' and he continues later: 'I have dreaded for my salvation and with what torment. I may be punished. In 1707 he died....under his feeble successors the vast Empire, which had no organic coherence, tumbled to pieces.....

"The evil Aurangzeb did lived after him and his dynasty. When a hundred years after his death the English extended their dominion to Northern India and re-established material order they were unable to impose a moral peace. The age-long feud between Hindus and Mahomedans

which Aurangzeb had envenomed was still inflamed, and it has not yet healed. There are probably more causes than one which prevent the growth of a national feeling among the peoples of India, but without question the most conspicuous and the most important is the enmity between Hindus and Muhammadans. Nationality has been defined as a community of historical antecedents, as the common memory of sufferings endured and of triumphs achieved side by side. In the history of their country the Hindus and Muhammadans of India cannot bind this common memory. The Muhammadans feel a justifiable pride in the splendour of the Mughal Empire. To the Hindus

the Mughal Empire is associated with the name of Aurangzeb and evokes memories of humiliation and suffering; for a past in which they can take pride they have to go back to the almost legendary days of Asoka, in whose renown the Muhammadans have no lot or part. Had the tolerant policy of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan been continued by Aurangzeb, the Hindus might have joined with the Muhammadans in a common pride in one of the most splendid epochs of Indian history, and on this basis an Indian nationality might have been established. It is the memory of Aurangzeb which still marshals Hindus and Muhammadans into separate and hostile camps."

NOTES

Japanese Rule in Korea

A copy of Korean paper, named *The Eung-a Ilbo*, dated Seoul, Korea, Wednesday, August 20, 1924, has reached us somehow. We learn on very high authority that, as in the case of some Indian papers, editor after editor of this Korean paper was imprisoned by the Japanese Government until at last it was suppressed. The copy of this paper in our hands contains one article in English, which we reproduce below, everything else being in the vernacular.

BARON SAITO'S POLITICAL FORMULA

I

Baron Saito is reported to have uttered to a foreign journalist Senator(?) Ralston and subsequently published in the *Foreign Affairs* in London that he pursued his policy according to the following formula. First make Korea economically prosperous, then educate the Korean people and finally give them political rights. That is to say, you must first of all be rich so that you may be able to afford to educate your children and you must first of all be an educated people in order that you may be able to meddle with politics. There is nothing new in this formula, for our people have been repeatedly told so ever since the annexation. Has the Japanese government done anything towards the materialisation of this formula? Those who look at things in Korea with spectacles made in Japan are inclined to believe that Japan has been "crowned with success". But the fact is that, after twenty years of the Japanese occupation of our country, we are now a bankrupt people in spite of all the boasts of economic developments, while our mothers and fathers are complaining that through the loudly advertised educational activities under the Japanese supervision our children and youth are dashing to the abyss of degeneration. Those alleged economic improvements are of course

made, it is boasted, by the Japanese; but they are also made for the Japanese. Roads, for example, are made at the expense of our taxpayers for the Japanese quarters in a city and for the Japanese troops in a province. If the Government publishes statistics showing increases in numerical estimation of export and import, the alleged increase is that of the Japanese settlers in Korea, while any industrial effort of our people is either discouraged or directly hindered. We cannot compete with the Japanese who have more capital and are protected by the Government, while we are unprotected, discouraged and even intentionally hindered. Our memory is still fresh how the Japanese Government imprisoned a Korean inventor and tried to "squeeze out" his secrets last year. Examples of direct exploitations of our people by the Japanese Government and the private Japanese undertakers abound in number. We shall have opportunities later on for making known to the world the various methods of exploitations.

Baron Saito is the Japanese Governor-General of Korea.

The reader will be able to judge to what extent the development and exploitation of India by the Britishers resemble the development and exploitation of Korea by the Japanese.

"Missionaries to Washington"

Foreign Affairs quotes from the New York *Nation* the following interesting declaration signed by twenty-five American missionaries in China and addressed to the American Minister at Peking:—

The undersigned, American missionaries, are in China as messengers of the gospel of brotherhood and peace. Our task is to lead men and women into a new life in Christ which promotes brother-

hood and takes away all occasion of wars. We, therefore, express our earnest desire that no form of military pressure, especially no foreign military force, be exerted to protect us or our property; and that in the event of our capture by lawless persons or our death at their hands, no money be paid for our release, no punitive expeditions be sent out, and no indemnities be exacted. We take this stand believing that the way to establish righteousness and peace is through bringing the spirit of personal goodwill to bear on all persons under all circumstances, even through suffering wrong without retaliation.

In a covering letter these truly revered gentlemen wrote as follows:—

We appreciate the fairness and justice which have generally characterised American policy towards China. In spite of the enormous difficulties we expect further advance toward reciprocity in all lines. We do not care for the "firmness" which some are advocating; we do not care for gun-boats on the Yangtze.

In its reply,

The American Legation pointed out that the petition was inconsistent with the necessity that exists for safeguarding Americans in China, and that no exception could or would be made in the procedure in emergencies with regard to the signers of the petition.

Thereupon the New York *Nation* suggests that these American Christian missionaries should petition the Chinese Christian Church to send missionaries to Washington!

Perhaps Buddhism was the earliest missionary religion to send missionaries to foreign countries. We are not aware that they were accompanied or followed by any ancient equivalent of gun-boats, or that punitive expeditions were ever sent or indemnities ever exacted in consequence of their persecution or massacre abroad. But, of course, that is no reason why Christian nations should not claim to be superior to all other nations, ancient or modern, in all sorts of things, including spiritual ideals and methods.

The Russo-Japanese Treaty

By the Treaty that was signed at Peking on January 20 by Mr. Karakhan, Soviet Ambassador to Peking, and Mr. Yoshizawa, the Japanese Ambassador, on behalf of their respective countries, Japan has obtained valuable oil and coal concessions in Northern Sakhaline. Japanese troops are to evacuate Northern Sakhaline. The treaty marks another step forward in Russia's development in the East.

In refusing to come to some understanding with Russia, the British conservative

government has been guilty of a blunder whose consequences not only Britain but Asia may have to reap.

Japan is not the only direction in which Russia has been strengthening her position. China is more pro-Russian than pro-British, and that partly on account of the British opium policy. Afghanistan is also more pro-Russian than pro-British. There has been also a sort of diplomatic and economic cord going on in Persia between Britain and Russia.

Certain cautious remarks made by Mr. Chicherin on the significance of the Russo-Japanese treaty gives one some slight idea of the importance attached to it by the Soviet government.

"It marks not only the commencement of a period of friendly relations between Russia and Japan, but also a complete break in Eastern Politics, and in all contemporary Politics." "It provides a basis of security for Russia and the East." "It is a continuation in development of Russia's Policy in the East." "For Japan this treaty signifies the gaining of a friendly neighbour in her rear, in the event of threatening complications."

"All very vague and cautious", observes *Foreign Affairs*, "but it is clear that Soviet Russia has taken a further step towards the securing of a leading role as guardian of the rights of Eastern nations against Western economic imperialism".

Not that Soviet Russia is in every respect an improvement upon Czarist Russia, though that is no reason why other States should not have diplomatic relations with it. For example, Mr. John Turner, a member of the British Trade Union Delegation which recently visited Russia, tells the public in *Foreign Affairs* that a free press does not exist in Russia in any form; the Communist papers are the only ones allowed to be published and even they are severely censored.

"What is worse, it is more difficult to put any kind of illegal literature into circulation now than in the days of the Tsar. Then it was mostly a question of a secret printing press. Today paper has to be obtained through a government department and without paper even a printing press is useless." "The publication of books is equally restricted. All manuscripts have to be submitted to the censor and, if passed, permission to publish them obtained."

Mr. Turner also says:

A witty Frenchman is reputed to have said of politicians, "The more you change them, the more they are the same!" Whether that is true or not, the rulers and would-be rulers in modern democratic countries, it must be admitted that so far as the present political rulers in Russia are concerned,

there is certainly little change from Tsarist days in their attitude towards political opponents,

How Russian Communists Treat their Political Opponents

The remark quoted last in the previous note is amply confirmed by a yet unpublished typed copy of a book, named "*Letters from Bolshevik Prison and Exile*," which is on our table and from which its Indian recipient has permitted us to make extracts. It is not our intention—and even if we had that intention sufficient materials are not before us—to determine whether the Communists or their revolutionary opponents are right, or whether both are wrong to some extent. We only want to point out that when unregenerate men come into power, the ferocious animal in them makes its appearance;—no matter, whether they be styled autocrats or bureaucrats or members of the proletariat and whether their scene of action is in the frozen north or in the burning equatorial and sub-equatorial regions. It also makes little difference whether the tyrants are the countrymen of the oppressed or aliens. We also want to condemn man's inhumanity to man.

The extract which we are going to give below is taken from Letter One, written from the Solovetz Islands by a representative socialist exile in the first half of December, 1923, and first published in March 1924 in the "*Socialist Vestnik*," the central organ of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. The extracts are all given in English translation from the original Russian.

"The first political prisoners—anarchists—appeared in Kholmogory in February, 1922. This group, transferred in the spring of 1923, after a stay of one year in the camp, to Pertominsk and later together with the rest to Solovki (the Solovetz Islands), has already run the whole gamut of all that the regime has to offer. It was necessary to wage a struggle for the most elementary things, such as conceding to the socialist and anarchists the ordinary rights of political prisoners. In this struggle they were subjected to all the known punishments, such as solitary confinement, beating, starving, throwing on the wire, organized firing by the military detachment at the building, etc., etc. It will suffice to say that at the end of the year the majority of the Kholmogory inmates could boast, in addition to their past records, of hunger strikes totalling thirty to thirty-five days, a third of which were "dry" strikes.

"The struggle of the Pertominsk inmates,—the first political prisoners had been sent there in December, 1922,—was of shorter duration. The "regime of Batchuilis" was broken towards the end of February. Locked cells; bare bunks; the shutting off of light, water, and heat; rations of common criminals; the ban on open-air exercises,

firing at windows; the endless ringing of the alarm-bell, with the training of machine-guns on the quarters of the political prisoners; the attacks by Commandant Batchuilis, armed with a dagger, on individual prisoners:—all of this was at that time "a closed page of history."

The next extract is also from the same letter.

"Upon landing on the Solovetz soil we all felt that we were entering a new and strange phase of life. From conversations with common criminals we learned of the shocking regime which the administration is applying to them. There is no limit to their hours of servitude. They receive a real starvation ration, being fed largely with stinking codfish. Beating is practised at every step upon the slightest pretext. Every keeper, barrack warden, every petty official supervising the penal labor has the "right to the stick", i. e., the right to beat. The high officials do not even need such a right. They can beat whenever they like and with anything they please. For any insignificant offense punishments are employed hardly known even to the representatives of the exotic countries belonging to the Communist International; scores of criminals are stripped nude and put for a period of four to six hours, towards evening, when the mosquitoes are especially numerous "under the mosquitoes." Alongside, a special sentinel is placed whose duty it is to "observe" that the victims should not in one way or another drive the mosquitoes away. At the same time other "civilised" punishments were resurrected: the stone "bags" which have existed here almost since the days of Ivan the Terrible. The criminals are put for a week and sometimes for two weeks into the "bags"—narrow and deep pits in the stone walls, altogether without light, into which a man can be put only "at an angle."

The extract which follows is from Letter Three.

"Let not the Commission of Inquiry think that it will succeed in laying the guilt for the nightmare of yesterday's murder of our comrades on the heads of a few petty irresponsible minions who supposedly disobeyed orders from above.

"No, we know the real value of that comedy of "unbiased investigation" which the commission of inquiry is now staging. The all-powerful czar and god of the Tolovetz satrapy, the worthy offspring of the tchekist ranks, the chief of the department, Nogtev, has time and again threatened us with bloody punishment, especially after his return from Moscow where he received the blessing of his superiors at the Lubianka.*

"Shortly before the shooting yesterday Nogtev deigned to call at Savvatievo, and the red army detachment was properly trained for the event. Any wonder that the nefarious act of firing whole volleys into people peacefully promenading in the yard, was carried out in an orderly, planned, and well-organised manner?

The scoundrel commanding the military detachment, who refused to give his name, issued

* The seat of the headquarters in Moscow of the "G.P.U." or Tcheka or Checka, of which some account is given in the Foreign Periodicals section in this issue of the Modern Review.

As in a tense voice; "Straight at the targets!" From all sides there came a shower of red cartridges, sharply and at close range aimed at the living targets.

When a momentary calm arrived, after hundreds of bullets had been fired at us, and we realised that there were wounded among us we all turned towards the red building, carrying our wounded, but we failed to reach the building when a second order rang out: "Straight at the targets! Fire!" Again wholesale shooting, and one after another our comrades, mowed down, fell to the ground.

"Yes, we were bold enough to insist on preserving the right, which we had won through a long struggle, to promenade unhindered within the enclosure surrounded on all sides by barbed wire. We were bold enough to oppose* the attempt to encroach upon this right of ours, and for this we were treated to a blood-bath. Of the eight who were struck, five were shot to death,—five fresh sacrifices to the insatiable appetite of the blood-thirsty beast whose name is Power and who reigns on the throne of Russia shamming to represent the workers and peasants.

"The real murderers are not to be found either in the barracks and the commandant's offices of the Savvatievo camp, or in the midst of the soldiers and the chekist keepers from among, the criminal prisoners who did the shooting. No, these are only contemptible stupid executioners. The real murderers are, first the henchman Nogtev himself; next his superior, Andreeva; and finally the persons at the Lubianka and the Kremlin guiding the whole punitive policy of the Russian Communist Party.

From Letter Four we learn further that

"The shots were fired when the majority of the political prisoners was retreating from the chain of soldiers, which is the reason why most of the wounds were in the backs of the victims. During the firing many lay down in the snow. The shooting, however, continued at those lying down."

India and The League of Nations.

The London correspondent of *The Comrade* writes:—

News has been duly received that the Indian Legislative Assembly had the impudence to try to go to the League of Nations over the head of the British Government. "Technically, this procedure is legal. Practically, it is disastrous," says Mr. Garvin in the course of an article on the Protocol in the *Observer* and he then proceeds to utter the warning: "If the choice came to lie between embroiling the Empire within itself and breaking the League, the latter contingency would occur." These remarks of Mr. Garvin are an honest and truthful reflection of the feelings of his countrymen including some "Imperial-minded" Labourites also.

This fresh determination of the British to sacrifice Law and Equity at the altar of self-interest should be borne in mind by our constitution-makers in India.

* "This opposition, it is needless to add, was entirely passive, and expressed itself exclusively in a supreme moral defiance of brutal force."

"Rise of the Christian Power in India"

We understand that the Allahabad University has recommended "Rise of the Christian Power in India", by Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retired), as one of the books for study in the Modern History group for its M. A. degree examination.

This has been a wise decision, as Major Basu's work contains a great deal of material necessary for a right understanding of the British period of Indian history which other historical text-books do not contain.

"Results of Occupation"

A clergyman living in Cuchenheim, in German territory occupied by the French, writes: "On New Year's Day, about 6 p.m., my sister, a lady of some forty years who has spent a virtuous life in prayer and quiet work, was attacked in the open street scarcely a hundred paces from our dwelling by three Moroccan soldiers from Euskirchen. She was thrown to the ground, shamefully mishandled and outraged. When the brutes left her, she had to make the greatest effort to crawl home. Dead, pale, distraught, trembling, muddled and bleeding, covered with bruises and wounds, scratched and bitten, she collapsed at my door and has been lying severely ill ever since. It is the considered opinion of the physician that as a consequence of this inhuman outrage she is completely shattered, physically and mentally, and it is to be feared that her nervous system is shaken for life."

Foreign Affairs, from which the above has been taken, certifies that "this dreadful story has been confirmed by a lady living at Bonn." Similar things happen in East and North Bengal villages, and, sad to say, there, too, the ravishers are for the most part Mussalmans.

Foreign Affairs adds:

"We British have a share of responsibility in these abominations, because although colourless soldiers are only in the French zone, the Rhineland Commission upon which we sit has responsibility for the whole area. How long are we going to tolerate such things?"

Rabindranath Tagore's English Works

It is significant that Indian Universities should turn to the serious study of Rabindranath Tagore's English works. The Benares Hindu University was the first in India to prescribe his English works as text-books for University examinations, the *Gardener* having had the distinction of figuring in the paper on lyric poetry for the M. A. degree examination. Rabindranath's *Hungry Stone*, *Stories* and *Gora* have also been prescribed from time to time, as books for rapid reading, at the Admission and Intermediate ex-

annations of the University. But the most striking proof of the growing appreciation of his English works at Indian Universities is furnished by the fact that an American lady, Miss Dimmitt, Professor of English at the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, has just come as a research student to spend a short time at the English Department of the Benares Hindu University, to write a thesis on Rabindranath Tagore as a dramatist with special reference to his *King of the Dark Chamber*. The Head of the Department, Prof. P. Seshadri, is the official "supervisor" of the thesis which is being written for an American University. Apart from the appreciation of Rabindranath's dramatic genius which the writing of the thesis implies, it is significant of the unique position of the English language in the world of to-day, that an American should write a thesis on the work in English of a contemporary Indian writer at a Hindu University in Benares under the official supervision of an Indian approved for the purpose by a University in America.

X

It is certainly good and necessary that theses should be written on the dramatic genius of Rabindranath Tagore. But, if we are not mistaken, the usual practice is for theses to be based on the original works of an author, not on their translations, even though the translations be by the author himself. *The King of the Dark Chamber* in its English version undoubtedly possesses much merit; but justice to the poet constrains us to say that it can never be a substitute for the Bengali original. The English version is not racy of the Indian soil, and does not possess the music of the original, nor the haunting spiritual yearning pervading many scenes. Miss Dimmitt would do well to study the original in addition to the English version. And in the Hindu University itself she would find some persons able to help her in such study.

India's and Japan's Military Expenditure

In the Indian budget for 1925-26, the revenues are shown as totalling 133 crores and 68 lakhs of rupees and the total expenditure as 130 crores and 44 lakhs. Out of this sum, military expenditure accounts for 53 crores and 95 lakhs, or in round numbers

57 crores of rupees. In 1924-25 our military expenditure was 57 crores 43 lakhs.

In the Japanese budget for the year 1924-25, the ordinary and extraordinary revenue comes up to 1,409,054,086 yen, and the ordinary and extraordinary expenditure also reaches the same amount. This sum is roughly equivalent to at least 211 crores 35 lakhs and 81 thousand rupees. That is to say, the revenue of Japan is more than one and a half times as much as that of India.

Out of this revenue, Japan's ordinary expenditure for the War Department is 179,452,000 yen and extraordinary expenditure for the same 13,661,000 yen; total 193,113,000 yen, or roughly 28 crores 96 lakhs 69 thousands and five hundred rupees.

This means that, though Japan's income exceeds that of India by more than fifty per cent, her expenditure on her War Department is about half that of India.

In addition Japan has also a Navy Department, which India has not. For this Navy Department Japan's ordinary expenditure was 126,322,000 yen and extraordinary expenditure 112,268 yoe;—total 238,590,000 yen, or roughly 35 crores 78 lakhs 85 thousand rupees.

Taking the expenditure for both the War and Navy Departments together, we find it to be 64 crores 75 lakhs 54 thousand and five hundred rupees.

So for defence Japan spent 64 crores out of a revenue of 211 crores. In 1925-26 we are to spend for that purpose about 57 crores out of 133 crores. Our percentage of expenditure is therefore much higher than that of Japan.

It should also be borne in mind that by spending a lower percentage of her revenues Japan has both an Army and a Navy and that the two are so efficient as to suffice to keep her independent and make her respected and feared by the great Powers of the world.

By spending a higher percentage of her revenues than Japan, India has only an army but no navy, making her dependent on England for protection from attacks by war vessels. Moreover, India's army has a standard of efficiency which did not deter even small and backward Afghanistan from invading India some time ago, and which serves to keep up the Afghan and the Russian bogey.

Nor must we forget that India has no indigenous air force. Her air force is entirely manned by foreigners. And her artillery

(except some mountain batteries) is also manned by non-Indians.

In countries which are foremost in war, very great importance is attached to air planes, but in India Indians are excluded from the air force. They are also almost entirely excluded from the artillery. And, needless to add, Indians have no navy and consequently no place in a navy.

Such is the position of India and Indians, though her expenditure for defence and offence absorbs a larger proportion of her revenue than Japan's.

This is the result of the comparison taking the figures for India for 1925-26. In the five years immediately preceding this year, our military expenditure was even higher. According to *the Bengalee*, it was 5743 lakhs in 1924-25, 5923 lakhs in 1923-24, 6527 lakhs in 1922-23, 6980 lakhs in 1921-22, and 8738 lakhs in 1920-21. This is the price at which we have to purchase *subjection* year after year. Japan purchases her *independence* by paying a lower proportion of her revenue than India as its price. And what Japan spends is paid to her own fighters and manufacturers of munitions and war vessels, etc. On the contrary a very large fraction of India's expenditure goes to the pockets of foreigners.

Unity in Religions and their Evolution

Those who call themselves "Fundamentalists" in America and many other orthodox Christians and possibly also Mahatma Gandhi who called Rammohun Roy a pigmy, may not like the following paragraphs, with which Mr. C. F. Andrews begins his article on "The Body of Humanity" in *The Visvabharati Quarterly*; nevertheless the position taken up therein is right.

"Ever since I was able to think seriously, it has appeared to me self-evident, that if the theory of physical evolution is true, and human life in this planet is the crown of creation, then it is impossible that the religious instinct in man can be a disorderly and chaotic factor in human life,—a mere rivalry of warring creeds. There must be an organic unity between those different creeds, which have persisted in human development,—a relation between them that is intimately spiritual. We can no longer think of each creed as a special creation. The genealogical tree of religion in man's long history has many branches, and these branches

issue from a parent stem; they are not individual and distinct and cut off from one another, as we used to think of them in our pre-Darwinian days.

"Such thoughts have been with me all through my conscious life of seeking after truth. The difficulty has been, to trace out the main directions in which the different branches of religion have grown, and also to relate them to the parent stem. I have come to one personal conclusion, which I have slowly made my own. Just as, amid the many names of those who dealt with the physical evolution of mankind, the name of Darwin stands first as a pioneer and discoverer, so in the realm of religious evolution, Raja Rammohan Roy's name will stand out greatest and highest of all.

"What I am trying to describe in this article as a result of my own conscious experience in thought, owes its outline at least to the extraordinary stimulus which I receive from my first reading of the English works of Raja Rammohan Roy. I would wish to acknowledge this, as a debt which is deeply due, before I go on."

Bengal Widow-Remarriage Conference

A conference to discuss the ways and means of promoting the cause of widow-remarriage in Bengal was held last month in the Albert Hall, Calcutta. There was a large gathering of the Widow-remarriage Associations of Calcutta and mofussil as well as of the supporters of the cause from the different districts of Bengal. Pandit Muralidhar Banerjee, M. A., retired Principal of Calcutta Sanskrit College and President of the Bengal Social Reform League, was voted to the chair. The President delivered a lengthy and appealing speech and the following resolutions were passed:—

"This conference strongly approves of the introduction of widow-remarriage in the Hindu Society and for this purpose the following measures be adopted, viz., (a) carrying on a vigorous propaganda in favour of the reform by publishing booklets showing the opinion of Hindu Sastras in support of the cause delivering lantern lectures, and otherwise; (b) the formation of Widow-remarriage Associations in the districts and subdivisions; (c) creation of a permanent fund; and (d) inviting the co-operation of the various associations for social reform already existing in the country."

"That the Bengal Social Reform League be asked to take early steps to form a sub-committee consisting of representatives of different associations working for the cause to give effect to this resolution."

It is to be hoped the resolutions will be speedily acted upon. The remarriage of young Hindu widows in Bengal is an urgent need not only from the points of view of justice and humanity and for effecting social and moral improvement, but also

from the political point of view. The political strength and rights of the Hindu community in Bengal must go on dwindling, as they have been doing for some time past, with the continual decrease of the Hindu population. The remarriage of widows is one of the means by which this decrease can to some extent be arrested. Of course, we would not have suggested this means if it had been in any way immoral, unspiritual or otherwise detrimental to the best interests of society. But as it is conducive to moral and spiritual improvement and would make for social purity, we have no hesitation in pointing out that it would also prevent to some extent the decrease of the Hindu population in Bengal. For, at present many childless Hindu women of child-bearing age do not become mothers, because they remain widows owing to social custom; and many men, too, remain unmarried owing to paucity of suitable brides.

One other point requires to be mentioned in this connection. Women who would re-marry after being widowed, would be generally of a maturer age than the Hindu spinsters who are married in Bengal, and hence these re-married widows would become mothers at a higher age than the child-mothers of Bengal, and their children are likely to be stronger and healthier than the offspring of those who have been not unaptly styled baby mothers. That would be a national gain. Indirectly, the re-marriage of young widows would have the effect of gradually raising the marriageable age of girls in Bengal; and that would be a very desirable result.

'Bengal Ministers' Salaries Rejected

The Bengal Legislative Council has, by a majority, refused to vote the salaries of the two ministers recently appointed by the Governor of Bengal.

As all political parties are agreed in thinking that there ought to be full autonomy in the provinces, or, in other words, that all subjects ought to be "transferred" to Ministers responsible to the Provincial Councils, all efforts made by Government to prolong the life of dyarchy deserve to fail.

But apart from the question of maintaining, mending or ending dyarchy, the two persons who had been appointed Ministers were not the best available. Among the Hindu members of council, there were abler, more experienced, more public-spirited and better educated men than Raja Manmathanath

Ray Chaudhuri. And among the Moslem members, too, there were better qualified persons than Nawab Saiyid Nawab Ali Chaudhuri. This we say without supporting the idea or the policy that the posts of ministers should be divided proportionately among the religious communities. We are against communal representation and division of posts. There should be everywhere an open door for merit and talent alone.

In placing Nawab Saiyid Nawab Ali Chaudhuri in charge of the Education Department, Lord Lytton proved himself capable of unconscious humour. No one can accuse the Nawab Bahadur of being an illiterate man. But his worst friends will not, we hope, claim on his behalf that he is an educated man, qualified to shape and guide the policy of the Education Department in relation to primary schools, secondary schools, colleges, universities, technological institutions, research institutes, museums, libraries, &c.

The recent performances of Maulvi Fazlul Haque and Sir P. C. Mitter in connection with dyarchy and ministerships have caused much profane mirth. There need not be any betting on who is the greater weather-cock.

Far Eastern Medical Conference in Tokyo

It is reported that a plan has already been perfected to hold a Far Eastern medical conference in Tokyo from Oct. 18, 1925, to Nov. 7, 1926. Invitations have been issued and all the nations of Asia will be represented except Persia and Turkey. The conference will not be exclusive of doctors from European and American countries and doctors from the United States and Cuba are also to be there. The conference will discuss primarily the subject of public health. Two hundred thousand yen, it is said, has been appropriated for entertainment by the Japanese government.

We wish to draw the attention of Indian medical men and national leaders to the above news item. Japan is the only nation in the Orient which has attained the status of nationhood. She is regarded as one of the five great Powers of the world. It is also a fact that possibly Japan stands next to Germany and America in the advancement of Medical Science. Undoubtedly she is not inferior to Great Britain, France and other nations. It is quite fitting for Japan to take the leadership in calling the Far Eastern Medical Conference. We hope that those who are talking about "Federation of the Asiatic peoples" and "closer relation among Asiatic Powers" will do all that is possible so that first-rate medical

men of India be sent in large numbers to participate in this Conference.

Indian medical men should take the leadership in this Conference by presenting original papers on their research. We hope they will take the leadership in having a thorough discussion on the Opium Question from the medical stand-point. This is imperative, because Mr. Campbell, Lord Robert Cecil and others have given the impression in the last International Opium Conference held at Geneva that the people of India demand the continuance of "opium-eating which is not injurious to the people of India."

Then again in sending the delegation of medical men to Japan to attend the conference, steps should be taken so that they might take advantage of the opportunity to study the Japanese educational system, Japanese governmental machinery, Japanese commercial and industrial expansion and scientific progress. We hope that the All-India Medical Association, if there is any such organization, will take the lead in this matter. We hope that all the medical colleges of India will be represented by Indian professors in this conference. We hope that the Hindu University, Aligarh University, the Visvabharati and National Medical Colleges will play their part in participating in the proposed Far Eastern Medical Congress to be held in Tokio in 1926. There is not much time to lose and we expect that all necessary information about the conference can be secured from the Education Minister at Tokio or Japanese Consul General in India. T. D.

Rockefeller's Present to Tokyo University

Following up the recent appropriation of 1,300,000 yen by the Japanese government toward the rebuilding of the library of the Tokyo Imperial University, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., recently gave as a gift to the University \$1,600,000 or nearly 4,000,000 yen, to assist in the reconstruction and to replace books burnt in the 1923 quake. The gift was made without strings attached to it and its disbursement is laid in the hands of President Kozai of the University, Prof. M. Anasaki, chief librarian, and Dr. Takuma Dan. Mr. Rockefeller in a cable to Mr. Kozai said that he was pleased to assist in hastening the day when the University again will be "provided with adequate library facilities."

If Universities are to become centres for original research, then first-rate libraries and laboratories are of equal importance with first-rate professors and research schools. It may be safely asserted that India has not one

first-class library connected with its universities. There are rich Indians who live on their money in various ways of luxury and there are Indian Princes who spend their fortune—which is the blood of poor people—in vicious ways as recent news about "Mr. A" from London indicates. We would like to see that the library established in the Visvabharati be endowed by some Indians with such an amount that it will be developed into the finest of its kind in the world. T. D.

American Women in the Political Field

As the result of the last presidential election in the United States, two women were elected as Governors of the States of Wyoming and Texas; no less than 88 were elected in State legislatures, one Representative in Congress and a Secretary of State for the State of New York. This is tremendous when we compare the achievement with the position of women even ten years ago, when they did not enjoy the right of equal suffrage. The American women have won this position by silent non-violent but active work for more than 100 years. Success of American women is not a unique thing so far as the western world is concerned. T. D.

America Takes Notice of Indian Legislature India Should Call the Far Eastern Immigration Conference.

All important American papers have taken notice of the passage of the bill, by the Assembly at Delhi, proposing reciprocal treatment for the United States and the Colonies which treat Indians as an inferior race. *The New York Evening Post* makes the following comment:—

"The action of the Indian Legislature at Delhi in adopting a reciprocity measure on inferiority is something new in the line of internal relations. Governments like the United States which treat the Hindus as inferior people will in turn be put on the inferiority list by them. The act seems plausible. Among the western nations it seems quite all right to apply to all other nations and peoples a sliding scale of disparaging appraisal—backward peoples here, arrested development there, corrupted, incompetent and the like. By the new Hindu Act the rule will be made to work both ways."—*New York Evening Post*, February 5, 1925.

Of course, the Indian people must not forget that they cannot expect equal treatment in America unless they can secure

equal status within the British Empire and in their own country. In their own country the Indian people are held to be inferior and incompetent by the British overlords and thus they have not full share in their own government. Indeed, the very sense of self-respect of the people of India has forced them to adopt reciprocity legislation. But this Immigration question has a tremendous significance in international relations. Indian statesmen should take note that the Immigration discrimination in the Anglo-Saxon world is directed against India, China and Japan. It is directed against Eastern Asia where about 900,000,000 people live. The question will never be solved unless China recovers her full sovereignty by abolishing all forms of extra-territorial jurisdiction and India achieves at least the same kind of independence as Canada or Australia enjoys. It is nothing unusual to suggest that because China, Japan and India have common interests involved in world affairs, far-sighted Indian statesmen and scholars of these countries should co-operate in solving these problems in a way which will lead to better understanding between the East and the West.

As a matter of concrete suggestion for Indian statesmen who are discussing the probability of holding a congress of all Asiatic nations in India, possibly through the leadership of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (as suggested in the *Marhatta*), in the near future, we propose that India should call for a Far Eastern Immigration Conference to be held in Cawnpore during the session of All-India National Congress during the Christmas week of 1925 in which all the peoples of the Far East particularly are to be invited. Of course, other nations will be allowed to participate. Japan is going to hold a Far Eastern Medical Conference in Tokio in 1926. Is it too much to expect that India will take the leadership in calling the Far Eastern Immigration Conference in the near future?

Nepal and Her Future

The abolition of slavery in Nepal by the wise ruler of the land of the Gurkhas has attracted world-wide attention. *The New York Times*, which rarely pays any attention to what is happening in India and the adjacent countries like Tibet and Afghanistan, has devoted about two columns of its

valuable space on the front page to this generous act of the ruler and a brief history of Nepal and its traditional friendship with the British Government.

The potentialities of Nepal are no less than those of Afghanistan or Switzerland. That spread of education and democratic institutions, which are the most important requisites for national awakening and national greatness, would receive greater attention from the Nepal Durbur, is our earnest hope. But if Nepal is to attain that status which Switzerland enjoys among the comity of nations, steps must be taken to establish international relations. Nepal's great asset is its friendship with Great Britain. It is known to all that Great Britain, through the recent treaty with Afghanistan, has made it easier for the Amir to establish independent foreign relations with various powers, particularly Russia, France and Turkey. Will not the same thing be possible for Nepal?

We are inclined to believe that the British Government in India will have to depend more upon Nepal's support than that of Afghanistan, to check Russian penetration in Central Asia. Nepal will have more to do with Britain in North-Eastern India, particularly in the affairs of Tibet and South-Western China and even Mongolia. Closer relation between India and Nepal in terms of offensive and defensive alliance is desirable for the preservation of mutual interests. We hope that those who are directing the affairs of Nepal will do their best to cement friendship between Britain and Nepal on the basis of equality. In this connection, may we not suggest that a Nepalese Consulate-General at Delhi or Calcutta and a Nepalese Legation at London will be the first steps to enter into the comity of nations? Some time ago, *Forward* of Calcutta published a letter from a Bengalee gentleman, a Professor of English in the Maharaja's College, Nepal, to the effect that some Asian State should take the initiative to nominate Nepal as one of the members of the League of Nations. There is no harm in making an attempt to enter the League by Nepal, and if that is to be done at all, it is most desirable that steps should be taken for Great Britain or India as a friend or ally of Nepal to take the initiative to render this friendly service of nominating Nepal as a member of the League. Nepal, in entering the League of Nations, will have to pay for her membership by bearing a

share of the burden of maintaining that international diplomatic body; and this fact must not be forgotten. The amount that will be necessary to meet the demands of the League of Nations, may be as well used by establishing a Nepalese Legation in London and Nepalese Consulate-General in India. May we not suggest that, as the future of Nepal depends upon the increase of efficiency of the people of that State, it is necessary that first-rate Nepalese scholars be sent to foreign lands to acquire scientific education?

Nepal's future is intimately connected with that of India. This being the case, it will be well that some Nepalese students be given opportunity, by special arrangement, to study in the Visvabharati, Hindu University and Science College of Calcutta University.

T. D.

The British Government's Opium Policy

In a telegraphic account of the proceedings of the International Opium Conference, dated Geneva, Feb. 7, published in the *New York Times*, we read:—

India, fighting to maintain the Indians' right to eat opium if they wished to do so, announced that India would accept the American principle if it were applied only to opium exported, and not to opium grown.

India never did anything of the kind. It is the foreign government of India which has been misrepresenting India. This is clear from several well-known facts. All Indian-owned newspapers of India, as far as we are aware, have condemned the opium policy of its Government. The Indian National Congress is against it. A representation signed by Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and others and presented to the Geneva Conference condemns the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium for any other purpose or requirement than medical and scientific. Mahatma Gandhi, as president of Congress and representative of our people, sent a telegram to the Conference conveying the same opinion. Lastly, the Indian Legislative Assembly has recently condemned the opium policy of Government and demanded an enquiry.

The telegraphic message from which we have quoted above opens thus:—

GENEVA, Feb. 7 (Associated Press).—China, following the United States, dropped out of the International Opium Conference today, thus producing another dramatic situation which had as its

climax a violent attack on Stephan G. Porter, head of the American delegation, by J. J. Loudon, Dutch Minister in Paris, who is known as the master diplomat of the conference.

In ignorance of the storm, Representative Porter packed his trunk and with Dr. Rupert Blue left for Paris, en route to Washington, where he will make a personal report to the State Department and probably to President Coolidge.

Alfred Sze, Chinese Minister at Washington, heading his nation's delegation here, followed the same method as Mr. Porter. He did not appear at today's plenary session of the conference, called to discuss the draft of the anti-narcotic convention but sent his personal secretary with a letter to Dr. Herluf Zahle, President of the Conference, announcing the withdrawal of the Chinese delegation and a memorandum setting forth the reasons for this action.

Mr. Sze recalled, he had always held that no proposal was acceptable to China unless it gave definite assurance that the legalized traffic in opium for smoking would be ended within a reasonable time.

"It is apparent now from the proposals made by the delegations of Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and Portugal and insisted upon by them that the Governments they represent are not at this time prepared to agree to adopt measures which will meet the desires of the Chinese Government, his communication continued.

"China sincerely hopes that the policies of these governments will have so altered that they can see their way to the common adoption of measures that will lead to the early total suppression of that legalized traffic which now is bringing such misery and moral degradation to hundreds of thousands of the citizens of China living within their respective territories."

The reasons for America's withdrawal the Conference are stated in a memorandum from which we quote the opening paragraphs.

"The League of Nations on October 8, 1923 extended an invitation to the powers signatory to The Hague convention, including the United States to participate in an international conference called for the purpose of giving effect to the following principles, subject to reservations made by certain nations, regarding the smoking of opium:

"Firstly, if the purpose of the Hague Opium Convention is to be achieved according to its spirit and true intent, it must be recognized that the use of opium products for other than medical and scientific purposes is abuse and not legitimate.

"Secondly, in order to prevent abuse of these products it is necessary to exercise control of the production of raw opium in such a manner that there shall be no surplus available for non-medical and non-scientific purposes."

CITES CONGRESS ORDERS

"The joint resolution adopted by the Congress of the United States on May 15, 1924, authorizing our participation in the present conference quoted the principles referred to in the preamble and expressly stipulated 'that the representatives of the United States shall sign no agreement which does not fulfil the conditions necessary for suppression of the narcotic drug traffic as set forth in the preamble.'

"Despite over two months of discussion and repeated adjournments, it now clearly appears that the purpose for which the conference was called cannot be accomplished. The reports of the various committees plainly indicate that there is no likelihood under present conditions that the production of raw opium and coca leaves will be restricted to the medicinal and scientific needs of the world. In fact, the nature of the reservations shows that no appreciable reduction in raw opium is to be expected."

The Salt Duty

By a majority of votes the Indian Legislative Assembly had reduced the salt duty from Re. 1-4 to Re. 1-0 per maund. The Council of State restored it to the former figure. When the matter was again placed before the Assembly and the members were told that if the duty were reduced by 4 annas per maund, relief would not be afforded to the provincial exchequers to the extent that had been done, most of the M. L. A. s voted in favour of Re 1-4 !

The Inchcape Committee had recommended that the military budget should not exceed fifty crores of rupees and had pronounced their expert opinion that that was a practicable limit. But in the budget for 1925-26, the military department absorbs more than 56 crores of rupees. Why could not this enormous figure be reduced in order to reduce the salt tax or abolish the cotton excise duty ? We propose to show that though Japan has a far stronger and more efficient army than India, and a navy to boot, she spends a smaller fraction of her revenues for her army and navy than India does for her army alone. The Finance Member's argument is always the stereotyped one that if some popular demand has to be met, some other popular demand cannot be met. Why should not extravagant civil and military expenditure be cut down ?

The abolition or reduction of the salt duty is generally advocated on the ground that it is a necessary of life, particularly for the poor, and hence the poor man's salt ought not to be taxed. It is a just plea. But it must be said that so far as India's poor are concerned, a reduction of the price of salt to the extent of four annas per maund could not have made the commodity cheaper for them than it is ; for there are not many among them who buy even so much as a seer of salt at a time. If the duty, and consequently the price,

were reduced by ten annas to the maund, the price per seer would be lower than what it now is by one pice. That would be some relief. But a reduction of four annas per maund would not at all bring down the retail price per seer, not to speak of the retail price per any smaller quantity. Of course, any reduction, however small, may be rightly justified on the ground that even if it does not make salt cheaper for the small retail purchaser, it would increase the grocers' profits, and, as they are also part of the people, their enrichment to any extent would mean the enrichment to that extent of the people as a whole.

Reduction may be advocated as a protest against Government's flouting of public opinion and against extravagance in various directions. And in fact, the larger the revenues in the hands of Government, the more extravagant becomes its expenditure.

The Age of Consent

We were glad to read in *The Bengalee* that the Indian Legislative Assembly had passed Mr. Chanda's amendment by sixty-five to twenty-two (Government members remaining neutral) making the age of consent in Sir Hari Singh Gour's Bill sixteen in case of non-marital relations, in place of the present age of twelve and also of fourteen as originally provided in the Bill and supported by the Select Committee.

We were also pleased to read that "Regarding married girls the Assembly, despite opposition from the orthodox section voiced by Pundit Malaviya and Mr. Rangachariar and others and opposition from Government on the ground of a possible serious agitation in the country passed Dr. Datta's motion by forty-five to forty-three votes fixing the age of consent at fourteen in case of marital relations."

We know, of course, that the reactionary and conservative Council of State had still to be reckoned with, but after these votes did not apprehend any danger to the Bill from the Assembly itself. But we were wrong. *The Bengalee* announced next day that Dr. Gour's Bill had been rejected in the Assembly.

As the matter is of great importance, it would be proper to consider in detail the debate on the subject as reported in that paper.

Delhi, Mar. 23.

When the Assembly met after lunch, the further consideration was taken up of the Select

Committee's report on Dr. Gour's Age of Consent Bill.

Mr. Chanda moved an amendment that the age for Consent be raised to sixteen in the case of unmarried girls and fourteen in the case of the married girls. He said there were clearly two cases, one of the relations with a married girl by her husband and the other with an unmarried girl by a man who is not her husband. The consequences of the later case were very deplorable. The girl was an outcaste and if she happened to be a Hindu she might not get married. A girl had no power of understanding what would be the consequences of her foolishness at the age of fourteen.

Of course, Mr. Chanda meant and it is to be understood, that when the male person concerned is not the husband of a girl concerned, the age of consent is to be sixteen that is to say, in the case of unmarried girls the age of consent is to be sixteen, but in the case of a married girl it is to be fourteen in her relation with her husband and sixteen, as against other males.

Mr. Rangachariar: Is there any country where age of the consent is sixteen?

Mr. Chanda: England is one and Egypt has just raised the age of the consent to sixteen.

GOVERNMENT'S POSITION

Sir Alexander Muddiman, explaining the position of the Government said that the House was enacting the criminal law of the land and must not be hasty. He quoted the opinions from the different provinces, official as well as non-official and said that it was unanimously against the raising of the age. The Government would do its best for social reform, but they must have a clear lead. The Home Member emphasised that there was a large volume of opinion against raising the age of consent and this opinion should not be ignored in arriving at the decision. However, the Government Members would not vote on this motion and other official members might vote and speak as they liked. Regarding raising the age outside the marriage tie, the Government would support raising it to thirteen and if the House decided it to be fourteen the Government would have no objection. He did not think the amendment of Mr. Chanda had the support of this house. If there was support, he would be agreeably surprised.

Of course, in the event Sir Alexander had to be "agreeably" surprised. But we do not at all understand why even outside the marriage tie, "the Government would support raising" the age of consent only to thirteen. We do not want the government to be Draconian in the case of any offender of any sort. But we do not see why Government should be overcautious or overtender against those who would injure girls outside the marriage tie. "The Home Member emphasised that there was a large volume of opinion against raising the age of consent, and this opinion should not be ignored in

arriving at the decision." There was at least an equally large volume of adverse opinion in 1891 when it was raised to 12; yet it was raised. *But in consequence not the best evil result has followed.*

Mr. Harbilas Sarda supported the Bill of Dr. Gour. He said that no girl should be married before she was sixteen years of age. The Hindu belief that a girl should be married before the age of puberty was wrong. Public opinion was sufficiently advanced to raise the age of consent to thirteen years at least.

Captain Hira Singh in supporting Mr. Chanda's amendment regretted that, more members of the House did not visit the last Baby Show in Delhi. If they had gone there, they would have seen the rickety children of baby mothers. These children were the result of early marriages. How could such children make a future Sandhurst? People who are opposed to the raising of the age of consent were ruining the future generations of India.

Both Mr. Harbilas Sarda and Captain Hira Singh were quite right; and he is noted that they come from provinces where "martial races" dwell and where education had not made so much progress as in the home lands of some learned and eloquent opponents of the amendments of Mr. Chanda and Mr. Datta.

Dr. Gour agreed that the age of consent could be raised to sixteen for unmarried girls and quoted authority in support, but he advised caution and requested Mr. Chanda to withdraw his motion. The House divided and Mr. Chanda's proposal to raise the age of consent from twelve to sixteen in case of unmarried girls was carried by 65 votes to 22 votes.

Dr. Datta then moved at Mr. Chanda's suggestion that the age of consent in the case of the married girl within the marital relation be raised from twelve to fourteen instead of thirteen as proposed by the Select Committee. He referred to the agitation and the passing of the Act of 1891 and said the arguments used against the raising of the age then were being used to-day. He asked why we wished to raise the age of consent. It was because the evils of early marriages were recognized by all. The last Act was passed in 1891 and it was high time that further step was taken in the direction of the social reform.

Mr. Amarnath Dutt said, though he was in favour of raising the age of consent in the case of unmarried girls, he strongly opposed the age being raised in the case of married girls. The Government constituted as it was by aliens whose social and moral ideas were quite different from those of the people of India, this Government had not any right to legislate and thrust upon an unwilling people a law that no husband could have relations with his wife unless she was thirteen. The present age of twelve must remain and the raising of the age to fourteen or even to thirteen would be to offend the feelings of the people.

Mr. Dutt referred to the "feelings of the people"! Have not the child wives any

feelings or sensations? Does not the whole of society suffer and degenerate because of the untimely subjection of these girls to sexual life and motherhood? Why is it that the alien Government's right to legislate in a matter like this is challenged, when everybody knows and ought to know that this Government has actually legislated in many similar matters already? We cannot understand how any decent man can insist upon a husband being free to "have relations with his wife" even before she is thirteen. The natural instinct of brute beasts is better than that.

Social legislation under present circumstances is not really the act of Government alone, but of a legislature possessing a somewhat representative character.

COL. CRAWFORD'S SUPPORT

Col. Crawford supported the age being raised to fourteen and read out a telegram received from a woman's organisation.

(Mr. Rangachariar.—Do you know the strength of the organisation? When it was started and what its representative character is?)

Col. Crawford strongly asked the Assembly not to shirk its responsibility, but to take a bold step.

Mr. Rangachariar asked his question with impunity, because the Assembly had no woman member to shame him. He ought to know that even a single woman who cries out for justice and humanity to girl wives has a more truly representative character than all the M. L. A.'s combined. And the more so, as in the matter under discussion, the female sex is the aggrieved party whom there was not a single member specially to represent. We are sure, if there is to be any sectional representation at all, special representation of the female sex ought to come before the special representation of any religious community or depressed class. There is no greater depressed class or unrepresented class in India than her women.

RAISING OF THE AGE OPPOSED

Pundit Malaviya opposed the age being raised in a country where unfortunately a large number of early marriages took place. This legislature had no right to pass legislation raising the age in the case of married girls, although individually he would wholeheartedly support the motion of Dr. Datta. Already there was some progress of social reform and the number of early marriages were decreasing. They must therefore trust to social reform and progress in education to act as corrective to the situation.

We are sorry to find Pandit-ji in such company. We should think that the fact that "unfortunately a large number of early

marriages took place" in this country and that leaders like himself have not been able practically to do much to improve the situation, is really a justification for supporting the measure and not for opposing it. If one is practically powerless or without the effective will to do a humane and necessary thing, has one the right to challenge the right of someone else to take a beneficial step? It is too late in the day to call in question the right of Indian legislative bodies to make laws relating to social and religious matters. From the abolition of *suttee* downwards much has been done in that direction, with good results, even when there were no legislative bodies or when the legislative bodies were less representative than they now are.

The progress of social reform and the decrease in the number of child marriages are due more to the efforts of the social reform party (to which the Pandit does not belong) who advocate such legislation and also partly to such legislation itself, than to the obstructive speeches of socially conservative members.

We are believers in social reform and progress in education. But we also believe in quickening their pace by legislation when necessary.

To make mothers of little girls of 13 or 14 is really a crime of which our society has been guilty for generations. Socio-religious sanction has prevented its punishment in courts of law, but the laws of biology and ethics have punished us all the same. If legislatures have the right to make laws against other crimes there can be no objection in principle to making laws against a great social crime.

Mr. Rangachariar in a vigorous speech said 'there was no harm in raising the age to thirteen, but to raise it to fourteen was unwise. If Dr. Datta utilise his eloquence on the platform he would perhaps get the country round to his views in about ten years. It was wise and prudent to proceed slowly and cautiously in this matter. Let it not be forgotten that for one supporter of raising the age of consent in this House there were hundreds outside to oppose it. This legislature should not force down the throat of unwilling people a law making it penal for husband to have relation with his wife. If a husband was sent to jail then he was sent out of caste and the life of the girl would consequently become a misery. In the name of doing good to the girl this House ought not to create misery for her' (Applause).

There is no substantial difference between thirteen and fourteen. When in 1891 it was proposed to raise the age from 10 to 12,

many people said it would be unwise to do so; but the lapse of more than three decades has shown its wisdom.

Dr. Datta and men like him have been utilising their eloquence on platforms for about four times ten years, but without success in bringing round such a learned, intelligent and eloquent man as Mr. Rangachariar to their views. Why then pin one's faith on "about ten years" platform eloquence in the years to come?

Far from being a girl under fourteen, Mr. Rangachariar is not a woman at all. So it is very easy for him to prescribe a delay of ten years, during which numberless girls are to suffer, large numbers of weaklings are to be born and the race is to continue to degenerate. And all because some persons of the male sex have not yet been brought round to Dr. Datta's view!

The proposed law was *not* for "making it penal for a husband to have relation with his wife", it wanted to penalise such relation with only those girls of tender age whom even Mr. Rangachariar and others like him tacitly consider unfit for conjugal life;—for he says that in about ten years such girls would be considered by "the country" immature for conjugal life.

We are sure very few husbands would have been sent to jail if the Bill had been passed. How many husbands have been sent to jail uptodate since in 1891 the age of consent was raised from 10 to 12? The law has really been more an instrument for bettering the treatment of girl-wives and of raising the age of marriage than as means of punishing bad husbands. The proposed law would have been a still better instrument of the kind. Mr. Rangachariar's argument has really a wider application than merely to the proposed law. Would he plead for all crimes committed by husbands against their wives on the ground that "if a husband was sent to jail, then he was sent out of caste and the life of the girl would consequently become a misery?"

Mr. Rangachariar says that if a girl-wife's offending husband were sent to jail, her life would be made miserable. That may be true. But in this imperfect world of ours, we have often to make a choice of evils. Would it not be better for a few bad husbands to undergo just punishment and their wives to be made unhappy to some extent than that a far larger number of child-wives should continue to be victimised

and the race should continue to degenerate without anybody being brought to book?

Sir Henry Stanyon said the relations between the husband and the wife below the age of consent could not be regarded as dishonourable but they were punishable because they were against the interests of the race. Public opinion ought to be mobilised. Criminal law was hardly the proper instrument for social reform and the limit of 14 years would be regarded as in excess. He endorsed the remarks of Mr. Rangachariar in that direction. In summing up, Sir Henry said that he would suggest to leave alone the law as it was to-day.

We endorse Sir Henry Stanyon's view that the relations between the husband and the wife below the age of consent (of course only when they do not involve any bodily suffering) could not be regarded as dishonourable, but they were punishable because they were against the interests of the race. When, however, the wife is so immature that they involve suffering, they are worse than dishonourable.

Criminal law may not be the proper instrument for social reform, but it is necessary when social reform propaganda fails to put an end to or check a social abuse. It also helps forward social reform.

Would Sir Henry Stanyon say in and with reference to his own country that the limit of 14 years would be regarded as in excess?

Sir Henry seems to have forgotten that neither individually nor racially was he in a position to judge where the shoe pinches.

SIR A. MUDDIMAN'S WARNING

Sir Alexander Muddiman gave a serious warning to the Assembly not to go far beyond the opinion. He confessed he was not prepared to see the Assembly show itself in favour of drastically raising the age of consent in the case of married girls by two years. From administrative point of view, Sir Alexander Muddiman feared there might be serious violation if Dr. Datta's amendment was passed. It was a very serious step which the Assembly was asked to take. Let every member consider the consequences before voting in favour of the amendment as the consequences of accepting the amendment would be serious. The Government members would vote against it.

At the time when in 1891 the Bill for the age of consent from 10 to 12 was under discussion, various serious consequences were apprehended, none of which came to pass after the bill became law. When Sir Alexander Muddiman expressed the fear that there might be serious violation if Dr. Datta's amendment was passed, he ought to have supported his apprehension by giving statistics of prosecutions for violating the present age of consent law since 1891 upto date. As lakhs of girls are married before

12 and even before 10, it would have been instructive and would have given the members some idea of the forces making for violation, if such figures had been quoted. It may be asked, what is the use of making a law which must largely remain a dead letter? One may reply that it is needed if only for its moral effect and influence.

The Assembly divided and amidst loud applause Dr. Datta's motion to raise the age of consent to fourteen in the case of married girls was carried by a majority of two votes, forty-five being for and forty-three against it.

The clause as amended was put and carried by fifty-five against twenty-three votes.

Delhi, Mar. 24.

After recess Dr. Gour's Age of Consent Bill was further considered. Discussions on various amendments being over Sir A. Muddiman rose to express Government's attitude to the Bill. He said that the House superseding the recommendation of the Select Committee altered the age of consent outside and inside marital relations to 16 and 14 years respectively. That was too big a change, considering that the present law laid down 12 as the age of consent for all purposes. He was afraid if the house wanted to pass the Bill as it now stood, he would have to oppose it on behalf of the Government. The Government of India was not aware of local Governments' opinion on the matter yet and he moved that the debate on the Bill be adjourned till September when he said the Government would be able to make its considered statement.

Mr. Jinnah opposed the adjournment motion. He said he found no reason to adjourn passage of the Bill. The House after long deliberation decided to raise the age of consent to this figure. Let the Bill be passed he said, and let it go to the Council of State and it will leave ample time for the Government to try to amend it before it is passed into law.

Sir Muddiman then withdrew his motion. But Pandit Malaviya stood up to move that further consideration of the Bill be adjourned. But he was evidently out of order as a similar motion was just withdrawn. Pandit Malaviya then remarked that the Bill having been vitally altered required re-circulation. The motion for passage of the Bill was then put to vote and lost by 54 votes against 36.

There is one feature of the debate which, in spite of its infructuous character, seems to be hopeful. None of those who opposed the raising of the age of consent contended that a girl was fit for sexual life and maternity before she had completed the fourteenth year of her age. And they also appeared tacitly or explicitly to hold that social reform was the proper means to prevent consummation of marriage and maternity before the fifteenth year.

May it, therefore, be hoped that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Rangachariar and other opponents of the amendments

would make unceasing efforts to raise the marriageable age of girls to a minimum of fourteen? For that is the only effective means for preventing maternity before fifteen.

One thing might have been done which has not been done. It is generally a sound principle that no penal law ought to have a retrospective effect. The present age of consent inside and outside marital relations is twelve. It was proposed to raise it to fourteen. So those whose conduct was quite lawful according to the present law might have had the feeling that they were offenders if the limit had been raised, even if they were not brought before a court of justice. For this reason, the age of consent in marital relations might have been raised to fourteen years with this proviso that this section was to come into effect after two years. Sometimes laws are passed with similar provisos.

A woman cannot dispose of her property before she is 21, but she can "consent" to her ruin, body and soul, when she is only twelve! Such an absurd incongruity should be put an end to at once. A woman's body and soul are infinitely more precious than any property. So the goal to be reached is that *outside marital relations* the age of consent should be twenty-one. Inside the marital relation it may be sixteen as in England and Egypt.

Contradictory arguments have been urged against raising the age of consent inside marital relations. It was said by some that if the age were raised, the law would remain a dead letter—we need not inquire why. It was said by others that the raising of the age would be followed by serious consequences, that there would be serious agitation, that people's feelings would be hurt, etc.

Now, if a law remains a dead letter, there cannot obviously be any serious consequences, such as stormy agitation, etc. On the other hand, if there be serious consequences as the result of the passing of a law, it must be because of the enforcement of the law—because of the law being set in motion against offenders; not if it remain a dead letter.

Moreover, if the argument that the law, if passed, would have remained a dead letter, be true, the opposition of those who say so loses force. If a law must needs be still-born, why bother about it, one way or the other? But our opinion is that, though if the age of consent inside marital relations had been raised, there would not have been many prosecutions, it would still have acted

as a deterrent by its moral effect as setting up a standard of conduct and as an indirect aid to social reform, and so it would not have been altogether a dead letter.

Sir Alexander Muddiman's profession of fear of agitation sounds somewhat curious. When repressive laws are passed in the teeth of opposition in and outside the councils, where remains this fear of agitation? The real truth is that the Government considers the opposition to repressive laws as confined to the 'microscopic minority' of educated men, whereas the cry of religion in danger may convulse the masses. The latter contingency Government does not like to face.

Rabindranath Tagore on His Mission

After returning to India Rabindranath Tagore stayed for a few days in Bombay. Taking advantage of that opportunity, a representative of the Free Press interviewed him. Among other questions he asked :—

Q. Can you explain to me more fully the purpose and method of your mission of cultural unity?

A. My idea is to establish contact with the whole world. In my view, India should not remain in utter obscurity. We should be able to take our part in helping the world in her present situation and occupy an honoured place in the reconstruction of civilization. I also know that the West is eager to know the East and specially India and to seek help from the store of wisdom which has come to us from ancient times. It is our duty in India to fulfil these expectations. I hope the movement of Visvabharati will help to bring India out from her spiritual and intellectual segregation into contact with the West. This is the one service I can render to my Motherland. We have to know that in the modern age the problems of each country are parts of the world problem. No country to-day can live segregated. And until we (Indians) find our true place in this greater world we shall remain obscure and neglected, and there will be no chance of our real civilization asserting itself in our life and making its contribution to world progress.

HOW TO BE ACHIEVED

Q. How do you propose to achieve your object?

A. By some good chance, I have been able to win my place in the heart of the world outside India. Therefore, I feel a responsibility born of this special position. I want to take advantage of this and open a channel of communication that would link India with other countries. India should be linked both with the East and the West. It is for that purpose that I travelled to China and Japan. As a result of my visit to those far Eastern countries, something was accomplished towards the fulfilment of this object. For it is my belief that the recent visit to the Far East has helped to establish a cultural connection between

India, China and Japan. After this, I have been seeking to attempt a similar contact with the Western countries, and my conviction is that if I succeed in however meagre a measure, in my mission, I shall have done something which would not be without permanent results.

Another question which was put to the poet ran as follows :—

Q. Do you think that in any scheme of life the West and the East, with their seemingly conflicting interests and cultures, can fit in harmoniously with each other?



C. F. Andrews and Rabindranath Tagore

A. Yes, I think they can. When geographic boundaries were real even the people developed unity among themselves. Those people who formed that bond of unity came to be great. They were great in their literature, science and arts. Those who always fought against that unity, sooner or later perished and went down in the scale of civilization. Conditions have now changed. It is no longer individuals who have met together within geographical limits. Different human races have come together closer than ever before owing to easier communication and this nearness to each other must be developed into a living and real fellowship. Until all the races of the world become fully conscious of their unity—the unity of the interests and culture—there can be no lasting peace. The fulfilment of the mission of world unity depends upon the realisation of this great truth by mankind.

A GIFT TO THE COUNTRY

"Through Visvabharati", continued the Poet, "I endeavour to give expression to the truth of the

indivisible entity of the human race. This institution is going to be my last gift to my country. I hope it will be accepted. I also hope India may have reason to be proud of the fact that this message of world-unity first took shape on her soil. It is this expression of truth and nothing more, the expression of faith in the ideal of human oneness and the divinity in man that the "Visvabharati" seeks to achieve. This is also the Truth which the great utterances of our Upanishads preach and it is the special spiritual mission of India to give expression to this Truth by precept and practice and to secure its acceptance by the whole world. This is the voice of India and the voice of Truth.

Asked whether he did not think that his efforts were premature and he was attempting the impossible, Rabindranath replied :—

Does not the Gita warn us: "Action is thy cure(?), not the fruits thereof."

It is the "effort that counts and not the result." The effort is the most valuable of all things. I do not know whether my efforts will have any effect nor do I seek to know. I know it is the truth, and I know that Truth has to be asserted against all contradictions. Only Action is our duty,—not the greed of results. I know that it can be said that my message has not been fully accepted by my country. I mean that I have struggled for the co-operation of my countrymen in my work. I have sought acceptance of my work at their hands by their sharing in my labours. I have not so far fully succeeded in enlisting their active support. But this does not discourage me. The fact that the vision of Truth has been seen and testimony has been borne to it even by a few seekers after truth is quite enough.

India's Segregation

Rabindranath Tagore was also asked :

Q. Do you not recognise that the practical difficulties in the way of India accepting your message are great, specially in view of the complications arising from her political subjection ?

A. Yes, I do recognize that the difficulties in the way of our countrymen accepting the message of world-unity are very great. What counts is not the difficulty. In any great cause, these are bound to be seemingly insurmountable obstacles. What I deplore, is not so much the lack of progress and practical achievement in the direction of the ideal as the inertia and apathy even to visualize the possibilities of such an ideal. India is suffering from the effects of segregation. It seems exceedingly difficult for us to see things in their proper perspective. We have no right background against which to place our own experience in the different departments of life. The outcome of this is that it makes our national values and efforts so petty and futile as to shut out all possibilities of our spiritual expansion. The process of enlightenment is highly difficult in this country owing to our poverty of mind. We do not lack in intelligence. We are spiritual by temperament and race, and there can be our national life. I do recognize that our system of education, the system of administration and a number of extraneous causes have all con-

tributed to our degeneracy. I do not blame our people, but I do feel that we have lost and continue to lose faith in ideals and are becoming more and more utilitarian and materialistic. I would even say, more materialistic than the West.

Our Materialism

The last sentence in Rabindranath's reply, quoted above, naturally made the interviewer inquire whether the poet really maintained that we are more materialistic than the West ; whereupon he said :—

Yes. In the broad sense of the term. What is 'materialism,' if it is not the formalism that dominates our religion? The belief that external observances have spiritual meanings,—is that not a materialistic view? Is it not materialistic to believe that sin can be washed by water, by touching people's feet or taking dust? The fact is, our country comprises a multitude of races in various stages of development, acting and inter-acting on each other, until our average standard has gone down. It is difficult to raise the average level.

OUR HANDICAP

Further, we have a mill-stone round our neck—the complex social organism which had its existence purely as a device to regulate the inter-relationship of the different groups of people at varying stages of development. This has now taken root as a part of religion and imparted sanctity even to our dividing castes. The continuance of our old social organism, after it had ceased to have any meaning or purpose has helped to raise walls around us, to perpetuate our differences and to offer permanent obstacles to our inherent natural tendency to unite. The artificial barriers which divide us had their origin in causes which have now ceased to operate and can be overcome only if we can cultivate the Will to overcome them. Our greatest handicap is not permanence except without concurrence and complicity. Our real difficulty is the mixing up of the fact of the existence of these barriers with the religious conception that they are rightly there, that they had always been and will always be there. I cannot think of a greater anachronism than the belief deliberately cultivated in the name of religion that, from the beginning of beginnings, the Lord of all creations had instituted all our differences as an abiding factor, which no course of evolution can change. This handicap is peculiar to our country.

CONCLUSION

Q. Is not this conception of 'materialism' different from the common usage of the term?

A. Yes. I am using the word 'materialism' in its wide sense. I imply by 'materialism' the meaningless ritualism, which has become a large part of us. Ritualism may have its place in life. But only that ritualism is permissible which does not obstruct or obscure the vision of the unity of life. The realisation of unity lies essentially through the mind and the soul, and not through the body or the object. There is always scope for unity, when, even though.

we are seemingly divided by vast differences, we accept the dividing medium as a fact and not as the law of life. I only want to emphasize that great as our difficulties are, we must rise to the height of our rich legacy of spiritual tradition and remind ourselves that we are sons and servants of all humanity, remaining through success and failure constant to that ideal.

Curious Explanation of "Tower of Silence"

The reader is aware that the Parsis, who are Zoroastrian by faith, neither bury nor cremate their dead, but place them in towers known as towers of silence. But *La Nacion*, a Spanish paper of Buenos Aires, dated 29th December, 1924, prints a picture of a tower of silence with a few lines of description which mean:

"This is probably the first photograph of one of the famous 'towers of silence' of India. The British Government is studying how to suppress them. Rudyard Kipling has described marvellously these tombs for living men where the violators of the religious laws are put!"

We do not know where Rudyard Kipling has given this marvellous description. But it is certainly a most marvellous misrepresentation of India to describe a tower of silence as a tomb of live men which the British Government is endeavouring to suppress. The philanthropic zeal of European bureaucrats and missionaries has been credited with many wonderful achievements; but it is to be hoped the conversion of a repository for dead bodies into one for entombing living men is not one of them. We wonder where the editor of *La Nacion* got hold of this malicious traveller's tale. As we have never maligned South America, we do not deserve this good turn.

Lesson of America's Withdrawal from Opium Conference.

From the American action withdrawing from the International Opium Conference, Indian statesmen have much to learn. The American delegation under the leadership of Hon. Stephen G. Porter played the honest and heroic part of upholding a principle. They even were willing to make certain concessions about the method of carrying out the programme and wanted to extend the time for the final abolition of opium-smoking etc., but they flatly refused to be a party to such a compromise as would mean abandonment of the principle. Indian statesmen

are often asked to participate in Commissions and Conferences to decide upon questions involving vital interests of the Indian nation. It is invariably the case that some of them sacrifice national interests by making compromises with the British statesmen. Let us hope Indian statesmen of whatever school will learn from American, Japanese, Chinese and Turkish statesmen that they must not sacrifice India's national interests to please their British masters. British people and statesmen are free people and they at heart loathe those contemptible Indians who like slaves submit to them and sell away Indian national interest, and the Indian people cannot but have a feeling of contempt for Indian leaders who betray them in the council of the nation or in their dealings with British statesmen.

In connection with the last International Opium Conference, one thing must never be forgotten by the people of India, viz., that India has been betrayed internationally by the British Government and the so-called representatives of India. It has been reported that the British officials representing India were willing to accept the American programme of limitation of production of opium for medicinal and scientific purposes so far as the export opium was concerned, but refused to agree to any such proposition so far as home consumption in India was concerned. This makes it clear that the British Government has a double standard of international morality, one for Britain and one for India; and it does not matter to the British Government, if the people of India are drugged to denigration.

Jyotirindranath Tagore.

By the death of Jyotirindranath Tagore, at the age of 76, Bengal loses one of the few surviving members of an earlier generation of Bengalis who were inspired with love of the motherland and who tried to serve their countrymen in various fields of culture as well as of business enterprise.

He wrote some original plays in Bengali which were very popular in their day both among readers and playgoers. One of these plays, *Puruvikram*, received high praise from Prof. Sylvain Levi in its Gujarati translation, the learned reviewer mistaking the translation for an original production.

He was one of those who in those early days got a good play written by offering a



Jyotirindranath Tagore

prize. He was a good actor and encouraged others possessed of histrionic talent.

Jyotirindranath later gave up writing original works and devoted himself to translating books from Sanskrit, English, French and Marathi. The output of his translations was enormous and their quality high. He was, we believe, the first among his contemporaries to translate from the French. His translations of Tilak's, *Gita-rahasya* and Mrs. M. G. Ranade's reminiscences of her husband were highly appreciated.

He composed some hymns and other songs, (and set numerous hymns and other songs)

to music—including many by his brother Rabindranath Tagore. He was well versed in both instrumental and vocal music. For some time he edited, one after another, two musical periodicals, named *Vinabadini* and *Sangit-Prakasika*.

He was possessed of no mean artistic gifts. He cultivated the hobby of drawing portraits of relatives, friends and acquaintances at sight. These were thought so highly of that Mr. William Rothenstein has published some of them with an introduction.

Phrenology and spiritualism were among his other hobbies.

He was instrumental in founding the Bharat Sangit Samaj in Calcutta for the cultivation of music and the histrionic art.

He was the founder of the Bengali magazine Bharati.

In the days of his youth, there used to be held in Calcutta a patriotic annual fair and festival, called the Hindu Mela, in which speeches were made, patriotic poems were recited, national songs were sung, paintings by Indian artists exhibited, indigenous manufacture kept for show and sale, various feats of strength and skill performed, etc. Jyotirindranath was one of the promoters of this Mela. He himself underwent training in wrestling and horsemanship. He was also a fearless huntsman, though mostly innocent of bloodshed.

In social reform, particularly in removing the purdah, he was an ardent supporter of his elder brother Satyendranath Tagore. He was so great an enthusiast that he and his wife would go out together on two Arabs to the Maidan, where they rode at full gallop. Even now in purdah-ridden Bengal, the most go-ahead reformers would consider this going too far.

For some time he tried to promote inland navigation, incurring enormous losses in the undertaking. He also engaged in the jute business and in indigo-planting.

During the latter part of his life he lived in retirement at Ranchi, where he had built a house on a hill-top, with a garden, a grotto, and a chapel on the highest peak for the worship of the One, Formless, Supreme Spirit. He continued his work of translation until his last illness. He had some advanced theories of education, according to which he taught some grandchildren of his brother Satyendranath Tagore. He had a genial personality and was a perfect gentleman. In youth he was noted for his bright and fair complexion and his strikingly handsome manly figure.

In his youngest brother Rabindranath's "Reminiscences" we get many tantalising glimpses of Jyotirindranath. Writes the poet:—

My fourth brother Jyotirindra was one of the chief helpers in my literary and emotional training. He was an enthusiast himself and loved to evoke enthusiasm in others. He did not allow the difference between our ages to be any bar to my free intellectual and sentimental intercourse with him. This great boon of freedom which he allowed me, none else would have dared to do; many even blamed him for it. His companionship made it possible for me to shake off my shrinking sensitiveness. It was as necessary for my soul after

its rigorous repression during my infancy as are the monsoon clouds after a fiery summer.

"But for such snapping of my shackles I might have become crippled for life. Those in authority are never tired of holding forth the possibility of the abuse of freedom as a reason for withholding it, but without that possibility freedom would not be really free. And the only way of learning how to use properly a thing is through its misuse. For myself, at least, I can truly say that what little mischief resulted from my freedom always led the way to the means of curing mischief. I have never been able to make my own anything which they tried to compel me to swallow by getting hold of me, physically or mentally, by the ears. Nothing but sorrow have I ever gained except when left freely to myself.

"My brother Jyotirindra unreservedly let me go my own way to self-knowledge, and only since then could my nature prepare to put forth its thorns, it may be, but likewise its flowers. This experience of mine has led me to dread, not so much evil itself, as tyrannical attempts to create goodness. Of punitive police, political or moral, I have a wholesome horror. The state of slavery which is thus brought on is the worst form of cancer to which humanity is subject.

"My brother at one time would spend days at his piano engrossed in the creation of new tunes. Showers of melody would stream from under his dancing fingers, while Akshoy Batu and I, seated on either side, would be busy fitting words to the tunes as they grew into shape to help to hold them in our memories. This is how I served my apprenticeship in the composition of songs."

These extracts show to what extent the poet is indebted to his fourth brother for the development of his genius.

The reader of the poet's "Reminiscences" will also remember the paragraphs beginning,

"My fourth brother, Jyotirindra, was responsible for a political association of which old Rajnarain Bose was the president. Mere child as I was I also was a member."

We need not quote the description of all the doings of this association, but one passage must be reproduced.

"My brother Jyotirindra began to busy himself with a national costume for all India, and submitted various designs to the association. The *dhoti* was not deemed business-like; trousers were too foreign; so he hit upon a compromise which considerably detracted from the *dhoti* while failing to improve the trousers. That is to say, the trousers were decorated with the addition of a false *dhoti*-fold in front and behind. The fear-some thing that resulted from combining a turban with a *sola-topee* our most enthusiastic member would not have had the temerity to call ornamental. No person of ordinary courage could have dared it, but my brother unflinchingly wore the complete suit in broad day-light, passing through the house of an afternoon to the carriage waiting outside, indifferent alike to the stare of relation or friend, door-keeper or coachman. There may be many brave Indian ready to die for his country, but there are but few, I am sure, who even for the good of the nation would face the public streets in such pan-Indian garb."

We shall close this note with one more extract—a long one—from “My Reminiscences.”

“Lured by an advertisement in some paper, my brother Jyotirindra went off one afternoon to an auction sale, and on his return informed us that he had bought a steel hulk for seven thousand rupees; all that now remained being to put in an engine and some cabins for it to become a full-fledged steamer.

“My brother must have thought it a great shame that our countrymen should have their tongues and pens going, but not a single line of steamers. As I have narrated before, he had tried to light matches for his country, but no amount of rubbing availed to make them strike. He had also wanted power-looms to work, but after all his travail, only one little country towel was born, and then the loom stopped. And now that he wanted Indian steamers to ply, he bought an empty old hulk, which, in due course, was filled, not only with engines and cabins but with loss and ruin as well.

“And yet we should remember that all the loss and hardship due to his endeavours fell on him alone, while the gain of experience remained in reserve for the whole country. It is these uncalculating, unbusinesslike spirits who keep the business fields of the country flooded with their activities. And, though the flood subsides as rapidly as it comes, it leaves behind fertilising silt to enrich the soil. When the time for reaping arrives no one thinks of these pioneers; but those who have cheerfully staked and lost their all, during life, are not likely, after death, to mind this further loss of being forgotten.

“On one side was the European Flotilla Company, on the other, my brother Jyotirindra alone; and how tremendous waxed that battle of the mercantile fleets, the people of Khulna and Barisal may still remember. Under the stress of competition, steamer was added to steamer, loss piled on loss, while the income dwindled till it ceased to be worth while to print tickets. The golden age dawned on the steamer service between Khulna and Barisal. Not only were the passengers carried free of charge, but they were offered light refreshments *gratis* as well! Then was formed a band of volunteers who, with flags and patriotic songs, marched the passengers in procession to the Indian line of steamers. So, while there was no want of passengers to carry, every other kind of want began to multiply apace.

“Arithmetic remained uninfluenced by patriotic fervour; and while enthusiasm flamed higher and higher to the tune of patriotic songs, three times three went on steadily making nine on the wrong side of the balance sheet.

“One of the misfortunes which always pursues the unbusinesslike is that, while they are as easy to read as an open book, they never learn to read the character of others. And since it takes them the whole of their life-time and all their resources to find out this weakness of theirs, they never get the chance of profiting by their experience. While the passengers were having free refreshments, the staff showed no signs of being starved either, but nevertheless the greatest gain remained with my brother in the ruin he so valiantly faced.

“The daily bulletins of victory or disaster which used to arrive from the theatre of action

kept us in a fever of excitement. Then one day came the news that the steamer *Swadeshi* had fouled the Howrah bridge and sunk. With this last loss my brother completely overstepped the limits of his resources, and there was nothing for it but to wind up the business.”

Mahatma Gandhi's Advice to Labourers.

Without any intention to disparage the other speeches which Mahatma Gandhi made during his recent visit to Madras, we think it necessary to call particular attention to the advice which he gave there to labourers of both sexes. He said in part :—

Friends and fellow labourers, I thank you for the addresses that you have presented to me. I call you fellow labourers, i.e., I call myself a labourer, because I take pride in calling myself a spinner, weaver, farmer and scavenger. I have thrown in my lot with you so far as a man like me can do so. And I have done so, because I feel that India's salvation lies through you. I have done so, also because I realise that there is a joy in manual labour which is not to be had in reading books or mental gymnastics. I have realised that man is born to labour with his body for his bodily sustenance. In mixing with spinners, weavers, farmers and other labourers I incessantly tell them never to cease to be labourers, but to add to their bodily labour, mental education. But I know that the joy I can derive from labour is not your lot. Labour to most of you is painful toil without pleasure, partly because your labour is exploited by moneyed men, but mostly because of your own defects and limitations. Another reason, therefore, why I have become a labourer is to be able to draw from the same level that you occupy your attention to your limitations and defects.

Therefore, I am never tired, when I speak at labour gatherings such as these, of drawing the attention of the labourers to their own limitations. I want you to realise that you should be in no way inferior to any other class of people in this country. I want you to develop the capacity for understanding national affairs and ruling over them. And, if you will be all these things, you must give up drink. You ought to give up insanitation and filth. Whether you are living in houses for which you are paying rent or living in houses built for you by your employers, you should decline positively to live in dirty houses where there is no sunshine and where there is no air. You must keep your houses and your yards absolutely clean of all dirt and insanitation. So must you keep your own bodies clean by washing them properly every day. And, as your bodies and your surroundings must be absolutely clean, so should your life be. You, men and women, should be absolutely chaste. You must never gamble. Send your children to schools that may be appointed or made by you, not so that your children may become clerks and cease to be labourers, but that they may remain labourers and be able to use their intelligence. If you have no temples, if you are Hindus, and if you have no mosques, if you are Mussalmans, you will lay by a certain sum and build these places of worship for yourselves. Those of you who are

Hindus should not regard any body of Hindus as untouchables, Panchamas or Pariahs. No man dare cast his lustful eye upon another's woman. And, lastly, if you are wearing, as I know many of you are wearing, foreign cloth or cloth even from Bombay or Ahmedabad, you shall cease to wear that cloth, but wear only hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar, because every yard of khaddar that you buy means a few annas into the pockets of fellow labourers like yourselves. I am asking every labourer in India to learn and practise handspinning, carding and, if possible, even weaving.

If you are sufficiently industrious, you can spin and weave your own clothing, I have nothing more to say save this; early in the morning, getting up at 4 o'clock, ask God before you do anything else to help you to do the things that you have listened to this evening. May God bless you and enable you to lead good lives!

Lord Curzon

By the death of Lord Curzon of Kedleston, England has lost one of its distinguished politicians. As viceroy and governor-general of India, he gave evidence of great industry and administrative capacity, but not of far-seeing statesmanship or sympathy with the political aspirations of the people whom he had come out to rule. He possessed great intellectual powers, command over the English language, and the gift of eloquence. Some of his dicta many find place in history; e. g. administration and exploitation were only different aspects of the same thing, viz., British rule in India (we are unable to quote his exact language).

He will be remembered as the author of the partition of Bengal, though after he had ceased to be viceroy, he disowned this child of his. By the partition he wanted, it is believed, to drive deeper the wedge between Hindus and Moslems, and to counteract the predominant influence of Hindus in Indian politics and of Bengali Hindus in Bengal politics by the creation of a Moslem province where Moslem influence would be predominant. All this he did in order to increase the stability of British rule. But the measure produced results not intended or anticipated by him. Nationalism received a great impetus, and for the first time in the British period of the history of Bengal, a party of *English-educated* men came into being who wanted to put an end to India's political connection with Britain;—the Sepoy Mutiny was not predominantly a rebellion of those who had received English education. The revolutionary movement to which the Bengal partition gave rise has not yet been killed, though it has been scotched

several times. Probably it will die out only when India becomes free.

The Bengal partition had also some noteworthy economic consequences. People's minds were turned toward articles of indigenous manufacture—swadeshi articles, as they are called. Though the boycott of foreign, particularly of British, goods largely failed and though many of the swadeshi enterprises of Bengal were unsuccessful, the indirect results were important, and Bombay mill-owners were able to convert Bengal's swadeshi zeal into hard cash, and some loss was inflicted on Lancashire.

Owing to the unprecedentedly persistent and extensive agitation against the partition, an agitation which for the first time in the history of political agitations in modern India was able to enlist the active sympathy of the masses, the Curzonian division of Bengal was unsettled and a new partition was made. When it was announced, some Indian politicians welcomed it. But there were others who could see through the game. In the days before the first partition, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur formed one administrative province in which Hindus formed the majority and Bengali Hindus had the predominant influence. Lord Curzon's object was to give the Moslems a province in which they would form the majority and to decrease the influence of the Bengali Hindus as a whole. When the first partition was undone and followed by the second partition, it was found that the same object had been attained in a different way. Musalmans still form the majority in the province of Bengal. We are far from contending that Moslems ought not to be predominant and in the majority anywhere; they ought to be in some regions. But if regions must needs be divided to give them their due influence, Bengali Hindus ought also to have a province of their own.

Lord Curzon created a Moslem province in pursuance of the "divide and rule" policy. But it is noteworthy that in recent months Lala Lajpat Rai, whose patriotism is unquestionable, has suggested the creation of Moslem provinces in the north-east and north-west of India for an exactly opposite purpose, viz., to set at rest the ceaseless Hindu-Moslem bickerings and jealousies in some provinces.

Lord Curzon had travelled extensively in Asia, but probably had acquired an unwarranted and exaggerated belief in the absolutely static character of the civilisations

of Asia and her unchangeableness. Had his earlier travels been followed by later ones, he would have found an East which had in recent decades covered the march of previous centuries; and it would have done good to his contemporary compatriots if he had recorded that fact.

All departments of the administration in India felt the influence of his active and masterful personality. By his Universities Act he probably wanted to arrest the spread of higher education and to bring the university under full official control. This object was not gained;—particularly in Bengal owing mainly to the efforts of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee.

In a notorious address Lord Curzon branded Asia, the birth-place of Mahavira, Buddha, Zoroaster, Christ and Muhammad, and the home of all the great religions of the world, with untruthfulness and claimed superiority for the West in truthfulness! Sir Rash Behary Ghosh gave a fitting reply in a memorable address.

His lordship will be gratefully remembered for inaugurating an enlightened policy for the restoration and preservation of ancient monuments and the pursuit of archaeological researches. He will also be remembered for converting the Calcutta Public Library into the Imperial Library and adding largely to its stock of books.

Calcutta Corporation Against Intoxicants

The Calcutta Corporation has passed the following resolution *nem. con.*—

That this Corporation do recommend to the Government of Bengal that all wine and liquor shops including shops for the sale of opium, ganja and other intoxicants, within the Municipal town of Calcutta, be removed therefrom: and that in future licences be granted only to recognised chemists and druggists for the sale of such quantities of wine, liquor and other intoxicants within the Municipal town of Calcutta as may reasonably be required for medicinal purposes.

This is a good resolution. But supposing the Government of Bengal accepted the recommendation, which is quite unlikely, who would pay for the large staff necessary for preventing smuggling? Simultaneously with passing the resolution, the corporation ought to have tackled that question. By not doing so the Calcutta aldermen have simply courted refusal. Or perhaps they never had any serious hope or intention, but wanted only some cheap praise from the unthinking

crowd at the expense of the Bengal Government.

If Calcutta had been a walled city with a few closely guarded gates, even then it would have been difficult to prevent smuggling. But as it is not walled and can be reached by rail, river, highways, etc., at an indefinite number of places, the prevention of smuggling is not a practicable proposition.

Prohibition to be successful, must be tried in the country as a whole, not in cities or other areas individually. Still the Calcutta gesture is an encouraging sign of the times.

Inconsistency of Some Bengal M. L. C.s

As we are opposed to dyarchy and want full provincial autonomy, we have supported the rejection of the Bengal ministers' salaries as an individual act. But we cannot overlook the fact that a substantial majority of the councillors had previously voted for the appointment of ministers. The recent voting, however, means that a majority of the members do not want ministers at all. Therefore, it is clear that there are some members who had, a few days ago, voted for the appointment of ministers now declare that ministers are not wanted. Men who change their minds in this fashion cannot expect to be respected or trusted. Such men cannot be believed to have any sense of responsibility.

President of Council as Dictator and Bully

Owing to two recent rulings of Sir Evan Cotton, president of the Bengal Council, the Nationalists and Swarajists walked out twice. It happened in this wise, as described in the following letter addressed to the President by Mr. C. R. Das and Mr. B. Chakravarti on behalf of their respective parties.

To the President, Bengal Legislative Council,
Dear Sir,—It is apparent from what took place yesterday that it is impossible for the members of this Council to do their duty by their electorates as they are not permitted their legitimate freedom of debate. It appears that Mr. A. C. Banerjea in course of his speech said, "It is a department (referring to the District Intelligence Staff), the ostensible object of which is to detect crimes, but we find that in some cases at all events its activities were more identified in manufacturing evidence than in detecting crimes." Sir Hugh Stephenson having objected to that statement you ruled that you could not allow it without having heard yourself what Mr. Banerjea had said and without asking Mr. Banerjea as to what he had said. It is clear that Sir Hugh Stephenson made a misrepresentation and although Mr. Banerjea re-stated to

you what he had actually said, you called upon him to withdraw the statement. It is further clear that your ruling subsequently given shows that your first ruling was wrong. We cannot but regard your order calling upon Mr. Banerjea to withdraw as an infringement of the liberty of speech to which every Councillor is entitled and we find it extremely difficult to discharge our duty as members of the Council if rulings are given in this manner and if members who insist on their right are treated with such scant courtesy. We have further to observe that this is not the first time that the members of our parties have taken exception to the offensive tone in which they are addressed and the temper displayed by you.

Yours truly,

B. Chakravarti,

(On behalf of the Nationalist party).

C. R. Das,

(On behalf of the Swarajya party).

Dated, Calcutta, the 25th March, 1925.

We have read the report of the proceedings of the meeting where all this took place in *The Servant*, *Forward* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, and are of opinion that the president behaved in a rude and dictatorial manner, and wanted to extract an abject apology from Mr. A. C. Banerji by bullying him and some other councillors. Sir Evan practically showed that in his opinion no courtesy was due to the Bengali members, and that Sir Hugh Stephenson was to be implicitly believed, not any Bengali councillor.

We cannot pronounce any authoritative opinion on what is or is not a parliamentary expression; but this we can say that what Mr. A. C. Banerji stated is a fact, and that neither he nor any other Indian member behaved in a discourteous or disorderly manner.

Bengal Repression Acts

The Bengal Ordinance Bill was thrown out by the Bengal Legislative Council, but was passed by the process of certification. The Bengal Ordinance Supplementary Bill was thrown out by the Indian Legislative Assembly twice. Of course, some members spoke out very strongly against the Bill. But the always subservient Council of State has passed it, only three members dissenting and one walking out by way of protest.

Passing bills, including finance bills, in spite of the opposition of a majority of "Legislators" has almost become the usual procedure. Regard for reality therefore demands that the legislative bodies be summarily suppressed or guillotined.

Was It a Trick?

When on the 25th of March the Nationalist and Swarajist members of the Bengal Council walked out for the first time, we read in the report of the proceedings,

The Nationalists having withdrawn no less than 59 motions for refusal and reduction in the Police Budget were placed. The President called them one after the other which however necessarily fell through. As amended the original demand was then put and carried.

The subsequent walking out of these members and its advantages are thus referred to and described in the report:—

At this stage the Nationalist members again walked out of the Chamber, and the demands for Ports and Pilotage and Scientific Demands were put and carried without any discussion or opposition.

In the absence of the Ministers, Mr. Donald moved for the demands for Education, Medical, Public Health, Agriculture and Industries, which were similarly carried.

The proceedings of Thursday the 26th instant are thus briefly described in the *Bengalee*:—

Within a brief period of half an hour the business of the Bengal Legislative Council was concluded on Thursday afternoon and the demands for Civil Works, Famine Relief and Insurance, Superannuation Allowances and Pensions, Stationery and Printing, Miscellaneous Expenditure in England, Loans and Advances etc., having been made and passed in full without any discussion or opposition the Council was prorogued. As a protest against the ruling given by the Hon'ble President against Mr. A. C. Banerjea on Wednesday, the Nationalist and Swarajist members absented themselves from the chamber, and the opposition benches remained empty.

A wag suggests that, as in these days some legislator or other is bound to make strong remarks, it was pre-arranged that taking advantage of some such remark, the president should lose his temper and make a display of his strength, which was sure to lead to the opposition walking out; and then the bureaucrats should make hay while their sun shone un-obscured by the vaporous speeches of Indian members. If the wag is right, the bureaucracy in the other provinces should follow their example. It is easy to learn and do the trick.

Sun Yat Sen

Reuter has killed Sun Yat Sen, the great Chinese statesman, for the third time, without giving any explanation as to why he was killed twice before, or without following up the latest news of his death with any information regarding his funerals, the tribute of gratitude

paid to his memory by his fellow-countrymen, or other similar details. We cannot be sure, therefore, that he is dead. But whether his body be dead or alive, he will live for ever in history as *par excellence* the maker of modern China, a statesman who framed for China a constitution which was not a mere copy of the constitutions of some occidental countries and a true patriot who, though he overthrew the Manchu dynasty and set up a republic, did not covet the office of president of the Chinese Republic.

A Festering Sore

Guglielmo Ferrero is one of the greatest European historians living to-day. What he writes will be remembered for many generations, and his verdict on many subjects is likely to be final for posterity, far beyond anything that is uttered by statesmen and politicians, with whom financial and party considerations are paramount. He has recently written and published, under his own signature, this opinion as an historian on the Opium Question:—

Opium is a festering sore on the face of modern civilization.

In olden days consumption of opium was necessarily limited by inadequate means of production, but now with modern industrial and agricultural methods there is an overproduction which threatens extinction of the race.

It is surely patent that the only solution is to rigorously limit production and that limitation of consumption is bound to follow. I cannot see how any other plan can be seriously adopted, especially by a nation which is conscious of its responsibilities.

The scandal becomes criminal when the State itself is engaged in the traffic, as is the case with opium.

It is an international shame that a society of nations is so linked with commercial interests that its members are unable to act to blot out this scourge.

The moral conscience of the world must be profoundly low when a small number of vile traders are able to sway the councils of nations which vaunt themselves as masters of civilization and pretend to govern the world.

Sir Basil Blackett has now, in India, the chief responsibility for deciding whether India's part in the Opium Traffic shall be subject to revision by an impartial enquiry or whether old worn-out platitudes shall still be repeated, as the Indian Government verdict, and no impartial enquiry granted. My hope is, that the opinion of the provincial Governments by not definitely taking a hostile position will make an enquiry possible.

C. F. A.

Mr. John Campbell's Libel

Mr. John Campbell, the representative of the Government of India, declared at Geneva that no Indian leader, not even Mr. Gandhi himself, had any fault to find with the Government of India's opium policy. In contradiction of this outrageous libel, which has never been apologised for and withdrawn, the clearest references have been given and published in the press from the writings of Mr. Dadabhai Naoraji, the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, and also from almost every living Indian writer and statesman. The Debate in the Legislative Assembly, in which the clearest pronouncements were made by leading Indian politicians, the Government suffering defeat on a division, should dispose once and for all of this calumny which Mr. Campbell made to the World Press. The petition to the League of Nations under the signatures of Mahatma Gandhi and the poet, Rabindranath Tagore, demanding the limitation of cultivation to the medicinal and scientific needs of the world, should also help to dispel the falsehood which unfortunately obtained a long start in the world's news. Quite recently, since the poet's return, he has pointed out to me that, as early as the year 1881, when he was Editor of *Bharati*, in Bengal, he published an editorial review on the Opium Traffic between India and China. The review is of such importance, in the light of the scandalous statement made by Mr. John Campbell, that I have asked permission from the Poet to get it translated and reproduced. I hope that it may appear in the next issue of the Modern Review.

C. F. A.

Sir J. C. Bose at the Central Anti-Malaria Society's Annual Meeting

The Central Anti-Malaria Society of Bengal has been doing much good work for a number of years. Public appreciation of its services was evidenced recently by the crowded and influential attendance at its annual meeting. In opening the meeting as its president Sir J. C. Bose made an appropriate speech. He departed somewhat from the beaten track by concluding his address with the following passage:—

In this connection, I would venture to suggest an additional item which may be carried out by some of your workers. My own researches make me increasingly realise the influence of mind over the body. The body easily succumbs, when the mind is in a state of depression. Hence it is essential to cultivate cheerfulness by increasing

sources of healthy amusement. We were once a happy people, there were a succession of fairs and "melas" all the year round, at which people used to congregate; but the innocent joys of life are fast disappearing. There also used to be numerous forms of indigenous play, meant to develop physical strength and agility, every organ of the body thus became alert and active, and resistant to physical ills. I make my own scholars spend two hours every afternoon in "lathi-play": this particular form of exercise renders their hands and wrists very supple, without which the extreme delicacy in adjustments of my sensitive apparatus would have been an impossibility. Most astonishing has been the effect of physical culture on the health of my scholars. On an average more than thirty per cent of my staff used to be incapacitated by illness: since the introduction of "lathi-play", the illness has been reduced to less than five per cent. I am deliberately of opinion that physical training should be made compulsory in our schools and colleges.

The Cotton Excise Duty

To handicap an indigenous industry of India for the benefit of a British industry is not inconsistent with the British sense of justice, though it may be an unrighteous policy. In opposition to this policy, there has been a persistent demand for the abolition of the cotton excise duty. But self-interest has stood in the way of justice being done even in this year of a surplus budget.

Popularising Indian Civil Service

In order that stay-at-home Britons might readily feel the urgency of increasing the emoluments of British Covenanted Civilians in India, service in India had been evidently so effectively painted in the most unattractive colours that even repeated increase of pay, etc., the latest being the "Lee Loot", has not succeeded in inducing the young university men of Britain to think of an Indian career, which was formerly so highly prized. The need has, therefore, now been felt to counteract the effect of the previous propaganda by propaganda of a different kind. The services of ex-governors of Indian provinces have been requisitioned to bring home to the young students of Oxford, Cambridge, etc., the advantages and attractions of service in India. In England you have to pay for everything—a smile, a pose, a gesture, everything has its price. It goes without saying, then, that this propaganda would cost a certain amount. And as official Englishmen have always come out and would come out in future also to rule India absolutely and entirely in the interests of India, what is more just and more natural than that this country should pay the

whole cost of this propaganda? England has never gained even half a cracked farthing by her sons coming out to rule India in return for starvation wages. Hence it would have been the height of injustice to saddle England with the expenses of this propaganda. And mark how merciful and high-minded the ruling class of England is! Lord Winterton has declared from his place in Parliament that the cost would be trifling. Should we not in gratitude worship Lord Winterton and his ilk? "Bow down, ye slaves, bow down."

Government of India Civil Services Bill

Another example of the sense of justice and generosity of the British ruling class is furnished by the introduction in the British parliament of the Government of India (Civil Services) Bill, which is described as—

A bill to amend the provisions of the Government of India Act by exempting proposals for expenditure upon certain salaries, pensions and other payments from submission to the Indian legislatures and to enable rules made under the said Act relating to the civil service of the Crown in India to be dispensed with or relaxed in certain cases.

Of late the gratitude which Indians feel for the rulers of India has been increasing by such leaps and bounds that, overwhelmed by it, the Indian legislatures might any day pour out at the feet of these neo-Brahmins not only the public but the private wealth of India as well, as *dakshina* for their highly unselfish and spiritualising services. But the British Parliament does not want to utterly impoverish India by taking advantage of her superabundant and overflowing feelings of gratitude. Hence that body has determined to deprive the Indian legislatures of any power to increase the salaries, pensions and other payments made to India's white rulers.

Now there will be great economy and the Indian treasury will be quite safe.

Reforms Enquiry Committee Reports

Two reports, a majority report and a minority report, of the Reforms Enquiry Committee have been published. The former is for leaving things almost as they are, the latter for a substantial advance, and automatic progress in the future.

As regards the Reforms there are two demands which may be called national: the establishment of full responsible government in the provinces, all subjects being transferred

to ministers responsible to the provincial legislatures ; and the establishment of responsibility in all departments of the internal civil administration of the country by the central government. There is no political party in the country whose demands fall short of these two, though there are persons and parties who want much more.

The majority report does not meet even a fraction of these two demands; and is therefore quite unsatisfactory.

The majority report has arrived at the absurd conclusion, not warranted by facts, that the system of dyarchical government in the provinces has on the whole worked satisfactorily. Every one, outside the ranks of the bureaucracy and their partisans and hangers-on, knows that the truth lies the other way.

The minority report has met with general acceptance. It has recommended that, whether by the appointment of a royal commission or by any other agency, the Government should take steps to place the constitution on a permanent basis with provision for automatic progress in the future so as to secure stability in the government and willing cooperation from the people. As since the publication of the two reports, Sir Muhammad Shafi, late Law Member of the Government and a signatory of the majority report, has supported this recommendation of the minority, it has now become practically the recommendation of the majority of the members of the Reforms Enquiry Committee. As such, it should be given effect to by the British Parliament, though it would be too much to hope that it would be.

Officiating Governors

Before the enactment of the law which has enabled the Viceroy, the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, and other high functionaries to leave India on long leave, it was the rule for the senior members of the provincial executive councils to officiate for provincial rulers. After the passing of the above-mentioned law also the practice is not to be departed from in Assam and Bihar and Orissa, where the senior members of the executive councils, who are Englishmen are to officiate for the Governors. But in Bengal the senior member, Sir Abdur Rahim, is an Indian. Hence his claims have been overlooked. On a previous occasion, years ago, when Sir K. G. Gupta was the senior member,

he was placed in charge of the fisheries department in the nick of time, in order that the Bengal satrapy might be given to an Englishman, and the Indian claimant might fish for consolation in the wide wide ocean.

As between Indian and Indian, the theory of the favourite wife may and often does come handy, but when the time comes for choosing one who is to play the husband, it must always be the Englishman. Once upon a time the experiment was tried of Englishmanising and husbandising Satyendra Prasanna Sinha by be-lording him, but according to Englishmen, the experiment was a failure.

Why High Officials Go Home

It is no longer a secret that Lord Reading is going home to confer with Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, on outstanding Indian problems—whatever they may be. Some provincial governors who are also going home are to help him in the conference. As none of these public servants are known to advocate self-rule or justice for India, their advice can only confirm the Tories in their Toryism. Of course, India pays for the conference, though it will do her no good.

Though no public report of the conference may be published, the enterprising Press of England will be sure to publish some account of it. It would be good if some accredited and well-informed representatives of India were on the spot to correct misrepresentations. Not that we expect any immediate or direct gain from such corrections. What we want is that British opinion and world opinion on India should not be formed on wrong data supplied by either interested or ignorant persons. It is foolish and futile to complain of misrepresentation of India if we do not take care to supply correct information.

Military Training for Students

University after university is going in for compulsory military training for its students. We have written adversely on the subject and wanted to see what other papers had to say. So far we have not found any other paper opposing it. *Young India*, we have been told, has written nothing on the topic.

On the whole, it may, therefore, be said that Indian papers are ahimsaists as a matter of policy so far as armed rebellion goes, but are not thoroughgoing ahimsaists.

Militarist Propaganda in Schools

The Guardian writes:—

The Education Minister on the Labour Government of Victoria states that he is determined to put an end to militarist propaganda in schools. He has therefore issued an order that no articles or songs extolling wars, battles or heroes of past wars are to be printed in text-books or school magazines in Victoria. In South Australia, the Education Department have gone one better and ordered that a copy of a book on the League by Mr. G. L. Ellis, a Melbourne barrister, should be placed in every school library.

The National Council of Education, Bengal

The Foundation Day of the National Council of Education, Bengal, which was established in 1906, was fittingly celebrated last month at Jadavpur, where its Technical Institute has permanent class-rooms, hostels, laboratory, etc. The subjects at present taught, by a competent staff, are Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering and Chemical Engineering. It has about 700 students, candidates for admission having been double this number during the last four years. The Council has an endowment worth about 25 lakhs of rupees. Babu Hirendranath Datta has worked for this educational institution with a zeal and quiet persistence worthy of all praise and emulation.

Vykom Satyagraha

'Satyagraha' at Vykom has taken a new turn. In handing over for publication the correspondence between himself and the police commissioner, Trivandrum, Mr. Gandhi observes:—

It is only necessary for me to point out that the agreement embodied therein marks a step forward in the movement now going on at Vaikom. The Satyagrahis' respecting the boundary line in spite of the removal of the barrier and the removal also of the order of prohibition would, on the one hand, show completely the non-violent nature of the struggle and, on the other, prove the *bona fides* of the Government declaration that they favour the reform for which the Satyagrahis are fighting. I am hoping that the opponents of reform will reciprocate the gesture made by the Satyagrahis.

The barriers and the order of prohibition have been removed. According to the agreement:—

The effect of this would be that a very small number, not larger than at present, will continue to march up to the boundary line by way of pleading their cause and stand or spin as they are now doing in front of the lines. They will no cross it on any account whatsoever whilst this agreement lasts, and I expect that if ever it becomes necessary to challenge in a court of law

the so-called right or custom under which the so-called untouchables are prohibited from making use of the roads round the temple, the prosecution would be under the ordinary criminal law of Travancore. I am hoping with the assistance of the Travancore Government to formulate public opinion so that it becomes irresistible, and that without recourse to law on either side. The common right of using the public or semi-public roads is not denied to any class of people by reason of their birth. I have already discussed with you three proposals made by me, namely, referendum by taking the vote of Savarna Hindus in select areas, arbitration, or interpretation and examination of the authority of the texts from Hindu Sastras supposed to be available to the orthodox in support of their contention as to the uses of roads round certain temples. It must be a very simple matter to adopt one or all of the suggestions.

Let us hope this non-violent struggle will soon be crowned with success. Orthodox people can now agree with good grace and honour to themselves to the so-called untouchables using the roads round certain temples.

The Indian Chemical Society

The Indian Chemical Society was established last year. The Society publishes a quarterly journal in which only original contributions approved by a committee of publication find a place. It is a matter of sincere pleasure to note that the Society enjoys the support of about 200 qualified chemists, including most of the prominent scientific workers in chemistry in the country. The spirit of goodwill and co-operation in a common cause has united the European and the Indian in common effort. We have had occasion to refer more than once to the achievements of our young chemists. It is pleasing to note the increase in the number of successful investigators in chemistry in our midst. The foundation of a society with the status of the Indian Chemical Society brings home to us that India is after all awaking from her deep slumber. The contribution of chemists working in India to chemical knowledge is no longer quite negligible.

It is in the fitness of things that most of the Indian Universities should recognise the importance of the efforts of the society in the cause of chemistry and be contributing to the funds of the Society. It is a truism that in the development of the natural resources of India lies our future. Chemistry is a branch of science which has a fundamental and leading bearing on problems of industrial, agricultural and biological processes. If India is to realise her dream of taking her proper

place in the scientific and industrial progress of the world, she must devote more attention to the growth of a spirit of research in the country. She must not remain satisfied with simply supplying skilled labour but must also have the power to initiate ever new and more and more effective processes through inventions and discoveries. A society such as the one under reference is the fittest institution to realise this object. Our motto must be to encourage by all means research in pure science and the spread of the scientific spirit and knowledge in the country. It is the experience of the world that this is the surest way towards the industrial development of a country. We appeal to the public and to the State to do their duty by the Society by contributing substantially towards its research and publication funds. We would mention that the annual income of the London Chemical Society and the American Chemical Society is from 3 to 7 lacs of rupees and that Britain and America have each no less than 10 thousand qualified chemists. It is through their joint and organised effort that these countries are zealously and successfully maintaining their position in the van of the industrial progress of the world.

The Black Man's Burden

The following letter which appears in the 'New Statesman' of Jan. 28, 1925 under the heading of "the Black Man's Burden" gives a picture of what is happening in Africa with regard to the use of African labour for the white settlers:—

"Sir,—The following notes from my diary, made when passing by Kenya twelve months ago, may throw some additional light on the labour problem in Kenya. Perhaps I am not an unbiassed observer having lived for more than thirty years in South Africa, where similar though less drastic methods for making the black man work "for his own good" are in use. Walking along the three-mile road from Killindini to Mombasa, I turned aside to read the notices on the board outside the police offices. One notice announces the introduction of regulation for the registration of natives which will bring 500,000 natives under control. Each is to be furnished with a pass upon which employers are required to supply certain particulars. That giving

these particulars is irksome to the white man is suggested by the fact that the notice gives a number of reasons why it is to the interest of employers to fill them in. Briefly, they resolve themselves into the argument that it will be possible more effectively to keep the native in

subjection. A recent speech in the legislative chamber at Nairobi begged the Indians and Arabs to leave politics alone (what a familiar ring this advice has!) and with the Europeans concentrate on developing the resources of the province. The chief of these resources is cheap native labour, and this registration regulation is to help to secure it.

It is an amusing commentary on this attitude toward native races that in the English "memorial church" a brass tablet erected to the memory of Sir E. S. Mackenzie records, that "the first act of his administration was the redemption of 1,422 domestic slaves at Rabar." Thus does Europe strain at our 1,422 gnats and swallow 500,000 camels! The system of registration includes the taking of finger-prints of these 500,000 natives. I suppose it goes without saying that finger-prints are not taken of Europeans, nor, as yet of Arabs and Indians, these latter being numerous and intelligent enough to make such a measure difficult of application to them. What is the fate of the native who comes into conflict with the laws—in the making of which no pretence is made of consulting him—is shown by the fact that on my walk I came upon two gangs of native convicts at work on the roads, both under the guns of native police warders.

A sidelight may be thrown on the situation by the following facts. In order to secure reforms and greater economy in the working of the Kenya railways a new and experienced general manager was sent from the offices of the South African Railways at Johannesburg. In the monthly magazine published by the S.A.R., I saw an extract from the first report of this new manager. From it I gathered that one of his first administrative acts in the pursuit of this bubble economy "was to reduce the wages of native and coloured servants of the Kenya Railways. No mention is made of similar reductions of the emoluments of the white officials; indeed, it is probable that these were increased in a manner which must be familiar to all who have inner knowledge of bureaucracies. It was bad enough to make the burden fall upon the shoulders of the already badly paid black and coloured men, but it was adding insult to injury to say, as Mr. Felling said in the report referred to, that the reduction was made for the coloured man's own good.—Yours, etc.,

Wallasey, January 17, 1925.

J. F. NANCE.

I should add to this letter that by the word 'coloured servants' the writer, who is a South African, evidently means the Punjabi railway workman who have gone out on contract. Every effort has been made by this new General Manager to retrench them, in favour of white employees.

C. F. A.

Christian Missions and Oriental Civilization

Our readers' attention is drawn to a review in a previous page of this issue of "Christian Missions and Oriental Civilizations" by M.T. Price.



THE SPIRIT OF THE ROCK
Artist—Abanindranath Tagore

PRABASI PRESS, CALCUTTA.

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TRUTH

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

IT is evident that life in the West, like an ice-berg tottering under the weight of its growing hugeness, has lost its moral balance. She knows that things are behaving in a drunken manner, but she does not know how to stop. She is casting about for all kinds of devices whereby she may save herself from a crash, not by closing her drinking booths, but in spite of them.

The young generation of the East, who in their intoxication with the new wine of boisterous energy from the West are likewise growing unstable in their gait, are content jeeringly to remark that our pursuit of the cult of perfection which gives balance has led us to inertia. They forget that balance is even more needed for that which moves than for that which rests.

I had a good illustration of this on board ship whilst I was travelling to China. It has made me think deeply about the contagion of this moral drunkenness that spreads from shore to shore.

One of my Indian friends asked his Japanese fellow-traveller why Japan neglected to cultivate friendliness with China. Without giving a direct answer, the Japanese asked a German passenger, who was there, if he could ever think of Germany and France uniting in the bonds of friendship. It clearly shows the spirit of the schoolboy in the present generation of the Eastern youth brought up under Western school-masters. They have learnt by rote their texts, but never their lesson. They are proud when they mimic the voice and gesture of their teacher, reproduce his language, earn their

full number of marks and a patting on the back, while they are not even aware that the living lesson has escaped them.

It evidently caused great satisfaction to this Japanese young man, who, I am sure, does not represent the best minds of his people, to know that the feeling of animosity that exists between China and Japan has its analogy in Europe. He failed to realise the fearful meaning of the hatred which furiously drives Germany and France to ruin, in a vicious circle of mutual destruction.

This conversation set my mind thinking how the carefully nurtured noxious plant of national egoism is shedding its seeds all over the world, making our callow schoolboys of the East rejoice because the harvest produced by these seeds,—the harvest of antipathy with its endless cycle of self-renewal,—bears a Western name of high-sounding distinction.

And yet the time has come when we must realise the ancient truth, which has been relegated to the lumber-room of truisms that what saves us is not pride, nor the satisfaction of hatred, nor the black lies of diplomacy, nor the power represented by money, or muscle, or organisation.

Great civilisations in the East as well as in the West, have flourished in the past because they produced food for the spirit of man for all time; they had their life in the faith in ideals, the faith which is creative. These great civilisations were at last run to death by men of the type of our precocious schoolboys of modern times, smart and superficially critical, worshippers of self

shrewd bargainers in the market of profit and power, efficient in their handling of the ephemeral, who presumed to buy human souls with their money and threw them into their dust-bins when they had been sucked dry, and who, eventually, driven by suicidal forces of passion, set their neighbours' houses on fire and were themselves enveloped by the flame.

It is some great ideal which created great societies of men; it is some blind passion which breaks them to pieces. They thrive so long as they produce food for life; they perish when they suck life dry in insatiate self-gratification. We have been taught by our sages that it is Truth which saves man from annihilation. Let me try to explain what this Truth is.

It has been the tradition in India closely to attach our mind to some *mantram*, some great text, and daily to concentrate our thought upon it, while its meaning grows one with our being, and gives our wordly life its equilibrium in the truth and peace that dwell in the eternal. One such *mantram*, which has been of great help to me, begins with the word *satyam*, indicating that the Supreme Being is *satyam*, which means Truth.

Man is afraid of the numerous, of numbers, which add but do not connect. It is wearisome for him to approach things through their several individual doors and pay to each one of them its separate homage of recognition.

At the beginning of life's experience a child puts everything into its mouth, until it gets to know that all that comes to its hand is not food. In the primitive stage of our intellect, our mind, in its indiscriminate greed, grabs at detached facts and tries to make a store of them. At last the mind comes to know that what it seeks is, not the things themselves, but, through them, some value.

Where can it be that man may realise *satyam*, the Supreme Reality? Nothing is ever in a state of quietude; things rapidly change their form and become something else, even as we try to fix our gaze on them. The very mountains, which are looked upon as the symbol of solid permanence, behave like shifting screens on time's stage, and one never knows when they may slowly be folded up as the play proceeds and one act gives way to another. The stars are bubbling out into light on the bosom of darkness and dissolving into oblivion. So, in Sanskrit, our term for the world pheno-

menon is *samsara*, or that which is ever on the move,—and this *samsara* we know as *maya*, we call it a dream. Where then is, Truth?

Does it not become evident that Truth must have its full expression only in this movement itself,—in the current which always leaps over the fixed boulders of finality and can therefore suggest the indefinable, the infinite? In a dance it becomes possible for the different gestures to move together and yet not thwart each other, because they are the expression of a certain musical truth which is ineffable, which is one, which comprehends and yet transcends each separate part of its manifestation.

Moralists have often lugubriously cried out that the world is vanity, because everything in it moves and changes. They might as well say that a song is not real because every note of it is transient, giving place to another. We have to know that this moving and changing world, because of its mutability, is giving expression to a truth which is eternal. It would come to a standstill in a crash of discord, had it not such truth permeating and transcending it.

It is to the person, who keeps his eyes solely fixed upon this aspect of the world which is an unceasing series of changes, that the world appears as delusion, as the play of Kali, the black divinity of destruction. To such a one it becomes possible for his dealings with this world to be superficial and heartless. The world being, for him, an unmeaning progression of things, and evolution that goes blindly jumping from chance to chance on a haphazard path of survival he can have no scruple in gathering opportunity for himself, dealing cruel blows to others who come in his way. He does not suspect that thereby he hurts his own truth, because, in the scheme of things, he recognises no such truth at all. A child can tear, without compunction, the pages of a book for the purposes of his play, because for him those pages have no serious truth.

The way to be considerate in our dealings with the world is to realise the permanent meaning which underlies it and makes each one of its changing facts touch its end every moment. It happens in this way with our own movements of vital growth; they are innumerable, and yet they have their joy for us, because every passing fraction of their totality immediately reaches its end, which is life itself. This very moment, when I am speaking, all the separate words of mine

would be a burden to me, if they were not the expression of my life, of my mind, which is the source of their truth.

What is evident in this world is, the endless procession of moving things; but what is to be realised is, the Supreme Truth by which the world is permeated. When our greed of wealth overlooks this great truth and behaves as if there were nothing in this world but the fact of these moving things, then, our pride rises with the amount of things produced and collected, and jealous competition thunders down the path of conflict towards dark futility.

All our true enjoyment is in the realisation of perfection. This can be reached, not

through augmentation, but through renunciation of the material for the sake of the ideal. The material which an artist uses is the minimum which is possible for his purpose. It would be barbarism to make it too gorgeously profuse, forgetting the final value of the ideal. When the artist reaches that ideal he reaches his enjoyment, and not a mere possession.

Thus, according to the Upanishad, the complete aspect of Truth is in the reconciliation of the finite and the infinite, of ever-changing things and the eternal spirit or perfection. When in our life and work the harmony between these two is broken, then either our life is thinned into a shadow, or it is set on fire.

TO THE CHILD. I

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

ONCE upon a time when I was busily engaged in writing, I suddenly felt a call from the young. I was spending my life in a solitary place in a house-boat near a sand-bank of the great river Ganges, when all of a sudden across the mustard fields, the village market with its beautiful bamboo-groves, across the sands, where the wild ducks had their noisy haunts, came the cry of the young, "Comrade, poet," it said, "where are you hiding yourself? Come to us." It said, "We are suffering from the hands of the School-master, come and rescue us. Give us freedom, bring the magic touch of the spring-time into our school-house, for our hearts, like buds, are thirsting for sunlight and the warm south breeze."

I was sorely puzzled. I did not know how to help these suffering souls, how to get access to them through the stony walls and gates of the citadel of the Education Department. For, from my childhood I did play truant; I neglected my lessons; I was typically a bad boy, who according to the prediction of the wise, always comes to grief. And so one day, though I was a poet, I had to disguise myself as school-master and open a school, which was a camouflage of a school.

It is a beautiful spot, this place Sarniketan, away a hundred miles from Calcutta, open all round to the verge of the horizon, bare of vegetation. Only just about my school, there is an avenue of sal trees, lig tall trees, which give good timber and bear beautiful clusters of sweet-smelling flowers in summer. There is a shady mango-grove and a few other trees from which we get the green life of the forest. It has something of the aspect of the great Chinese and Japanese pictures I have seen. What that is, let me explain. One thing I have found in the character of these artists and painters,-- they are not afraid of open spaces. It has often struck me that in their pictures they wanted to make us realise the great space itself, with the help of just the slight outline of a mountain, or of a pine-tree top, which, like the index finger, pointed out that which could not be seen but be felt. In their paintings, a few touches of a crooked branch, or the flying wings of a bird represent, that shock to the immensity in response to which it breaks out in a great silent cry.

Last time, when I was in Japan, I was present at a dramatic performance, and I found the same genius at work there. While the

great actor gave expression to his part, the rest sat absolutely still, as if they were in a picture, mute and motionless. This one man had around him the expanse of silence and stillness. On the European stage every actor is doing something. They are restless. But on the orthodox Japanese stage, you see life and its intense expression but in the surroundings of an infinite quiet. The West densely crowds its space with cities, with factories and hotels, with chimneys and skyscrapers. The contagion of this we saw in Hankchow in China, where the fashionable beauty-seekers trample down the beauty of the lake scenery with the proud march of gaudy comfort and convenience. They choke the great voice of space with brick and mortar, with din of advertisements and throng of things.

In their drawing-rooms in the West they are busy with covering space with articles that are unmeaning. They are afraid of the infinite; they pull down blinds to shut out the sunlight, they close their door to keep out the breeze.

The flood has been let loose. The cheap and the vulgar which have no value, which kill space, kill time, but which are being enormously overproduced have come to make our mental atmosphere dense. We have come to the point where we are about to lose our infinite, the infinite in our space, in our life. Before long, the sky over the whole human world, East and West, will be smudged with factory-smoke and the green of the living nature will be licked grey by the demon of the utilitarian spirit. But that is another story.

In this beautiful spot, Santiniketan, I tried to gather a few children. They came from the overcrowded cities, hungering for food at the breast of their Mother Nature, the food of life. I brought them to her. I became their playmate and they found out before long that I was of their own age, not very much different from them. In this beautiful spot I came into the world of the young and there found my own place.

As I felt the youth within me when I was in their company, I wanted them also to be fully conscious of their own youthfulness, conscious that they were not grown-up people. You may laugh at this statement of mine. I speak from my personal experience. There was a time when I went to school, and though it was not for long, yet I know. In proper schools boys must behave as if they were not boys, they must never be

boisterous, they must not laugh too loud. But boys are born savages and must pass through the stage of savagedom. I let them run and climb and swing and when the rain fell, go out and get thoroughly drenched in the open air. I waited the poor boys to realise that they had been made to *be boys* at least for fourteen or fifteen years of their life.

As in the best Eastern pictures there is ample space, so in human and especially in child life there should be ample space of surroundings. What is space? It is freedom, not emptiness. Through this freedom of space child life finds its own voice. Most people, and especially schoolmasters, forget this. They want to fill every moment with tasks, with discipline and rules. So their life becomes a single solid thing, one hard lump of lessons without any space for the poor cramped mind to find its outlet of energy.

I myself got this lesson from the work that I started, that he who gives freedom gets freedom. The taskmaster is as much a slave as his victim. I wanted to make these children happy in an atmosphere of freedom. I never cared to watch them too much, to distrust them. I did not keep an eye on their conduct, I never suspected them. Even when they took their examinations, I trusted them and when I gave them freedom I found my own freedom through trust, through my faith in human nature and child nature. In this atmosphere of happy youth I myself began to grow from the age of forty. I find I am still growing and that life itself is still full of surprises, of new manifestations. The reason is this, that I offer freedom, and therefore that I get freedom, the freedom which has the power to stimulate the creative mind and life.

But I have not come here to give you my idea about education, but to say to you that I love children, not as those elders say it in a loud voice from their great distance of the grown-up world. But I have my passport, as a poet, to enter into the mystery of the child life, and my love for the child is not patronizing; it is full of respect. Somehow children soon find it out, in spite of the exaggeration of my grey beard. I have nearly always been fortunate to win their love. I have come to claim from you your love which is my due. Maybe I am a little too hasty, but I assure you that only if I had more time every one of you would have fallen in love with me.

I am afraid I have been talking at cruel length to you, that you will accuse me of having no consideration for your own desire for freedom, of being nothing but a garrulous

old man, and that I am contradicting my own doctrine. If I have given you that impression, I crave your pardon. I am really an inoffensive creature. I can play and laugh and smile. That I am somewhat human, my friends who know me will acknowledge and therefore it would not be at all in accordance with my own ideas to give a monotonously long monologue to your young minds which crave for a shower of new impressions, sparks of de-

light. I give you leave to go, and to discourse with what older folk love so much, formal talks. Before I leave, let me tell you once again that my heart dwells with the young and I feel grateful to them for bringing new hopes, generation after generation, to the world of man.

[Spoken at Kyoto Girls' College, and specially contributed to *The Modern Review*.]

MY SCHOOL

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

I have been told that you would like to hear of the educational mission I have taken up, but it will be difficult for me to give you a distinct idea of my institution which has grown gradually during the last twenty-four years. With it my own mind has grown and my own ideal of education has come to its fullness, so slowly and so naturally, that I find it difficult now to analyse and put it before you.

The first question you may all ask is: what urged me to take up education. I had spent most of my time in literary pursuits till I was forty or more. I had never any desire to take my part in practical work, because I had a rooted conviction in my mind that I had not the gift. Perhaps you know this facts, or shall I make a confession? When I was thirteen, I finished going to school. I do not want to boast about it, I merely give it you as a historical fact.

So long as I was forced to do so, I felt the torture of going to school unsupportable. I often used to count the years that must pass before I should find my freedom. My elder brothers had passed through their academic career and were engaged in life, each in his own way. How I used to envy them, when, after a hurried meal in the morning, I found the inevitable carriage, that took us to school, ready at the gate. How I wished that, by some magical spell, I could cross the intervening fifteen or twenty years and suddenly become a grown-up man. I afterwards realised that what then weighed on my mind was the unnatural pressure of

the system of education, which prevailed everywhere.

Children's minds are sensitive to the influence of the great world to which they have been born. Their subconscious mind is active, always imbibing some lesson, and with it realising the joy of knowing. This sensitive receptivity of their passive mind helps them, without their feeling any strain, to master language, that most complex and difficult instrument of expression, full of ideas that are undefinable and symbols that deal with abstractions. And through her natural gift of guessing they learn the meaning of words which we cannot explain.

But it is just at this critical period that that the child's life is brought into the educational factory,—lifeless, colourless, dissociated from the context of the universe, within bare white walls staring like eyeballs of the dead. We had the God-given gift of taking delight in the world, but such delightful activity was fettered and imprisoned, stilled by a force called discipline which kills the sensitivity of the child mind, the mind which is always on the alert, restless and eager to receive first-hand knowledge from mother Nature. We had to sit inert, like dead specimens of some museum, whilst lessons were pelted at us from on high, like hailstones on flowers.

I rebelled, young as I was. Of course this was an awful thing for a child to do,—the child of a respectable family! My elder did not know how to deal with this pheno-

menon. They tried all kinds of persuasion, vigorous and gentle, until at last I was despaired of and set free. Through the joy of my freedom, I felt a real urging to teach myself. I undertook the task of playing schoolmaster to myself, and found it to be a delightful game. I pored over any books that came my way,—not school-selected text-books that I did not understand,—and I filled up the gaps of understanding out of my own imagination. The result may have been quite different from the author's meaning, but the activity itself had its own special value.

At the age of twelve, I was first coerced into learning English. You will admit that neither its spelling, nor its syntax, is perfectly rational. The penalty for this I had to pay, without having done anything to deserve it, with the exception of being born ignorant.

When in the evening time my English teacher used to come, with what trepidation I waited! I would be yearning to go to my mother and ask her to tell me a fairy story, but instead I had to go and get my text-book, with its unprepossessing black binding, and chapters of lessons, followed by rows of separated syllables with accent marks like soldiers' bayonets. As for that teacher, I can never forgive him. He was so inordinately conscientious! He insisted on coming every single evening,—there never seemed to be either illness or death in his family. He was so preposterously punctual too. I remember how the fascination for the frightful attracted me every evening to the terrace facing the road; and, just at the right moment, his umbrella,—for bad weather never prevented him coming,—would appear at the bend of our lane.

One day I discovered, in a library belonging to one of my brothers, a copy of Dickens's *Old Curiosity Shop*. I persisted in reading it, and, with the help of the illustrations supplemented by contributions made by my own imagination, I made out some kind of a story. In this manner, with no help from any teacher, but just as a child learns by sheer guessing, I went on reading and reading and a twilight atmosphere of colourful vision was produced in my mind.

This was the experience of my own young days and I believe that a large part of such success or reputations I may have acquired, I owe to that early freedom, won with willfulness.

In our childhood we imbibe our lessons with the aid of our whole body and mind,

with all the senses fully active and eager. When we are sent to school, the doors of natural information are closed to us: our eyes see the letters, our ears hear the abstract lessons, not the perpetual stream of ideas which form the heart of nature, because the teachers in their wisdom think that these bring distraction, that they have no great purpose behind them.

When we accept any discipline for, ourselves, we try to avoid taking in anything except what is necessary for our purpose; and it is this purposefulness, which belongs to the adult mind, that we force upon the children in school. We say "Never keep your mind alert, attend to what is before you, what has been given you". This becomes torture to the child, because it goes against Nature's purpose, and Nature, the greatest of all teachers, is thwarted at every stop by the human teacher who believes in machine-made lessons and not in the lessons of life, so that the whole growth of the child's mind is not only hurt, but forcibly spoilt.

I believe that children should be surrounded with the things of Nature, which have their own educational value. Their minds should be allowed to stumble on and be surprised at everything that happens in the life of to-day. The new to-morrow will stimulate their attention with new facts of life. This is the best method for the child. But what happens in school is, that every day, at the same hour, the same book is brought and poured out for him. His attention is never hit by the chance surprises which come from learning from Nature.

How quickly the child, left to himself, is capable of gathering facts! In its early days it is always picking them up; and even if, for the time being, it does not grasp all their meaning, yet because of the immense receptiveness of the subconscious memory, nothing that passes across the mind really ever leaves it. Our grown-up mind is always full of the things we have to arrange and deal with, and therefore the things that happen around us, the coming of morning, celebrated with music and flowers, leave no mark upon us. We do not allow them to, for our minds are really crowded; the stream of lessons perpetually flowing from the heart of Nature does not touch us, we merely choose those which are useful, rejecting the rest as undesirable because we want the shortest cut to success.

Children have no such distractions. With

them every new fact or event comes to a mind that is always open, with an abundant hospitality ; and, through this exuberant, indiscriminate acceptance, they learn innumerable facts within a very short time, amazing compared with our own slowness.

* These are most important lessons of life which are thus learnt, and what is still more wonderful is, that the greater part of them are abstract truths. I cannot even imagine how it is possible for a child to understand abstract ideas through mere guessing, to master that most complex organism of expression, our language, while its mind is so immature.

Knowing something of the natural school which Nature herself supplies to all her creatures, I chose a delightful spot and used to hold my classes under some big shady tree. I taught them all I could. I played with them. In the evening I recited our ancient epics and sang my own songs. I trusted to the presence of the spirit of freedom in the atmosphere. I had to fight the teachers who assisted me, who had been brought up in a different environment to that of mine, who had no faith in freedom, who believed that it was impertinence for the boys to be boys.

Then I tried to create an atmosphere of culture. I invited renowned artists from the city to live at the school, leaving them free to produce their own work, which I allowed the boys and girls to watch if they so felt inclined. It was the same with my own work. All the time I was composing songs and poems, and would often invite the teachers round, to sing or read with them. Our boys would also come, and peep in since they were not invited, and listen to the poems and songs fresh from the heart of their composer. This helped to create an atmosphere from which they could imbibe something impalpable, but life-giving.

We have there the open beauty of the sky, and the different seasons revolve before our eyes in all the magnificence of their colour. Through this perfect touch with nature we took the opportunity of instituting * festivals of the seasons. When nature herself sends her message, we ought to acknowledge its compelling force. When the kiss of rain thrilled the heart of the surrounding trees, if we had still behaved with undue propriety and paid all our attention to mathematics, it would have been positively wrong, impious.

The seasons of the rains often brought us unexpected release from duty. Some voice

suddenly would proclaim from the sky: "To-day is your holiday!" We submitted gladly and would run wildly away. Such sympathy is so easily crushed by routine which takes no count of nature's claims, and does not keep open the path for this great world to find its place in the soul of man. I do not believe in such barbarity.

Our children began to be of service to our neighbours, to help them in various ways and to be in constant touch with the life around them. They had their own freedom to grow, which is the greatest possible gift for the child life. There was also another kind of freedom at which we aimed, the freedom of sympathy with all humanity, a freedom from all racial and national prejudice.

The sympathies of children, like the undergrowths of a forest, are allowed to cling to the dust of the soil to which they belong and not to grow up to that height from which they can send their branches in all directions. Therefore their hearts remain stunted, incapable of understanding other people with different languages and customs. This causes us, when our growing souls demand it, to grope after each other in darkness, to hurt each other in ignorance, to suffer from the worst form of blindness of this age. The missionaries themselves have contributed to this evil. In the name of brotherhood and in the arrogance of their sectarian pride, they create misunderstanding. This they make permanent in their text-books and poison the minds of children. The worst of fetters come when children lose their freedom of sympathy.

I have tried to save children from such vicious methods of alienating their minds which are fostered through books, through histories, geographies and lessons full of national prejudices. I have done it with the help of friends from the West. In the East there is a great deal of bitter resentment against Western races, which rankles in our hearts, and in our own homes we are brought up in feelings of hatred. I have tried to save the children from that and these friends from the West, with their understanding, with their human sympathy and love, have done us a great service.

We are building up our institution upon the ideal of the spiritual unity of all races. I want to build it with the help of all other races, and when I was on the continent of Europe, I appealed to those great countries, to their scholars, and I was fortunate enough

to receive their help. They also came to this institution, which is poor in material things, leaving their own centres of learning, and spent a year or more with us, helping to build it up.

I have in mind not merely a University—that is only one of the aspects of our Visva-Bharati,—but I hope this is going to be a great meeting place for individuals from all countries who believe in our spiritual unity and who have suffered from the lack of it, who want to make atonement and come into human touch with their neighbours. Such idealists there are and when I travelled in the West, even in out-of-the-way places, many unknown persons of no special reputation wanted to join this work.

When the races come together, as they have done in the present age, it should not be merely the gathering of a crowd. There must be some bond of relation, otherwise they will knock against one another.

Our education must enable every child to grasp and to fulfil this purpose of the age, not to defeat it by acquiring the habit of creating divisions, and of cherishing national prejudices. There are of course

natural differences in human races which should be preserved and respected and the mission of our education should be to realise our unity in spite of them, to discover truth through the wilderness of their contradictions.

This we have tried to do in Visva-Bharati. Our endeavour has been to include this ideal of unity in all the activities in our institution, some educational, some that comprise different kinds of artistic expression, some in the shape of service to our neighbours by way of helping the reconstruction of village life. As I wanted this institution to be inter-racial, I invited there great minds from the West. They cordially responded, and some have come permanently to join hands with us and build a place where men of all nations and countries may find their true home, without molestation from the prosperous who are always afraid of idealism or from the politically powerful who are always suspicious of men who have the freedom of spirit.*

* Specially contributed to THE MODERN REVIEW.

THE DEATH TRAFFIC

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

Written in Bengali in 1881.

[THE Article which follows was written by the Poet in May, 1881, exactly forty-four years ago, for the Bengali magazine called 'Bharati'. At Geneva, in May, 1923, as I have related elsewhere, Mr. John Campbell, the official representative of the Government of India, made the statement to the World Press assembled, that "from the very beginning, the Government of India had handled the opium question with perfect honesty of purpose; and not even its most ardent opponents, including Mr. Gandhi, had ever made any reproach in that respect". Although called upon to withdraw the latter part of this statement, Mr. Campbell has never done so. Mahatma Gandhi has contradicted it in 'Young India'; many passages have been quoted also, in contradiction, from the writings of Mr. Dadabhai Naoraji, G. K. Gokhale, Surendranath Banerjea, and others of a quite early date, as well as later expressions of opinion, but still the statement remains as it was uttered. This article, written by the Poet in Bengali when he was twenty years of age and now for the first

time translated, is a further convincing proof of Mr. Campbell's inaccuracy. In the original Bengali, the article takes the form of an editorial review of Dr. Christlieb's book entitled "The Indo-British Opium Trade." C. F. A.]

We have never before heard such a revolting story of Thuggism, as is contained in this book by Doctor Theodore Christlieb, which lies before us for review.

A whole nation, China, has been forced by Great Britain to accept the opium poison,—simply for commercial greed. In her helplessness, China pathetically declared: "I do not require any opium". But the British shopkeeper answered: "That's all nonsense. You must take it."

Both the hands of China were tightly bound. Opium was forced down China's

throat with the help of guns and bayonets, while the British merchants cried, "You have to pay the price of all the opium you take from us".

For nearly a century, the British traders have been carrying on this disgraceful trade in China. The article, which the customer does not want, is shoved into one pocket by force, while the money to pay for it is forcibly extracted from the other pocket, and its full price realised. Such a method of carrying on business and accumulating wealth can only by courtesy be called by the name of traffic. It is sheer brigandage. The very nation which had become an object of gratitude to thousands of African negroes, by removing from them the chains of slavery, is now saying to China: "I want more money, and therefore you must take opium."

This poison of opium, eating at the vitals of one of the greatest and oldest countries of Asia, has been spreading like an infection over the whole body politic. It has been killing slowly by inches mind and body alike. A strong nation, like Britain, is using its strength to sell death and destruction to a weak nation, and thus make profit; though the profit made is pitifully insignificant compared with the vast destruction wrought.

If we trace the history of the way in which this traffic was introduced, it is enough to arouse indignation against Great Britain and pity for China even in the hardest hearts. When we read the history of unnatural and inhuman bloodshed in war, we have simply a feeling of horror mingled with that of wonder. But, in the Indo-China opium traffic, human nature itself sinks down to such a depth of despicable meanness, that it is hateful even to follow the story to its conclusion.

In 1780, the British East India Company sent two small ships full of opium into the Gulf, at the entrance of the Canton River, near Macao. Before this time, only two hundred chests of opium had been imported into China as a medicinal drug. Therefore, there was no customer at first for the two ship-loads carrying 2,800 chests, which were exported by the East India Company in 1780-81. So the Company worked very hard indeed to find out some means of introducing this vicious traffic into China. The British are past-masters in the game of commercial strategy. This game began in China; and it was played by the East India Company with such success that in the year 1799, the Chinese Government had to pass legislation

prohibiting the import of opium into China altogether. But in spite of these laws the British merchants went on smuggling opium into China. Legal or illegal, open or secret, China was obliged to take opium. That was the settled policy of the Company, and they carried it out like brigands.

Apprehending some trouble, the ships that were loaded with opium were removed to Whampoa. Then the Chinese authorities took security bonds from all the Hong Kong merchants, that no ships should enter the harbour with opium on board. The law was enacted that if opium was found on any ship, it should be sent back at once, without unloading, and the security holders should be punished. This law was renewed from time to time; but it had no effect. At last, in the year 1821, the Governor of Canton tried his hardest to prohibit opium smuggling altogether. He earnestly requested the English, Dutch and Americans to give up the detestable practice which they had employed of demoralising the Chinese officers with bribes.

The East India Company removed its own ships from Whampoa to the island of Liu Tiu. Opium was smuggled in from the ships there, and the traffic was still carried on secretly. The English merchants continued to corrupt the Chinese officers in order to introduce the drug into the interior of China. There had never been before such a method adopted of bribing Chinese officials with heavy bribes to violate their own laws and to disobey their own superior officers.

Then, a new law was passed against the Opium Traffic by the Chinese Government; but the smuggling increased to such an extent that there was a great agitation against the British. The Chinese patriots proposed the boycott of British goods. Then the Chinese Emperor being greatly concerned about the possibility of danger to his subjects, sent Commissioner Lim to Canton as his representative. Commissioner Lim destroyed all the opium that he found in the ships in harbour, stopped all trade with England, and expelled from China all the officers of the East India Company who had carried on the traffic. In the end, war was declared.

Everyone knows what was the end of this Opium War. The Chinese were defeated and had to sue for peace. Five seaports were opened for the English merchants. Hong Kong was ceded to the British and twenty one million dollars were paid as indemnity. The British consented that a clause should

be inserted in the treaty allowing the Chinese to confiscate all illegal goods. At the same time they tried their utmost to get their traffic in opium made legal. But that attempt failed. Then the British representative agreed, that opium might be confiscated, but refused to help in any way in preventing smuggling. He knew full well that all the opium ships were fully armed, and that the weak Chinese, without his help, would not dare to approach them. Thus openly, after the war, before the eyes of the helpless Chinese, the trade was carried on the same as before.

After this, the Chinese people became so enraged against the red-haired foreigners, on account of their repeated violation of the laws of the country, that they were becoming more and more determined to turn them out of China altogether. The Chinese authorities captured an English opium ship, called the 'Arrow', and this led to the Second Opium War with China, in which France sided with Great Britain.

The unfortunate Chinese, defeated again, were obliged this time to open seven more sea-ports to the foreigners. Opium henceforth was not to be considered an illegal traffic. Only a nominal tax was imposed upon it. The Chinese people repeatedly sent petitions asking that at least a heavy tax should be imposed; but the British rejected all such petitions. Therefore, after this Second Opium War, the trade flourished to such an extent that in the year 1875 as many as 90,000 chests of opium were imported into China from abroad.

Now we have reached the year 1881, and millions of men and women have become addicted to the vice of opium-smoking. The opium smoked is grown in India. Just as in our country of India, we offer the hookah to a guest on his arrival, so wealthy people and rich merchants in China offer their visitors and their customers opium to be smoked. Opium shops are to be seen in every street. Nankin is so notorious for opium-smoking that the inhabitants lie intoxicated during the day and work at night. In the city of Ningpo, we are told that 2700 shops of opium have been set up in the poorest quarters. It has been noticed that wherever opium-eating was most prevalent, the incidence of famine was greatest. The reason for this is not far to seek. For people who smoke opium become lazy and inactive: and the cultivation of opium leaves less space for the cultivation of rice and corn. During the famine when the Chinese people could

not buy any food, they then realised that opium alone could not satisfy their hunger.

In 1832, two hundred opium-smokers were returned out of one thousand troops, who were sent against the revolutionaries. Since the revolutionaries at that time were against opium-smoking, they easily defeated the royalist soldiers over and over again. The Chinese assert that the crafty Englishmen have introduced opium in order that they might easily conquer the country.

China is becoming poorer and poorer every day, because so much money is being drained out of the country for opium alone. In the year 1872, China bought opium worth £4,261,381. This proved an excessive drain on her resources. We read that those who become addicted to the drug, are so degraded that they will sell their own children and their own wives. One of the Chinese addicts has recently said, that all the bamboos of the Southern Hills (which are used for making pens) could not exhaust the story of the woes caused by opium and all the waters of the northern sea could not wash away its stains. In this way, owing to the selfishness and greed for money on the part of Great Britain, the millions of the Chinese people are drifting towards political and social destruction. It would appear that the British people are not really moved by the promptings of religion, but only by those of money. This is what they call 'Christianity', in the Nineteenth Century after Christ!

Once an American missionary went to the city of Ki Fung Fu, and he was turned out by the people. They said to him: "You have killed our Emperor, demolished his palace, brought poison to destroy us,—and now you want to teach us religion!"

An Englishman went into one of the opium dens and a confirmed opium-smoker confessed to him, that he spent 80% of his whole income on opium. When the Englishman told him that he came from England, the reply was: "Then you are one of those who deal in this fatal poison. What sort of a person is this Queen Victoria? We send her the finest silk and tea; and she sends us instead this poison to kill us". This is the way in which the Chinese people think about the English.

This distrust of all foreigners has gone so far, that, owing to this curse of opium traffic, the Chinese do not want to construct railways in their own country for fear lest the opium should spread into the interior.

They fear that with the increase of trade in opium the foreigners will invade their country. This fear is so strong, that the Chinese Government has not ventured to develop the mines, except those of coal and iron to some extent, lest they should have to employ the foreigners and thus increase the foreign trade.

The English people are really sustaining a great loss in moral prestige owing to the utter distrust with which the Chinese have begun to regard them. The English trade also has actually suffered in the long run through this short-sighted and immoral opium policy.

We have written at length about the effects of the opium traffic in China and the hostility of the Chinese. Now let us consider the evils that have been done to India itself by this opium traffic, which the British have been keeping up. A large part of the Indian revenue is obtained from this opium traffic. But as the traffic is a fluctuating one, there is a universal fear on account of the dependence of revenue on this uncertain quantity. Furthermore, the cultivation of Chinese opium is increasing. At the same time, there is a strong feeling growing up in China among the people against the use of opium altogether. Thus, the cultivation of home-grown opium in China is on the increase, while the actual consumption is likely to decrease. These factors will make the Indian revenue from opium more variable than ever.

Furthermore, the cultivation of an opium crop requires highly fertile land, where good grain crops could be produced. In 1877-78 one million men died of famine in Bengal alone. Yet the half a million acres, which are now employed in opium cultivation could easily supply the food for a million men and save them from starvation. Dr. Wilson declared in Parliament recently that the cultivation of opium in Malwa had done such harm to other crops, that twelve lakhs of people had died of starvation in the neighbouring parts of Rajputana. It would almost seem as if the whole of Rajputana were going to commit suicide owing to the growth of the opium habit. It is hard indeed to think of such a brave and chivalrous people becoming stolid and inactive, lazy and lifeless. Whereas the ancient kingdom of Rajputana was a kingdom of noble dreams, the present kingdom of Rajputana is a kingdom of dull sleep. Such a great people has become of so little worth!

Again, the quantity of opium that is being consumed in Assam is doing the greatest harm to the Assamese race. The Trade Expert Mr. Bruce has written "The dreadful mortality due to opium-eating and smoking is changing the beautiful country of Assam into a desolate wilderness inhabited by wild beasts. It is making the noble Assamese race the most dishonourable and servile people".

This is what has been done in India by the opium trade. If the Chinese Emperor can say that he could never stoop so low as to make money out of the sin and suffering of his subjects, why cannot the English, who pride themselves on their Christianity, declare that they will never cherish the idea of gaining wealth at the expense of the sin and suffering of a great people like the Chinese?

But we know well this 'Christian' nation. These 'Christians' have exterminated the aboriginal Americans. By their 'Christian' method, they confiscate 'heathen' lands, whenever their covetous eyes fall upon them.

Before the Arakan coast fell into the hands of the British people, those who took opium were liable to the punishment of death. The inhabitants were frugal, diligent and simple. But the English merchants opened the opium shops there, and all kinds of intoxicants were introduced. Young men who had not reached years of discretion, were tempted with opium, without paying any price for it at first; but later when the opium habit was formed the price rose higher and higher. As the Government revenue increased, the pockets of the merchants swelled; the hardy people of Arakan became blind addicts of opium, and gamblers into the bargain. This has been done by what is called a Christian nation.

It has become well known, all over the world, how the British Christians treat those who are weak and helpless. Their one desire is to spurn them and to beat them down. It is written in the Christian Scriptures: "If anyone smite you on one cheek, turn to him the other also". When the English Christians tempted the Chinese Emperor with a big revenue to be obtained by killing his own subjects, the Emperor refused. He would not do a thing so despicably mean. Doubtless, what this non-Christian Emperor did was a slap on the face of the Christian English. Unfortunately it had no effect.

PURDAH

By AZEEZ-UD-DEEN AHMAD B. A.

TO call oneself a Muslim and to condemn Purdah may seem to be an anomaly. I should, therefore, at the outset, offer a word of explanation. I look upon Purdah as a mere social institution and not as a religious system as some pious people would have us believe. I shall attempt to show, as briefly as possible, that Purdah as a social institution has long outlived the age in which it was found necessary and useful in India, and that at the present time it has become only a fruitful source of many social, physical and moral evils.

It is difficult to determine how and where Purdah was for the first time introduced into human society. It may, however, be attributed to two probable causes: First, in a rude age and among a ruder people, when might was the only right and brute force the only recognised form of law, Purdah might have been introduced to protect the honour and chastity of women from the attacks of the neighbouring tribes. Secondly in an age when woman was considered as a mere article of luxury, some jealous people might have introduced Purdah as a means of guarding their women and keeping them in seclusion. But whatever may be the real or supposed causes for the introduction of Purdah, it is evident that in different ages, among different peoples, and according to the different stages of social development, it has served different purposes. Space will not permit me to give here even a short history of Purdah in different countries. I shall, therefore, confine myself to Purdah only in so far as it concerns India.

In ancient Indian society Purdah does not seem to have been so strict and widespread as it has subsequently become since the Mahomedan invasion. During the first few years of Mahomedan conquest, when the country was held in military occupation, there was not much love lost between the conquerors and the conquered. And this was but natural. Racial hatred and political subjection embittered the relations between the Hindus and Muslims. At such a time and under such circumstances the Hindus could not, with any fairness to themselves, allow their women to move freely among

their Mahomedan conquerors, especially among soldiers, who were, as it is only too common to a victorious army, generally lawless and devoid of all sense of social decorum and moral influence. The superior Mahomedan officers also could not allow their women to move freely among the soldiers who were generally recruited from rude and barbarous tribes, nor could they allow their women to move freely among the Hindus whom they naturally looked upon as inferior beings. Seclusion of women thus became a necessity both for the conquerors and the conquered. Nor was this all. Besides this well-marked distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims, as the conquerors and the conquered, there were many other differences of caste and creed, religion and race. The differences in social customs and usages were only too many to be enumerated here. All these differences combined to create a gulf of separation between the Hindus and Muslims. Living as the rulers and the ruled, the male members of both the communities could not but come in close and direct contact with one another, but the weaker sex was jealously guarded by both the communities. Thus Purdah, which was once introduced as a necessity, when the Muslims held the country in military occupation, became a fashion when they began to look upon India as their home and settled as peaceful neighbours to the Hindus. To believe that the Muslims introduced Purdah in India with conscious efforts and religious zeal, is, I think, to misstate facts. It is rather interesting to observe here incidentally that the female members of the Arabian Prophet's family used, on special occasions, to move in public, and take active part in political discussions and join the fields of battle. It need hardly be added here that in Modern Turkey, Egypt, even in Arabia and other Mahomedan countries Purdah is not so strict as it unfortunately is in India today. It is a pity that a section of the Indian Muslims should look upon Purdah as a religious institution. The only thing that can be said in its favour is that Purdah as a system has been more sanctified by custom than sanctioned by religion. In modern India, among the orthodox Muslims,

Purdah is observed with so much strictness that it looks like nothing short of barbarism and shows a complete disregard for the real spirit of the master's teachings relating for this custom. The general want of culture and progress among the Indian Muslims may, to a large extent, be attributed to the inhuman observance of this custom. Girls of the age of 9 or 10 are seldom allowed to stir out of the Zenana and from this tender age they are crippled in body as well as in intellect. Without education and culture they are absolutely of no use to their family and when they become the girl-wives of their boy-husbands they are compelled to undertake duties for which they are never trained. They generally produce half a dozen sickly and deformed children before they pass their teens. Being themselves hopelessly ignorant, they do not know how to bring up their numerous progeny. So, each succeeding generation becomes more ignorant and less equipped for the struggle of life than the preceding one. Living within the four walls of the zenana, these unfortunate creatures know nothing of what passes in the world outside and as a result thereof they cannot adapt themselves to the changed circumstances of the times. The only thing for which they are fit under the sun is to breed a race of pigmies.

The Indian Muslims should take a lesson from their more advanced Hindu neighbours, especially from the Brahmo community of Bengal, who take as much care for the education of their females as for that of males.

Nothing can be more inhuman and barbarous than to deny women the enjoyment of light and air. To keep them in perpetual darkness under pretension of observing Purdah may be regarded as one of the many injustices done to the weaker sex from time immemorial.

A little reflection will make it clear that since the beginning of human society, man has been always more or less unkind and ungenerous to women. Even those who founded religions and established moral systems or social codes have vied with one another in inventing many pious frauds to hold women perpetually under undue subjection. In the Book of Genesis woman has been represented as an easy victim to the dictates of Satan or to evil desires. Our own Indian Manu and a whole host of others have characterised woman as more prone to evil tendencies than man. No attempts were made to compensate for her physical in-

feriority; on the other hand, this has always been looked upon as a sure indication of her intellectual and moral inferiority. Until more recent times, she was considered as a necessary evil.

Thanks to modern culture and progress that things have changed a great deal. Among the civilized people Purdah has been already done away with, and woman has been given a chance to try her luck with man in the race of life and their combined efforts have contributed greatly to the happiness of mankind. Women are now taking an active part in all the activities of men. The valuable contributions of women to sciences and arts are daily increasing. The time has come when the civilization and general culture of a country are judged by the kind of education given to and freedom enjoyed by its women. It seems that at no distant future they will decide the destinies of mankind.

One of the many causes why the Indians occupy such a low position in the comity of nations may be sought in the cold neglect in which they hold their women and the Indian Muslims occupy a still lower place because of their practical discouragement of female education. Purdah, as it obtains in India at the present time, is the greatest obstacle in the way of female education among the Muslims and the sooner it is abolished the better.

Let us now consider the physical injury that Purdah has been doing to our women-folk. As they are kept within the four walls of the Zenana with religious fanaticism, they are denied the light of the sun and pure air, and, consequently, they have to drag on an unhealthy life. They lose the strength of mind as well as of the body and fall easy victims to various diseases and temptations. They can hardly defend themselves in times of danger. Such is indeed their miserable lot in their own sphere. But when they have to go to a distant place either on foot or by steamer or train etc., their sad plight can be better imagined than described. They have to be carried by a jealous guard like so many living luggages.

In these circumstances, let those who have the good of their community at heart seriously consider whether one should still persist in continuing such an inhuman and barbarous custom as Purdah.

Before I take leave, I must apologize if I have wounded anybody's religious sentiments.

KOHAT AND GOVERNMENT—A HISTORICAL PARALLEL

ONE of the special features of the Kohat tragedy is the weakening of Governmental authority during and after the disturbance and its total inability to preserve peace and order in the disturbed area except by securing the goodwill of the aggressive party which dominates the whole situation. It is not a far cry from Kohat to Kashmir, though it may be from 1924 to 1721, but in the records of the events of the latter year, we find a most interesting parallel to the Kohat situation in regard to the breakdown of governmental authority and perhaps in some other features of the tragedy also. The following extracts from Siyarul Mutakharin, the famous historical work of Mirghulam Hussain Khan, one of the counties of Delhi during the later Moghul period, may enable us to visualise the Kohat incidents. It seems as if we were perusing the account of one of the recent Hindu-Muslim disturbances in the country.

There one Mula Abd-ul-neby, a Cashmirian known by the appellation of Mohtevy-khan, a man who was celebrated for his prejudice against the Hindus, availed himself of the confusion of the times to give vent to this feeling. He assembled a number of idle, disorderly, inconsiderate Mussalmans, and went at their head to Mir Ahmed, the Lieutenant-Governor, and to the Kazy or Chief Judge of the province, to whom he proposed that henceforward Hindus of all sorts should be prohibited the use of horses, white robes, turbans and arms; and also that they should be forbidden to go out, except at stated hours, to gardens and bathing places. The Lieutenant-Governor and the Judge answered calmly, that whatever regulations his Majesty should think proper to promulgate, by the advice of the learned divines of his court, on those matters, as a standing rule for all the Hindus of his dominions, would of course find their way into Cashmire, where it would be their business as his special servants to carry them into execution. This answer being unsatisfactory to Mohtevy-Khan, he, in concert with a number of low people about him, adopted the practice of attacking and ill-treating every Hindu of rank he chanced to

meet in the streets. One day as Sahib Rai, a Hindu of distinction was giving an entertainment at a Garden in the suburbs, that disturber of the peace, aided by his associates fell unexpectedly on these innocent people and killed and wounded many of them. Sahib Rai finding himself aimed at, fled to the palace of Mir Ahmed Khan, the Lieutenant-Governor and while he was there concealed, his house in town was plundered and sacked by Mohtevy Khan and his followers. They likewise plundered the *whole Hindu Quarter of the City*; after which they set it on fire, killing and dispersing not only all the Hindus who came out to entreat their mercy, but all Mussalmans who attempted to intercede for them. Heated with this success, the mob marched down to the Governor's palace which they attacked first with stones and brick-bats and at last with arrows and musket-balls; and whoever came out was insulted and plundered, if not killed and stripped, upon the spot. The Lieutenant-Governor remained besieged for a whole day and night; nor would it have been possible for him to escape, had he not adopted several contrivances and exposed himself to the most imminent peril. The next day he assembled a few soldiers and some other people, mounted horses, and being supported by the Commander of the forces, by Shah Nevaz Khan, and by several other Military Officers, he advanced towards the seditious insurgents but the latter, having received advices of his design, assembled a vast number of men of their own stamp with intention to stand their grounds, on observing that the Lieutenant Governor had crossed a bridge to approach them, their leader sent some of his followers to set it on fire; and following up the blow he also burnt all the streets in his flank and rear, whilst some of his people getting amongst the ruins maintained incessant discharges of musketry, arrows, stones and brick-bats; while the wives and children of the Mussalman mob strove to outdo them, by tossing baskets full of filth and every missile they could obtain from the houses into the streets. In a little time Syed Wali the

Lieutenant-Governor's nephew, and Zulficar Beg, the Cotwali deputy, were slain, with a number of others and many more were grievously wounded and disabled, so that Mir Ahmed Khan saw himself almost alone. Unable to go back, and afraid of advancing, or stopping, he had recourse to entreaties and supplications; and after undergoing all sorts of indignity and outrage, he was suffered to escape. Mohtevy Khan, now fiercer than ever, returned to the Governor's house, where Sahib Rai had taken shelter with a multitude of Hindus. Having entered it by force, he seized every one of them, killed some, cut off the noses of others, and *circumcised all those he thought proper otherwise to save*. The latter operation was performed in so brutal a manner that some lost their organs altogether. The next day he repaired at the head of a great throng, to the great mosque; where, of his own own authority, he deposed the Lieutenant-Governor, proclaimed himself in his stead by the style and title of Dindar Khan and ordered that until the arrival of another Lieutenant-Governor, the Kazy should hear and determine all causes of complaint; so that for *five months together*, Mir Ahmed Khan remained a private man in his own capital, whilst Mohtevy Khan sat every day in state in the Mosque, hearing and determining all matters concerning finance and Government.

An account of these disturbances having reached court, Momin Khan was deputed to Cashmere on the part of Enaiet-ullah-khan, governor of the province, but who resided at Court. The intelligence intimidated Mohtevy Khan, who by this time had repented of what he had done. In the first impulse of the moment, he took two of his small children by the hand and went with them to Khwaja Abdullah, one of the principal holy men of the city, with whom he had some acquaintance, and having heard that he intended to go out to meet the new Lieutenant-Governor at the head of the principal religious men and the citizens, he wished to accompany him. The holy man answered that he had no objection but he thought he ought in the first instance to go to the commander of the troops, Mir Shah Newaz Khan, whose forgiveness he

sought to ask for what had passed. Mohtevy Khan accordingly went to the General's quarters, where the latter had by the Khwaja's advice, concealed a number of men (Mahomedans) from the Judbel, that much-injured quarter of the city. On his entering the room, a few words were exchanged, when the general excused himself and went away. The concealed men rushed on Mohtevy Khan from their retreat and seized him; they first ripped open before his face the bellies of his two children, and then falling upon him, put him to death with all the tortures which their resentment prompted. Hardly had this event taken place, when the followers of Mohtevy Khan resolved to revenge his death, and running to the Judbel, they commenced killing, wounding, beating, and mangling the inhabitants, and eventually set fire to their houses. About three thousand men were hacked to pieces by these wretches. These proved to be mostly Mogul merchants, and other strangers who resided in Cashmere for the purpose of trade. A vast number of women and children were likewise seized and carried away. Property to the amount of several lacs was plundered or utterly spoiled; nor is there any describing the treatment to which those defenceless people were subjected by those miscreants. Having finished what they called the first campaign of their *religious war*, they proceeded to the second, that is, they marched in a body to the house of the Kazy and the General Shah Newaz Khan. The latter found means to remain concealed; the Kazy changed his dress and slunk away, and the mob, incensed at his escape tore up his house from the very foundation, and scattering the materials about, left not a brick on the spot. It was some days after this occurrence that Momin Khan, the new Lieutenant-Governor, arrived. His first care was to send Mir Ahmed Khan to a place of safety, his second, to re-establish order and sub-ordination, a difficult task in a country notorious for the turbulent disposition of its inhabitants, a wicked race of men, among whom a man in power must *contrive to rule as much by conciliation and concession as by rigour*.

"Itihas"

A MEMOIR OF OLD DELHI

By C. F. ANDREWS

CHAPTER VI

THE NEW LEARNING.

MUNSHI Zaka Ulla's great work in life is to be found rather in his writings than in his teachings. It is true that he had great influence with his pupils and that they loved him as they loved few other teachers. But here his influence was shared by many others and there is nothing that singles him out from his contemporaries as one who seriously endeavoured to wrestle with an entirely new educational problem and to work out an entirely new solution. This he did through his writings. He endeavoured to prove when nearly everyone was against him that higher western education could be carried on in the vernacular and through vernacular books without insistence upon English as the medium of education and of English books as the medium of acquiring knowledge. He fought at the time a losing battle in order to prove this, but he fought bravely to the end: and the sure and certain process of history is rapidly proving his solution to be the true one after all.

As the new western learning advanced, it became supremely necessary to find a scholar whose powers of expression in the vernacular were flexible and simple and intelligible. At the same time, he would have to be a master of the subjects which he would be called upon to explain lucidly in the vernacular for the first time. Hitherto no scientific and mathematical books on modern western subjects had been written in the languages of Northern India. The student was first required to master English,—a long and tedious process, almost impossible for some students and difficult for all.

Munshi Zaka Ullah was an enthusiast with regard to this educational method. He had himself learnt science and mathematics through the medium of his own mother tongue, Urdu: and he did not see why his children should not do the same. It is true, that he himself had learnt the new knowledge from lectures given by word of mouth in the vernacular: he had not learnt from text-books at all. But he was quite certain that such text-books could be written, and he was

prepared to write them. His offer was accepted. It would have been difficult at that time, in the whole of the North of India, to have found one more fitted for the work. Certainly it would have been impossible to find any one with such contagious enthusiasm and such tireless industry.

Having once undertaken the task, he gave up to it all his spare moments, and laboured at it with a strenuous energy that would have exhausted one with less mental and bodily vigour and less dominant power of will.

His first publisher was found in the Aligarh Institute and the enterprise of this Institution in venturing upon this great pioneer work is worthy of being recorded. From its press, volume after volume was issued, on Chemistry, Physics, Light, Heat, and other scientific subjects, as well as elementary and advanced works on modern mathematics.

There is an interesting letter from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, which is still in the possession of Munshi Zaka Ullah's family. It shows the mind of the Government of India at the time on the vexed question of vernacular education. It runs as follows:—

"It appears from replies received by Government that little or nothing has yet been done in translating works of modern science into the vernaculars of India. What has been done in Urdu has been chiefly effected through the instrumentality of the Aligarh Institute. The series of mathematical works published by Munshi Zaka Ullah of Delhi, which is highly spoken of by the Director of Public Instruction, N. W. P., is believed to have been commenced at the request and with the assistance of the Aligarh Institute. Munshi Zaka Ullah has evidently done his work in an excellent manner, and it is hoped that with some further acknowledgment and aid he may agree to carry out the undertaking and direct his attention to other branches of knowledge. The Governor-General in Council is of the opinion, that with some further assistance some means may be devised for further stimulating the production of similar works."

The Governor-General here referred to, was Lord Northbrook. It was a somewhat tardy and half-hearted recognition of an immense amount of work already accomplished. Its closing sentence was fully justified by the event. For Munshi Zaka Ullah went quite steadily forward with the undertaking which he had begun, and each fresh year saw some new book published which had come from his pen.

The full record of his achievement appears almost incredible until the number of years that he spent over the task is taken into account. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that he spent, in all, more than fifty years of his life in this one literary pursuit.

He soon abandoned the mere translation of English books and launched out into writings that were either wholly, or in part original. At the close of his career, when I had become his intimate friend, he would show me rows upon rows of volumes which he had written. I have on my own bookshelf many of his chief works which he presented to me. They are full of original information, written in a simple and pure fluent Urdu style, and they cover a great variety of subjects. Their publication and use in schools have done not a little to set up a new standard for Urdu Literature, to make it lucid and clear and easy to understand by the ordinary reader, and to free it from an overgrowth of Persian and Arabic words, which none but the learned could interpret.

As a Professor of Vernacular Learning and Science, at the Muir Central College, Allahabad, he was able to carry on, in an almost uninterrupted manner, the work of preparing these text-books in which he was by this time busily engaged. He won at the same time, the highest esteem and reverence from all his pupils. On his departure his old pupils presented him with an address, which in this instance was no formal matter, but a spontaneous act marked by sincerity and affection. "Your kindly and just treatment of your pupils,"—the address runs in one of its paragraphs "your sympathy with them and your complete identification with everything that concerns their moral and intellectual welfare, will long be remembered. Both as a teacher, and as a true friend and guide, we have had at all times full confidence in you, and were convinced that you would do your utmost for us and promote our best interests. We feel that the severance of your connection with our College will form a serious loss to us all".

The honours that were showered upon

him at his retirement from active teaching work came as a surprise to him, as he told me modestly, and he felt that he had not deserved them. But the public felt very differently, and there was a general satisfaction at the recognition of his learning and ability. He had worked very hard indeed at his various duties. His educational experiments were new and untried: he had to create new traditions: he was called upon at every turn to act as a pioneer of the new learning. The course he took was not the one to win him popularity: but unquestionably from the point of view of educational theory it was pre-eminently sound. That it did not succeed better, was because the generation that was to be taught desired to learn English at any cost and recklessly threw away their mother tongue and its literature in order to accomplish the knowledge of English more quickly. Today the pendulum is rapidly swinging back, and the great work of Munshi Zaka Ullah may even at this late date at last come to its own and be appreciated at its proper worth.

His retirement, after thirty-seven years of service at Allahabad, was in no sense one of inactivity or idleness and ease. Indeed his best literary work was done in his later days. He was an indefatigable reader as well as writer and in a wonderful way kept abreast of the news and information of the times in which he lived, both at home and abroad. He took up, somewhat late in life, with remarkable energy and industry, the study of modern history and some of his most original work was done in this subject. He had a purpose at the back of this historical study. It was his one wish to show, that in India tolerance of religious opinion is the first and last end of good government. His ideal rulers, whether in Hindu, Moghal, or British times, were those that loved and practised tolerance and bound together the divided peoples into one, instead of separating them by religious and racial narrowness, bigotry and pride.

In his 'Victoria-Nama' the theme is the advent of British rule: and we recognise the extravagant hopes which were held at that period by the best men of the age who had not yet realised the fatal weakness of a distant government, which must inevitably remain foreign and could never possibly be assimilated simply because of that distance.

It was during this time of his greatest literary activity, that his love and work for his own Musalman community was also demanding his attention.

His eyes used to light up with enthusiasm at the mention of the name of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the founder of Aligarh College. There could be no question as to who was Munshi Zaka Ullah's hero. It was Sir Syed Ahmad. Sir Syed's portrait had the central place of honour in his own sitting room, and books relating to Sir Syed, or else written by him, were conspicuous on his shelves, and constantly in his hands. He used at all times to speak about him with the greatest reverence and admiration. He would give me his lectures to read, and ask my opinion about them, saying that to him they seemed to point out the one true pathway of development for Musalmans in India. It follows from all this that Zaka Ullah was also from the very first an ardent supporter of the Aligarh Movement. As we have seen, the Aligarh Institute was at the outset responsible for the publication of his Urdu works. He was on the Board of Directors from its foundation and remained a member of it up to the day of his death. It was on this Aligarh Movement that he himself, along with all the Musalman idealists of the North of India, based his hopes.

At a very grave crisis in the College, he came to me early one morning in Delhi along with his friend, Maulvi Nazir Ahmed, in order to ask me to go down with them both by the next train to Aligarh to help them with regard to some difficulties which had arisen between the English Professors and the Musalman students. The situation was a very delicate one and I had grave fears lest I might rather hinder than help in such a matter; but his intense anxiety overcame my fears. "The hopes of my whole life-time" he said to me, "are centred in that College. If evil comes to it, the work of my life is ruined." His emotion as he spoke showed how deeply he felt it all and I went with him. That journey revealed to me, more clearly than anything had done before, the passionate earnestness of his convictions and ideals about Aligarh. He was ready to go to any length of personal sacrifice and even indignity, if only the work of Sir Syed Ahmad could be left intact. When we reached Aligarh the two old men laboured hard to compose the differences that had arisen. They went to every length they could of entreaty with the students. "This College," they said to me on the return journey, "is the darling of our hearts: the light of our eyes: we could never forgive ourselves if anything happened to it, and we

had been able to prevent it, and had not tried to do so."

One of the most interesting features in Munshi Zaka Ullah's whole disposition was his attitude towards the modernising of Indian education. He was one of the few men who accepted whole-heartedly the need for modernisation, especially the teaching of modern science to the fullest extent; but at the same time he insisted that the medium of instruction should be the child's own mother language and not English. Though himself remaining to the end, in accordance with these principles, an Urdu teacher and writer only, teaching his own students through the medium of Urdu, he recognised to the full from the very first, owing to his own educational experience at the old Delhi College, that without a full acceptance of the results of modern science and a full knowledge of them also, the East must inevitably fall behind the West and the door of all future progress be closed. With the same principles in view,—and it stands greatly to his credit,—he was one of the very earliest pioneers of female education in the North of India, at a time when the very idea of such thing was foreign and outlandish to the general mind of the people. It cannot be made too clear, that the one point distinguishing Munshi Zaka Ullah from other Indian educationalists during the Nineteenth Century, was his long cherished ideal of imparting this modern knowledge through the medium of Urdu, a language which was the mother tongue of nearly a hundred million people in the North of India. As the century advanced, he used to point to Japan as a signal example of the success of what he called the vernacular method. "The constant use of English" he used to say, "even from our childhood, so that we begin to express our thoughts in it instead of in our mother tongue will go far to denationalise us. If we wish to remain an Eastern people, we must not neglect the language which we learnt at our mother's knee and become foreigners to our own population and practically to all our womenfolk. Our mother tongue contains for us all our hallowed memories and traditions: it is our first articulate speech which we employ to speak with our mothers when we are young: to forget it, or to despise it, is to lose one of the strongest factors in the building up of our character."

"For us, Musalmans," he would continue, "the Urdu language has intimate associations with our religion: its very script reminds

us of our sacred language, Arabic: very many of its words are sprung from Arabic roots. To abandon Urdu for English; to bring up Musalman children so that they do not know how to write or read fluently in Urdu, but prefer to write in English, is the surest way to bring about the neglect of the Mohammadan religion itself. For who in the North of India, except a few scholars, will love the study of Arabic,—the language of our sacred Quran,—if the study of Urdu is despised in this extreme fascination for progress in English?"

While holding these convictions right up to the end and regarding them as unanswerable, in principle Zaka Ullah at the close of his long life acknowledged sadly that in practice the whole trend of events had gone against him. When he saw this with open eyes, and realised that whether he would or not, the study of English as a principal and not as a secondary language, must come in, he bowed to that inevitable. He did not merely stand on one side, but put himself in the forefront of the battle for the advancement of modern scientific knowledge and did not side with the reactionaries.

As we have already seen, he was a whole-hearted admirer and supporter of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the Aligarh Movement, although, much against his own will and consent, it was frankly placed upon an 'English' basis. He did all he could to preserve whatever remained on the Oriental side, and to encourage the pure study of Urdu Literature in the College itself. On this side, he was partly successful. But in the main thesis, he failed.

Nevertheless, though he was humble and recognised his own limitations: though he knew himself as never before to be a follower, not a leader: a man who could carry out the ideas of others, not forcefully with the whole weight of personality carry through his own: yet it was always with a certain tone of regret that he bowed to the inevitable when it came. He knew, in his heart of hearts, that the second best course had been taken, not the best.

Sometimes, in moments of despondency, in his later years, he would tell me that he felt his own life-work of Urdu adaptation and translation for the use of schools had been wasted. He would blame himself and say: "If I had been born with the genius for Urdu Prose of Maulvi Nazir Ahmad I might have succeeded: but I have failed". Then he would point to the number of volumes he had written,

which were lying idle on the shelf, with no one to take them down and read them. He would say that they would only moulder into dust, and his name and his effort would be forgotten: the tide had turned against him.

In reply, I would urge, that to be a pioneer in a great movement was a nobler task than to help forward that which had already made its way: and that he might rightly receive the credit of posterity for having been one of the very first to give the impetus to the spread of the new learning at whatever cost in the North of India, and that all his Urdu books had been written with that ideal in view. If he had not written at all, the spread of modern education might have been indefinitely delayed.

But though this was all true, it never really satisfied him. I think he felt that with a little more insistence at the first he might have carried his point. If he had had the volcanic personality of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan or of his life-long friend and companion, Maulvi Nazir Ahmad, he might have won the victory for what he knew in his heart of hearts to be true. He could see, before he died, the evils creeping into the system of modern education, which had been adopted: and sometimes he wondered whether the whole effort had not been premature and whether more time should not have been taken and surer foundations laid, before the house was built.

Thus Munshi Zaka Ullah, in his educational work, was a remarkable combination of the past and of the present. He was a man who himself refused to speak in any language but Urdu, if he could possibly help it. Yet he read fluently and with ease the most difficult books in English and kept himself abreast of all that had been written in that language in philosophy, science and social theory. He had also a knowledge of modern European History which was rarely at fault. He was one who clung tenaciously to his own vernacular and encouraged it to the very utmost of his power; but at the same time he accepted the spread of English as a medium of school teaching, when he saw that the current of public opinion was against him. He revered intensely the Islamic past with its great traditions of Arabic and Persian poetry and learning, yet he was the first to recognise the supreme necessity for progressive Islam, of modern science and modern knowledge. He took infinite pride in the great achievements of Indian civilization, stretching as it did back to the times of the Vedas

and Upanishads, and studied the early history of his motherland with earnest enthusiasm: yet he was the first to admit the degeneracy and decay that had taken place, and the need of a fresh current of air from outside such as came with the 'English Peace'. He was old-fashioned, to the end, in his mode of life, his household arrangements, his dress, his outward conduct and deportment, yet he was most eager to discuss the latest scientific discoveries and to accept their conclusions.

His life, as he lived it, was true to his own educational ideal. It had a greatness and nobility of its own which differed in tone and quality on the one hand from the English-educated Musalman and on the other hand from the Musalman who had stood entirely aloof from the modern world of the new learning. It possessed the liberality of the former and the old-world refinement of the latter. It was all of one piece. Every one who met him could feel and understand that he had kept

his own soul. He had not lost it in an artificial attempt to master another culture before he had been fully grounded in his own.

What he had accomplished in his own life, what he had worked out in his own experience, he was anxious to impart to others. The dangers that he had been saved from in his own career he wished to guard others against in turn. The pity was, that with all his other gifts, he had not the greatest of all that is needed in a pioneer, namely, the force of personality that could drive the conviction home to the minds of others and make them understand its burning importance. He had all the 'sweetness and light' that were needed, but he was not a 'Boanerges', a 'Son of Thunder'. Perhaps, if he had been, we who knew him and loved him, might have loved him less. For it was the very gentleness of his goodness that made its peculiar charm.

(To be continued.)

LORD BIRKENHEAD AND INDIA'S FUTURE

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

THERE is not the least doubt in the world that India's rulers in Whitehall have realised the necessity of making some sort of a change in their policy towards India. No Indian who goes about London and the Provinces with his eyes and ears open can come to any other conclusion.

I came back from Ireland to the nerve-centre of the British Empire towards the end of 1924, after an absence of a little more than a year. During the four months which have elapsed since my return, I have heard and seen more than enough to justify me in taking the view that howmuchsoever bravely the "Tory regime" at the India Office may talk about its "stand pat" policy, it feels far from easy in mind as to conditions in India.

II

At the behest of British reactionaries in India and Britain, the Earl Winterton, while serving as the Viscount Peel's understudy,

before the Baldwin fiasco over protection drove the Conservative Government out of office, used to say, in effect:

"India must content herself with what she has got, and behave herself, otherwise she will be made to behave."

Since coming into office once again upon the collapse of the short-lived, ineffective Labour-Socialist administration, Lord Winterton has taken up the refrain of the same song. His former chief has, however, not gone back to the India Office and, therefore the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India has to sing a solo, instead of joining in a duet.

III

No one seems to have troubled to discover the reason why the Conservative Prime Minister did not send Lord Peel back to the India Office when he formed his present Cabinet. Having held the Indian portfolio during the previous Baldwin administration,

that Noble Lord, even if he be possessed of no more than the average intelligence, may be presumed to have learnt something of the "multitudinous races and creeds kept by the British Raj from flying at one another's throats," who dwell in that sub-continent called India". Instead of reappointing him, however, Mr. Baldwin gave India a new pilot—a pilot who had never cast eye on the Indian waters, let alone taken soundings in them. Why?

I cannot speak for Mr. Baldwin, or for Lords Peel and Birkenhead. It is, nevertheless, clear that if the Conservative Prime Minister was determined to force Lord Peel's will upon us Indians, Lord Peel would have been offered the India Office, and would have accepted it with alacrity.

IV

The reputation which Lord Birkenhead made in the years when he came to be known as "Galloper Smith," sticks to him: and he is still regarded as intensely conservative. Liberals and Labourites openly speak of him as a reactionary. It must, however, not be forgotten that the new Secretary of State for India possesses an acute mind—which in a few years enabled him to push his way to the top of the British legal profession, to hold the highest judicial appointment in the gift of the British Crown at an unprecedentedly low age, to make a fortune, and, at the same time, to become one of the dominating figures in the political life of Britain. He furthermore had shown in the initial year of this decade both the intellectual ability and the moral courage to re-adjust his point of view in respect of the Irish Home Rule problem. Beginning his political career as a fire-eating detractor of the ability of the Irish in "Southern Ireland" to manage their own affairs, he during 1921, signalled his holding of the first office in the British Government by signing away the 26 counties of Ireland which now constitute the Irish Free State and are, in every respect, ruled from Dublin by Irishmen who neither owe their position to any one at Westminster nor in Whitehall, nor take their orders in any matter or to any degree from there.

Any one who knows aught of Lord Birkenhead's record during the last six months of 1921, and yet says he is unchanging and unchangeable, either cannot see right, or has some purpose in misrepresenting the truth. In July of that year he, as indeed his then political chief—David Lloyd George—

and their colleagues were crying themselves hoarse, telling Irishmen that they may do their worst, but the British Government would not give them Home Rule in excess of that granted in the Act of 1920. Before the first week of December had run its course, he and his associates had shifted their ground almost entirely—giving way upon practically all the points which the Irish delegates held to be crucial, though in some cases not going as far as the Irish demanded or wished.

V

Apologists for the Labour Government which, at its expulsion from "power," left India where she was when it came into office—so many of whom supply India with "news" of Indian affairs in Britain—are, of course, interested in making an attempt to intensify the Indian mistrusts of Lord Birkenhead, and of the Conservative Party—a mistrust already deep-rooted. From a party of privilege, no move towards the relaxation of the British hold over jobs in India can be expected to come. That party, on the contrary, is bound to try to tighten its control over India. So they aver.

The new Secretary of State for India has done himself disservice by keeping his mouth shut, or opening it just wide enough to praise Mr. MacDonald for telling India that Britain would not be coerced into yielding political concessions. The ex-Labour Prime Minister, as also the present Minister for India, know too well the constitutional history of their own country and of their former Colonies—particularly of Canada—to expect to make Indians engaged in a *purely constitutional struggle* quail at such a pronouncement to ask them to forgive their past sins, to promise to be obedient in future, and meekly to accept any crumbs which the British, in their magnanimity choose to give them.

VI

Lord Birkenhead may, of course, take it into his head to announce, any day, that he is convinced that the "stand pat" policy, is untenable. He may, on the contrary declare, even before these words of mine have time to travel to India and to find publication there; that no case has been made out for further constitutional advance until the possibilities of the Montagu-Chelmsford Act have been *adequately* tested and the Commission contemplated by that Act has

been set up in 1929 and has reported. Either way is open to him, and his hand may be formed by certain persons in and out of Parliament who are badgering him to make a pronouncement.

If Lord Birkenhead takes the first course he would do so in spite of the national genius of his people. The British are averse from announcing to their political adversaries or even their political proteges—that they have had enough of constitutional dead-locks and are now ready to evolve a scheme whereby the agitators may get what they are clamouring to obtain. They, on the contrary go on protesting their determination to resist every demand which is made—and abusing *constitutional agitators* as if they were “red rebels”—down to the very moment they actually set their signature to the document accepting the demands, minus such items as their wonderful skill at negotiation enables them to deduct from the demand presented in the first instance. No nation can “higgle and haggle” politically and diplomatically so long and so effectively as the British.

In view of this consideration, it would be safer to assume that Lord Birkenhead would follow the second course, namely, tell India that she must content herself with what she has got and behave herself, otherwise she will be made to behave. In so doing he would be repeating history—national as well as personal—and dotting the “i’s” and crossing the “t’s” of the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India.

VII

Talk in such matters is, however, not so impressive as deeds. Every action taken by the hierarchy at the India Office, from His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India down to the most junior messenger, shows that they are disturbed about Indian conditions, and are groping about for a policy which would make them easy in their minds.

The friction between British officials and Indians of every shade of political opinion is attacking (what the “Indian” administrators regard as) the vitals of the British administration of India, by making the British under-graduate chary of seeking an “Indian career,” and threatening to cut down—or greatly to attenuate—the supply of India's rulers. He may elect to go in for trade, commerce, industry or finance in India, but the old enthusiasm for entering the Indian Civil Service has largely evaporated.

The Earl Winterton and others of like views in power during Mr. Baldwin's first administration, felt that by increasing the emoluments of the “Services,” they would add to their attraction. They are finding however—at least I believe they are finding—that though the Lee Commission has manufactured the proposals which they had at heart, the British under-graduate refuses to rush for the Indian Civil Service.

VIII

So signal has been the failure to accelerate by such means, the enlistment of British candidates for the highest paid service in the world, that the India Office has been compelled to seek the kind offices of Lord Meston to undertake a campaign to drum up recruits. The second-in-command among the permanent officials at the India Office—Sir Malcolm Seton—has accompanied the ex-Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council and ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in some of his trips to the British and Irish University centres while on such a mission.

With remarkable felicity of language Lord Meston has drawn a roseate picture of the life which the “district officer” leads despite the changes which have been introduced in the Indian Constitution. He has stated, for instance, that that officer remains the “master” of the district—of his “small kingdom.”

According to the Noble Lord, the district officer “rises ‘long before the hot dawn’ and is ‘off on horse-back, perhaps to the big head-quarters hospital or to some town improvement scheme’”. After breakfast he is “at his office, the central courthouse of the district, to deal with a mass of vernacular reports from every corner of his small kingdom, and on every conceivable subject.” He may “be interrupted by the superintendent of police with news of dacoits or a tribal feud, necessitating immediate action.” Then the Courthouse door may be thrown open, and in may stream “petitioners of every class and variety.” There may be “rival religious factions about the hymns being sung outside a mosque or a procession.” A proprietor may want “to partition his estate,” or a village elder may complain against the schoolmaster; or a “sheepish-looking youth” may come “about the theft of 10 rupees worth of silver jewellery; his evidence producing the fact that what was really carried off was his wife, with the jewellery

on her—a little detail he had not seen fit to mention."

Elaborating the routine of the district officer, Lord Meston said that two "rival sects with blood-stained bandages might come from a village, each declaring that the other had trespassed upon their rice field, and had attacked them and killed an old man whose corpse was at the door." Petitions over, the district officer next sees "his English and departmental correspondence," interviews the police, engineers, or promoters of a political meeting, has a game of tennis, and after dinner settled down to his reports, writes his judgments, and so finishes a long day, "but one full of human interest and variety, and full of the sense that he was doing something for the good of the world and the people around him."

The district officer's life would brighten up in the cold weather. Then he would live "almost all fresco". He would find that "however difficult it might be to extract the truth from a witness in the Court, he was, very much easier to handle in his own village, with his own people round him." He would probably find "that in the village dispute alluded to there was no rice field in question at all, but a Juliet, whose identity parties had agreed to keep out of the case, and that the old man had been run over by a bullock cart and had been further marked by his own side to make a better case for them." The district officer felt "that he had earned his day's pay, that he had done the best for his people, and that he had carried out the policy of the Government which he served."

The refrain of Lord Meston's addresses is that the reforms, as carried out during recent years, have "made no difference in the attitude towards the influence and power of the district officer."

In addition to assuring the young men just leaving the British Universities that in seeking an Indian career they would have the opportunity of domineering over Indians, he has been promising them that there shall be no further change in the Constitution until after the Parliamentary Commission provided for in the Montagu-Chelmsford Act has been constituted in 1929, and, after due investigation, has reported, and Parliament has decided upon the action which, in its wisdom, it is prepared to take.

Only when that "*far distant date*" arrives at which all functions of administration would

be transferred to Indian Ministers, India will "be left very much in the position of one of the self-governing dominions". In other words, for a long time to come the elements to the Civil Service will remain very much their own masters—and masters of India.

IX

In addition to these recruiting speeches of Lord Meston, preparations are going on to introduce a measure in Parliament to give statutory effect to the Lee Commission proposals. That effect, it is considered by the men behind the movement, would inspire confidence in the young Briton which will impel him to assume an Imperial responsibility in the full knowledge—and assurance that the Imperial Parliament would itself honour any financial liability which India in a refractory mood, might seek to evade.

The Conservative Government has a large majority at its back in both Houses of Parliament, and, therefore, there is no doubt that its wish in that matter will be easily carried out. The so-called Liberals—a small minority possibly excepted—believe with their leader—Lloyd George—that the Indian Civil service constitutes the "steel frame" without which the "Indian" administration cannot exist, and may be expected to vote for any such measure.

Until quite recently Mr. Ramsay MacDonald—if one were to judge him by the evidence offered by the written word—used to regard it as imperative to keep the Indian Civil Service and the "Imperial Police Service" predominantly British Services. He and his followers may, however, deem it politically inexpedient to vote with the Conservatives and Liberals on a motion which is known to have earned the hostility of the Indian Legislative Assembly. Their opposition, now that they are shorn of even the semblance of power, cannot, however, accomplish any purpose.

X

It is not entirely out of the range of possibility that the Earl of Birkenhead may, on the other hand, take the view that no action is taken by Parliament that does not remove the causes which are producing friction between Indians and the British officials, can possibly revive, to any degree, the confidence which made British young men flock to the Indian Civil Service in the happy days gone by. Whether he will come

to that conclusion or not, it appears to me that this cooling of the furnaces which produced fresh supplies of steel for replacing the recurring wastage of the "Indian steel frame," constitutes the motive power which is impelling the British statesmen to explore the Indian situation. Were this factor absent, the deadlocks in Bengal, the Central Provinces, and the "lower" House of "India's Parliament" might not, by themselves, have led the Secretary of State for India to summon, on leave, the Earl of Reading nor possibly have led to the gathering of the other Anglo-Indian clan leaders in London.

That the men whom the Earl of Birkenhead is consulting are likely to discourage him from embarking upon a brave attempt to win the Indian goodwill, may be taken for granted. Powerful organs of opinion are already at work pointing out to him that security in India can be had not by yielding to Indian agitators, but by repressing them.

The *Times*, in commenting on the majority and minority reports of the Muddiman Committee on the working of the reforms, has bluntly told the Baldwin Administration—or has it "intelligently anticipated" the view of that Administration,—that it must not go beyond a little tinkering with Dyarchy. To quote from the leader which appeared in the issue for March 17th :

"...Dyarchy is at any rate in being; it is on its trial and it must have a fair trial. Some of its defects may be remedied by a change of rules; some steps may, for instance, rightly be taken, as the Majority Report suggests, to strengthen the position of the Ministers in charge of transferred subjects by making their salaries equal to those of members of the Provincial Executive Councils and by providing more frequent opportunities for joint consultation between the Governor and all his advisers, whatever their status. The success or failure of dyarchy should not be left to depend on the mere letter of the law or regulation. A much more serious drawback is the impoverishment of the provincial treasuries in present cir-

cumstances. Here no remedy is visible except a steady improvement in the general financial situation of India, which has already been turned in the present Budget to their relief and will be hastened in proportion as order and confidence are re-established. But renewed suggestions of constitutional change will militate against that very spirit of confidence which is now being restored with such difficulty. The publication of the Report, which, even in the Majority section is only tepid in its approval of the present system, is, as we have pointed out, calculated to increase doubt, unsettlement, and uncertainty. It is the more necessary, therefore, that the British Government should take a very decided line at the earliest, possible moment. They should make it absolutely clear that, while minor amendments of procedure are admissible and probably desirable, the present system must be carried on for its appointed term, and must be fully tested as regards its possibilities both of educating the Indian people in democratic government and of maintaining stable government and law and order, in the interests both of the Indian and of the British peoples."

Will Lord Birkenhead be able to resist all the pressure which is being brought to bear upon him to persevere in the policy of denying further freedom to Indians? If he does, it will, in my judgment, be due to the fact that he has barely entered middle age; he is full of vigour—even more so of ambition; and having assumed that office regarded by every one as a tough proposition, he is anxious to discharge that responsibility in a manner which would redound to his credit—accelerate the pace of his political progress—possibly enable him to write his name in history. Being one of the Britons called upon to deal with the havoc which followed in the wake of the break-down of the constitutional movement nearer home, he is less likely to destroy Indian belief in the possibility of a peaceful settlement of their problem than some one who did not go through that harrowing experience.

Therein lies a glimmer of hope—an exceedingly faint glimmer, I must say.



A CHAPTER OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S DIPLOMACY: THE BEGAM OF SARDHANA

(Based on Unpublished Records)

By BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

I.

At the time when General Sombre founded the principality of Sardhana, the British, although well established in Bengal, were not in a position to contend, with the Indian Powers ruling in Northern India and the Deccan. Warren Hastings had the greatest difficulty in breaking up the confederacy of the Southern States organized by the Nizam with the object of destroying the growth of the English (1779). The only Maratha chief friendly to the British was Mahadji Sindhia, whose army was then being organized by officers delegated by Hastings. It was through Mahadji's mediation that the treaty of Salbai with the Poona Court was signed (1782), for which Hastings was really grateful to him. This transaction greatly enhanced Sindhia's influence and his power grew rapidly. His armies—commanded and instructed by European generals—placed him in the position of a king-maker in Hindustan. The British did not interfere with the growth of his power, as in matter of fact they could not then afford to quarrel with such a formidable chieftain. (Smith's *Oxford Hist. of India*, pp. 535-36). This friendly relation with Mahadji and his successor Daulat Rao Sindhia was continued throughout the administration of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore.

From the beginning of her career Begam Samru began to treat the English as a friendly Power, and did not hesitate to help them in their need. We learn from two Persian letters,* addressed by the Begam to the Hon'ble Charles Stuart, a member of the Supreme Council, that Col. Stuart, a military officer attached to the frontier station of Anupshahr, had been taken prisoner† by the Sikh chief Bhanga Singh

and that the Begam had, on her own initiative, secured his release on 24th October 1791 (25 Safar, 1206 H.) She advanced 80 miles to meet him on the way and escorted him to her place. This demonstration of friendship on the Begam's part was welcomed by the British Government* and paved the way for a closer relationship between them, which was destined in the near future to play such an eventful part in the history of the British in Hindustan. Sir John Shore, in his letter dated 22nd May 1794, requested her help in capturing the deserters from the British forces at Cawnpur and Fatehgarh.† At the time of her flight from Sardhana the Begam contemplated retiring into the territory of the friendly British, and her correspondence with Sir John Shore and other officials brought her into closer touch with them. She remembered with gratitude the courtesy

two or 4 *kos* to hunt. The Sikhs, who kept news of it, sent 1000 troops (under Karam Singh) and captured him. The Englishman offered Rs. 20,000 as ransom but the Sikhs demanded 1 lakh" (p. 15). "He has now been released and sent to Delhi after a bond (*nisa*) with a promise to pay sixty thousand Rupees had been executed through the mediation of Begam Samru. Four Englishmen and one company of soldiers have come from Anupshahr to escort him back to English territory (p. 15)." *Delhi-yethil Marathanchin Rajkaranen*, ii. 25 & 145.

* "..... It is with sensible pleasure that I learn this happy circumstance is owing to your friendship and exertions. I have to offer my sincere acknowledgments for this instance of your attachment, which will ever be remembered by me and all the Members of this Government as an additional instance of the good disposition you have on all occasions manifested towards this Government. I shall not fail to inform Earl Cornwallis of the circumstance, who will no doubt be equally gratified by it as myself. I have since had the pleasure to learn that the Colonel has safely arrived at Anupshahr."—Letter, dated 20th December 1791, addressed by Hon. C. Stuart to the Begam. See Vol. of Eng. Trans. of Pers. Letters Written, 22-12-1791, No. 234; also Pol. Con. 29-10-1832, No. 72.

† Vol. of Eng. Trans. of Pers. Letters Written, 22-5-1794, No. 166. In *Refutation* (pp. 37-59), this letter is wrongly given as "Dated 1797".

* Both the letters are marked as having been received at Fort William on 15th November, 1791. See Abstract of Pers. Letters Received, 1791, Nos. 309 & 310.

† "April 1790:—From the English camp in Anupshahr an English officer named 'Istur' had gone

of the British and continued to exchange friendly letters with them.

II.

After the retirement of Hastings the British Government followed a policy of non-intervention with the Native Powers and refrained from conquests and alliances except in defence of their existing possessions. They were, however, consolidating their hold on their possessions, and when Lord Wellesley took over charge in May 1798, he found the British Power firmly established.

The policy of the new Governor-General was mainly directed towards two objects. The first was the elevation of the British Government to the position of the paramount Power in India, or in his own words "to unite the principal Native States in the bond of peace under the protection of the British Power." And the next was, the fullest utilization of Indian strength to resist Napoleon's bid for world power which threatened the existence of British dominion in India. With these avowed objects he started "to make annexations right and left without any quams of conscience." (*O. H. I.*, p. 580).

Begam Samru, who had been an interested spectator of the rise of the English Power, naturally felt alarmed at the rapid advance of the British and the fall of one Indian principality after another during the vigorous campaigns of Lord Lake in Northern India and of Sir Arthur Wellesley in the Deccan. The internal affairs of the Marathas at this period presented a scene of terrible confusion. Grant Duff, writing of the year 1799, describes a state of absolute anarchy in the Peshwa's territory where the Peshwa, Sindhia, the Bais or ladies of his family, the Rajah of Kolhapur, and other parties were all fighting one with the other.* The Begam clearly foresaw that a conflict between her overlord, Sindhia and the British was inevitable, and she had no delusions as to its result. Her friendliness towards the English had excited the suspicion of Genl. Perron, the chief of Sindhia's forces, who began secretly to disaffect the Begam's troops with a view to bringing about her downfall. She saw that if she remained an ally of the Marathas she would be equally ruined whichever side might win. Having nothing to lose and everything to gain from the victory of the British, which seemed the more probable, she decided to throw in her

lot with them and started making secret overtures to them as early as January 1802* in order to safeguard her interests. In her letter of 4th August 1802 (4 Rabi-us-sani, 1217 H.)† she offered to place her territory and troops at the disposal of the Governor-General in exchange for his protection. In a second letter, dated 1st February 1803, the Begam says:

"As I am from the bottom of my heart attached to the British Government, I feel an irresistible desire that your lordship should preserve me, tho' absent, in your remembrance. Adverting to these my declared sentiments, whatever plans your Lordship may have in contemplation, your Lordship will in the first instance communicate them to me, that I may have an opportunity of manifesting the sincerity of my heart by affording the aid of my co-operation in your measures. *I have a force stationed in the Deccan which your Lordship must consider as awaiting your orders.*"§

This offer of submission and help was acknowledged with pleasure,§ but owing to diplomatic reasons the British were unable to avail themselves of her forces immediately.**

III.

After the political degradation of the Nizam, Tipu, and other rulers of Southern India between 1798 and 1800 a complete alteration took place in the relations between the British and the Maratha States. The policy of non-interference in Maratha affairs had ceased to be practicable, because the

* Letter, received on 10th Jany. 1802, from Zeb-un-nisa Begam to Lord Wellesley. This is a complimentary letter notifying her mission of Hakim Muhammad Jafar to attend the Governor General on her part.—Vol. of Eng. Trans. of Pers. Letters Received, 10-1. 1802, No. 5.

† This letter was received at Fort William on 9 Sep. 1802. See Appendix A.

§ Vol. of Eng. Trans. of Pers. Letters Received, 27-3-1803, No. 71. The date of this letter, viz., 1st February 1803, is given in Persian character on the envelope, see Original Letter No. 143.

§ Letter, dated 20th May 1803, from Lord Wellesley to Zeb-un-nisa Begam.—Vol. of Eng. Trans. of Pers. Letters Written, 20-5-1803, No. 77.

** "But with regard to the situation in which Begam Samru stood, relative to Sindhia, her proposition, however desirable it might be, was unacceptable by reason of the peace and amity at that time subsisting between the British and Sindhia. That he might not violate public faith, the Governor-General had always refused her proposition; however, apprizing the Begam, that if an opportunity presented itself, the Governor-General should be happy to have it in his power to accept the proofs of her attachment to the British Government."—Wellesley's Despatches to the Secret Committee of the Hon. Court of Directors, dated 12th April 1804, para 341.

* The twelfth volume of Marathi historical letters published by Khare in 1924 shows that Poona was a hell under Bajirao II.

Maratha chiefs always had claims outstanding against both Maidarabad and Mysore for the realization of *chauth* and on other accounts, and their troops were being maintained by the plunder obtained at the expense of their neighbours. Therefore, the only possible alternatives left open to the Governor-General were either the abandonment of all conquests, or the adoption of such measures as would force the Maratha Governments to acquiesce in a state of general peace and tranquillity. Lord Wellesley set about to consider the means by which he might attain the latter object. The prospect of success in such an endeavour was not bright, as Maratha institutions and ideas were fundamentally incompatible with Wellesley's policy of a confederacy of Native States under British protection. (*O.H.I.*, p. 595). In the course of his intervention in the affairs of the Peshwa, which ended in the restoration of Baji Rao II. under British protection, according to the treaty of Bassein on 31st December 1802, the attitude of the Peshwa and the Bhonsle Rajah of Nagpur gave Lord Wellesley cause to expect hostilities from them in the near future. He decided to make use of the Begam's proffered help, and wrote to her on 22nd July 1803 in the following words:

"The present state of affairs enables me to avail myself of your friendly offers of assistance and I am persuaded that your influence will be exerted with promptitude and effect to promote the interests of the British Government. The detailed conditions on which I am disposed to offer you the friendship of the Honorable Company will be communicated to you by His Excellency the Commander-in-chief [Lord Lake] who is in full possession of my sentiments on this subject."

At the same time Lord Wellesley instructed Lord Lake as to the lines on which negotiations were to be carried on with her.[†]

Although by this time war with Sindhia had been finally decided upon, it was not declared until the 6th of August 1813. Exchange of letters between the Begam and the British Government went on, but no actual service was asked of her until the 7th of September 1813. In his letter of that date (*Refutation*, p. 362) Lord Lake required her to furnish *bona fides* of her overtures by providing him with some boats of the *Dongah*

(canoe) kind and by placing her troops, which were then serving with the armies of Sindhia, at the disposal of Sir Arthur Wellesley, or at least to observe neutrality by recalling them.

Shortly after this, the battle of Assaye was fought (23 Sept. 1803) where Sindhia's army met with a severe defeat. Five,* out of the six battalions of the Begam, and 15 guns under the command of Lt. Col. Saleur, had taken part in this battle on the side of Sindhia. As regards the demeanour of these battalions in action the following extract is sufficiently illustrative:

"It is a remarkable thing, and much to the credit of the Begam's troops, that some four or five of her battalions were the only part of Sindhia's army that went off unbroken from the field of Assaye: they were charged by our [British] cavalry towards the close of the day, but with effect; Col. Maxwell, who commanded, being killed in the charge by a grape-shot." (Skinner, i. 286.)

The Begam issued instructions to Col. Saleur, in accordance with Lord Lake's request, early in October,[†] but that officer experienced great difficulty and risk in giving effect to her orders. The battalions, however, "left Sindhia's camp at Burhanpur on 14th October 1803 (27 Jamadi-us-sani, 1218 H.)." § "At the time they left the Maratha camp they consisted of five battalions and a party of horse" § under the command of Col. Saleur who, on his arrival at Deeg [on 15th Decr.] received orders agreeably to which he joined Col. Ball's detachment at Kanoon. They served the British General up to 31st May, Col. Poethod having relieved Col. Saleur in their command, on account of his ill-health

* For the "Roll of the Detachment under the command of Col. Saleur", see Secret Consultation 21-11-1805, No. 52A.

† "Prior to this *about a month and a half ago* I issued orders to you, requiring you to disengage yourself from the service of the Southern chief and join the British forces. Eight days, afterwards, I repeated those orders; again, on the 27th of the present month of Rajab [13 Nov.], I renewed them in terms the most peremptory. These reiterated orders were forwarded to you in succession by two hircarrahs. Instructions were also transmitted to you, thro the British Commander-in-chief."—Translation of a Persian letter addressed by the Begam to Col. Saleur dated the last day of Rajab 1218 H.—16 Nov. 1803. Sect. Prosdgs. 2-3-1804, No. 183. See also Nos. 183 and 183B.

§ Statement accompanying letter dated 20 Sep. 1805, from Mr. G.D. Guthrie to N.B. Edmonston. Sect. Prosdgs. 21-11-1805, No. 52A.

§ Letter from Mr. G.D. Guthrie dated Sept. 1805 to Col. J. Malcolm. Sect. Prosdgs. 21-11-1805, No. 53.

* Vol. of Eng. Trans. of Pers. Letters Written, 22-7-1803, No. 97.

† Letter, dated 28th July 1803, from Marquess Wellesley to Lord Lake. - *Wellesley Despatches*, iii. 242-44.

on 13th February.* They afterwards "marched to Tuppul to join the Commander-in-chief, but returned to Sardhana without having" done so.†

In the meantime the Begam sent Hakim Muhammad Jafar § as her agent to Lord Lake. Evidently as a result of the conversations between them a secret treaty was concluded under which the Begam transferred her allegiance to the British, who were at this time in possession of Delhi and the surrounding tracts, and she was allowed to retain her possessions and status as a jagirdar of the British Government. § Lord Lake also asked the Begam to write to her friend Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Lahor, to keep his troops out of the districts of Saharanpur, Boodeeah, and others which he was then engaged in settling.

It appears that at this time certain conquered parganas in the district of Saharanpur were temporarily committed to the management of the Begam; and that she was in charge of them during the continuance of the Maratha war.**

IV.

Prior to these events Lord Wellesley had definitely formulated his policy as regards the relationship to be established between the Begam and the British Government. Originally his idea was to

"commute her jagir for a suitable stipend, the

* Secret Prosdgs. 21-11-1805, No. 52A.

The Begam's claim for payment on account of the service of her troops dating from their departure from Burhanpur was admitted by the British Government in November 1805, *vide* Secret Prosdgs. 21-11-1805, Nos. 52A, 53 and 55. See also Vol. of Eng. Trans. of Pers. Letters Received, 26-2-1804, No. 48.

† Letter from Mr. G.D. Guthrie dated Sept. 1805 to Col. J. Malcolm. Sect. Prosdgs. 21-11-1805, No. 53.

§ Letter, undated, from H. E. Genl. Lake to H.H. the Begam Sombre.

From the context it appears that this letter was addressed to the Begam after the battle of Assaye was fought on 23 Sept. 1803. (*Refutation*, pp. 411-12).

§ From the same to the same, dated 29-10-1803. (*Ibid.*, 412).

** Letter, dated Sept. 1805, from Guthrie to Malcolm, 10th para. Sect. Prosdgs. 21-11-1805, No. 53.

For the statement, showing the land and Sayer revenue and sundry other items collected by the Begam exhibiting the difference between the accounts transmitted by her and those given by the *ganungoes* of zila Saharanpur, see Sect. Prosdgs. 21-11-1805, No. 52 B. The collections made by the Begam were chiefly on account of the balance of 1210 H. [1795-96] and 1211 H. [1796-97].

extent of which must be regulated by the profits which she actually derives from her territorial possessions, and by the importance of the services which the British Government may derive from the exertion of her aid and influence."*

It was extremely important then that the whole Doab, including the territory occupied by the Begam, should come under direct British rule, but how this could be best effected was left to Lord Lake to decide. After a thorough study of the Begam's disposition and the power she wielded in the province, Lake recommended that it would be better to propose an exchange of territories, which arrangement was sanctioned by Lord Wellesley.†

Sindhia's forces having been overcome both in Northern and Southern India and the British being in firm possession of all his territories east of the Jamuna, Lord Lake wrote to the Begam on the 29th October, 1803:

"Immediately on receiving this letter, and in accordance with the tenor of the deeds granted to you by the present (Government) you will come alone to my presence, as some matters are to be verbally mentioned to you; and keep your troops ready prepared forward, that there may be no confusion when an order is received." (*Refutation*, p. 412).

At this meeting Lake no doubt proposed that she should give up her present possessions in the Doab and accept lands to the west of the Jamuna to hold as an independent sovereign. She readily accepted this proposal, hoping thereby to attain a more exalted rank and other benefits as an ally of the premier Power in India. She was directed to see Lt. Col. Ochterlony, the Resident at Delhi, and arrange the terms of the proposed exchange. She visited Delhi on the 12th of November and in a letter written to Lord Wellesley, within a week of the visit, she says:

"It has been intimated to me by Col. Ochterlony that Commissioners have been appointed to settle the affairs of the Doab. It therefore occurs to my mind that as difficulties might arise between me and the Commissioners in the exercise of their authority in the vicinity of the *mahals*, which constitute my jagir, it would be prudent to provide against the occurrence of them since it is my primary study to promote your Excellency's satisfaction and I should be utterly unable to support the weight of the displeasure of the Commissioners. Under these circumstances I hereby,

* Letter, dated 28th July 1803, from Lord Wellesley to Lord Lake. *Wellesley Despatches*, iii. 242-44.

† Letter, dated 11th October 1803, from the Secretary to Govt. in the Sect. Dept. to the Agent of the Governor-General.

of my own free will and accord, relinquish my jagir, which I have possessed for the space of 30 years, and for which my partiality and affection is equal to that which I bear for my native land, and on which I have moreover expended large sums of money in erecting buildings for my own residence and the accommodation of my troops; notwithstanding these powerful reasons, however, every one of which forbid the act, I readily resign it into the hands of the Company. *** Let territory be assigned to me in jagir on the other side of the Jamuna in lieu of the mahals, the possession of which I have relinquished. At the same time I hope that the territory which may be so assigned to me, may be compact and undivided, with a view to its successful management.***

Although due to recent conquests considerable territories to the west of the Jamuna† were available out of which a suitable principality could be formed for her, the prevailing unrest greatly hampered the speeding up of the transfer. On the other hand, Lord Wellesley's policy demanded an immediate settlement of the Begam's territories and therefore on 23rd December 1803 he wrote in reply a letter to the Begam reaffirming the offer previously made and urging the immediate surrender of her estates under guarantee of compensation for any loss she might incur therefrom :

"The sentiments expressed in your letter [received on 5-12-1803] and the judicious and amicable course of proceeding which you have adopted on the present occasion, have confirmed the sense which I have long entertained of your attachment to the interests of the British Government. *** I am particularly gratified by your ready acquiescence in the suggestion conveyed to you under my orders by His Excellency the Commander-in-chief, for the recall of your battalions serving with the army of Dowlat Row Sindhia and in the assignment of territory on the western side of the Jumna in exchange for your present possessions in the Doab. With a view to manifest the sense which I entertain of your meritorious conduct on this occasion and to afford you ample compensation for the relinquishment of your present jagir, I have resolved to guarantee to you the independent possession of the territory which will be assigned to you under the proposed arrangement without any other condition than that of affording to the British Government the aid of your troops whenever it may be required, and of submitting to the arbitration of the British Government any differences which may eventually arise between you and any other State or chieftain.

H.E. the Commander-in-chief will adopt as soon as possible the necessary measures for transferring to you a portion of territory on the western side of the Jumna equivalent to that which you have ceded in the Doab. I trust however that you will not delay the actual cession of your present jagir, to the authority of the British Government, until the assignment of an equivalent portion of territory, which must necessarily occupy some time before it can be effected. You will receive ample compensation from the Br. Govt. for any loss of revenue which may be occasioned by the delay in selecting and transferring to your authority the districts to be assigned to you on the western side of the Jumna.*

This letter had a very disturbing effect on the Begam's mind. She had seen promises made and broken every day of her life, and therefore it was not easy for her to believe that Lord Wellesley really meant to keep his word and was not trying to rob her of her lands by a trick.

She had been under the impression that as soon as she would give up her former possessions, the English would grant her new territories; and she was therefore surprised that this was not to be the case. The bitter disappointment felt by the Begam on being thus summarily called upon to deliver up her possessions may be realized from the following letter, addressed to Lt. Col. Ochterlony, on 3rd February 1804 :

"You have written to me to evacuate and deliver over the districts of Sirdhana etc. which has been my residence for a length of years and on which I have expended lacks of Rupees in buildings and habitations, to the aumils of the English Gentlemen immediately on their arrival. My brother, it is proper you should consider that when I go away from here, I require a place to stay in, where I may reside with my family and dependants. There are near a thousand destitute persons and lame and blind people in this district for whom a place of abode is necessary. From the commencement until the present time no gentleman invested with authority in this country has disgraced me in this manner. At the period that the English Gentlemen have acquired possession of Hindustan I rejoiced that from a consideration of my being of the same race with theirs I should by some means or other be exalted in rank but the contrary has happened for they have required of me several districts possessed by me for 30 years. What may not happen to the rest? If it be the intention of the gentlemen by some means or other to dispossess me, what occasion is there for preserving appearances? Do you my brother come and having laid hold of my hand turn me out of my abode. The world is not narrow and I am not lame. I will sit down in some retired corner and pass my time in solitude."†

* Secret Prosdgs. 2-3-1804, No. 183C.

† "The territory placed at the disposal of the British Govt. by the glorious success of our arms at the battle of Delhi, furnished us with the means of assigning to the Begam a territory on the western part of the Jamuna instead of the jagir which she possessed in the Doab." Para 55, Wellesley's Despatches to the Secret Committee of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, 12th April 1804. *Vide Refutation*, p. 424.

* Vol. of Eng. Trans. of Pers. Letters Written, 23-12-1803, No. 136; *Refutation*, p. 416 (wrongly dated 22nd Decr. 1803).

† Secret Prosdgs. 2-3-1804, No. 252.

On receipt of the above letter, Lt. Col. Ochterlony hastened to explain matters to her and by dint of perseverance and frequent explanations persuaded her to believe that the British Government meant her no harm. Her enemies were busy at that time trying to make mischief between her and the British. Of these attempts the most remarkable one was that of a forged letter which purported to have been written by her to Holkar.* She consented at last, although grudgingly, to surrender her provinces with the exception of the pargana of Sardhana.

V.

In her letter accepting the British terms she vigorously denied the charge of treachery and secret plotting with Holkar :

"I am willing to do according to your advice and deliver up my provinces : I only ask that until other countries will be allowed to me in exchange, that the Pargana of Sirdhana will remain to me ; the revenue of which I agree to be deducted from the sum which will be given to me to pay for my troops and when other place shall be granted to me for my residence and safety, I will deliver it up at the same time. I would do it

* "I was gratified by the receipt of your letter the object of which became manifest to me from the writings of Shaikh Qudrat-ullah. It is fit that you consider me your sister, absorbed in a desire to gratify your inclinations, for the bonds of friendship have long acquired strength between us. I rejoice at your intention of marching to this quarter, but as they have military and artillery stores along with them in abundance, it is not proper for you to come to action with them, but you should encamp ten or eleven kos from them, harass them with a predatory war, destroy the country, and prevent supplies etc. reaching them, that it may be difficult for them to provide for their safety. I am every way ready, and your Ally from my heart and soul. Consider all the Sikhs and Jats, who are united with me, ready to join you. Make me constantly happy by acquainting me with the state of your friendship, your designs, and the place where your army is encamped, that I may follow the same path. You will receive many letters from me (enclosed) in amulets."—Translation of a Persian letter [without date but with her seal affixed] from Zeb-un-nisa Begam to Jaswant Rao Holkar. Sect. Prosds. 12 April, 1804, No. 61.

Major Thorn's opinion on this letter also supports our contention that this letter was a forgery : "This document was calculated to create hostility against the Begam, and thereby probably of criving that extraordinary woman into an alliance with Holkar, out of revenge and self-defence." (P. 332).

Even Lord Lake, when forwarding this document to the Governor-General, under cover of his letter, dated Camp Hindon 28th Feby. 1804, remarked : "This letter, though her seal is affixed to it, may possibly be a forgery."—Sect. Prosds. 12-4-1804, No. 59.

now, but I am sure that your *amil* commanding the town and I remaining in the *chounney* always some complaints he would make against, right, or wrong.

I am very sorry to hear that it is reported that I do keep on correspondence with Jaswant Rao Holkar. I assure you, and you may inform yourself that since the formation of my party, which is for these 40 years past, no person yet can charge me of *treachery*, therefore, as I consider you to be a particular friend of mine, I hope you will make enquiries, and to inform yourself from whom this false report is given, and to persuade any person of the contrary, that does believe it. I enclose you 3 letters that I have received from Kabul, they are in my name. However, I don't know their contents and I fear that some enemies of mine would charge me also of keeping correspondence with the king of Kabul ; this is the reason that I send them to you for to be read."*

The Begam appears to have taken offence at being charged with secret negotiations with the enemy. She had for a long time enjoyed great influence amongst the neighbouring chieftains and naturally their envoys attended her Court. But this did not necessarily mean that she was engaged in intriguing with them. When, in the beginning, she had come forward of her own accord, to throw in her lot with the British, she was prepared to deal straight with them, expecting the same treatment at their hands. Had Lord Wellesley acceded to the request of the Begam for an immediate assignment of territories, instead of indulging in blundering diplomacy, he would have found in her an influential and strong ally and saved himself much trouble and anxiety, to say nothing of the cost of military operations in the province. As a matter of fact, the obvious advantage of conciliating the Begam had long been apparent to the officers who were directly in touch with her and they had all along advised Lord Wellesley to adopt this course, but without success. Even as late as 10th December 1804 Archibald Seton, the Agent to the Governor-General, reported :

"As the situation of the Begam both from the geographical position of her country, and from the nature of her military strength, is or appears to me to be, such as to render her either a most useful ally or a very troublesome enemy, without the possibility of her ever becoming formidable as a neighbouring power, I should imagine that the conciliating her might in the present state of affairs be a simple and effectual means of restoring and preserving the tranquillity of the upper part of the Doab. Her force is said to consist of nine battalions of infantry and 40 guns. These, if subsidized by Government, and opposed to the

* Letter, dated 23-2-1804, from the Begam to Col. Ochterlony. Sect. Prosds. 12-4-1804, No. 64.

Sikhs, might as far as I can judge, completely prevent their committing depredations in the British territories and, by insuring the realization of the collections, greatly enhance the value of the highly capable district now in question.”*

VI.

The indefinite delay in handing over to her the territories promised in exchange, and frequent accusations against her loyalty gradually undermined her faith in the British. About the middle of 1804, Holkar, in conjunction with the Rajah of Bharatpur and the Sikh chiefs of the Lower Panjab, started a vigorous campaign which imperilled the British forces in the Doab. As they considered her assistance of great value to them, they played upon the fears of the Begam, hoping to receive active help from her. The Begam though discontented did not dare to declare openly against the British, as she was still doubtful about the ability of Holkar and his confederates to stand against the British Power. She therefore abstained from actively helping either party, and, although remaining openly an ally of the British, carried on secret negotiations with the enemy in order to remain in the good graces of whichever party might ultimately come into power. The efforts of the Sikhs and their allies were attended with a certain amount of success. In October 1804 Saharanpur fell into the hands of the Sikhs, and Col. Burn was forced to retreat. The Collector, Mr. G. D. Guthrie, was taken prisoner by Shere Singh. The Begam took this opportunity of exhibiting her attachment to the British by her intervention which resulted in the liberation of the Collector.†

Holkar and Ranjit Singh tried their utmost to induce her to declare in their favour, and even went to the length of exaggerating their strength and the advantages gained by Jaswant Rao Holkar over the British army, and alleging that he was going to receive reinforcements from Jodhpur, Jaipur and Kota.§ Rumours of this intrigue reached the ears of the British authorities and caused much alarm.§ In his letter of 28th December, 1804 Archd. Seton writes :

* Secret Prosds. 7-3-1805, No. 424.

† “The Sikhs in the Upper Doab, G. R. C. Williams, B. C. S., *Calcutta Review*, vol. lxi (1875), p. 54.

§ Letter, dated 26-12-1804, from Seton to the Secy. to Govt. Secret. Prosds. 7-3-1805, No. 435.

§ Letter, dated 16th December 1804, from Lord Lake to Zeb-un-nisa Begam.—Secret Prosds. 7-3-1805, No. 294; Letter (received 29-12-1804) from the Begam to Lord Lake.—Sect. 3 Prosds. 7-3-1805, No. 295.

“From my knowledge of what had taken place at Sardhana and from what I had heard of the arts which had been practised to work upon the fears of the Begam and to impress her with a belief that the British Government had it in contemplation to reduce her power, annihilate her consequence, and degrade her from the rank which she has hitherto maintained, I was rather concerned than surprised at receiving intelligence last night that she had accepted the terms which were offered to her by Ranjit Singh, viz., the monthly payment of a lack of Rupees, and the delivery to her of one of his forts. The intelligence has this day been confirmed to me by Mr. Guthrie, with the additional circumstance that distrustful of the fidelity of her European officers, the Begam had given the command of her troops to native sirdars. I think it very probable that she will immediately march to Saharanpur in order to attack, or at least to harass and annoy Col. Burn.”*

She did not, however, actually march out of Sardhana, as she was evidently dallying with both parties till she saw the result of the siege of Deeg. The capture of the fortress of Deeg by the British on the Christmas morning of 1804, prevented her from making an open declaration against the British† but she continued her threatening attitude which seriously hindered British operations.

When the troubles were at their highest, Col. Ochterlony addressed a letter to the Begam requesting her to forward some stores from Sardhana to Saharanpur under escort of the Begam's troops, and in reply she promised compliance with his request. Ochterlony's reasons for the writing of this letter§ were as follows:

“I was the more induced to this step as in the event of their compliance it would appear to the public that she had at last made her election in our favour and this seeming declaration I judged of importance, as her influence in this quarter is greater than can be well imagined and her indiscretion is certainly one great cause of the disturbances in the upper districts, if not the primary cause of the irruption of the Sikhs.”§

*Secret Prosds. 7-3-1805, No. 437.

† “My hircarra reports this day that the Begam Sumroo has positively forbidden her troops speaking on the subject of a march and I have not a doubt that the order originates in our success at Deeg.”—Letter, dated 29-12-1804, from Ochterlony to the Governor-General. Sect. Prosds. 31-1-1805, No. 236.

§ Letter, dated 15-12-1804, from Col. Ochterlony, the Resident at Delhi to the Governor-General. Sect. Prosds. 31-1-1805, No. 236.

§ “The Begam having written repeated letters desiring me to send confidential persons on my part to her, I have despatched Laula Dhokul Sing to the Begam for the purpose of settling affairs. ***** If the negotiations with the Begam should be conducted to a favourable issue, I shall direct my march towards your district. On this point,

He strongly believed that the restoration of her former jagir during her life was all that was needed to win the Begam over and he urged the Governor-General to do so:

"By our success she is afraid of the loss of her parganas and of the disbandment of her troops and such is her desire of power that I am perfectly convinced she would encounter any odds to retain both in their present state; on the contrary, I believe that assurances of their integrity during her life would immediately induce her to declare in our favour, but at present she considers all assistance to us, as accelerating her own downfall."*

In spite of these urgent representations, the Governor-General insisted upon the speedy transfer of the Begam's jagir and her early removal with her troops beyond the Doab. Only in case of extreme emergency, should such arise, was the Commander-in-chief given the power to confirm the Begam in her present jagir, and even then it would be necessary to stipulate for the reduction of her forces and the replacement of her French officers by British.† The emergency referred to was probably an expected outbreak of fresh hostilities with the Marathas, encouraged by the failure of Lord Lake's operations against Bharatpur. As the Rajah of Bharatpur capitulated in the beginning of April 1805, the emergency contemplated did not arise and the Begam's affairs were left in the same unsettled state as before. The root of the trouble can be traced to Lord Wellesley's obtuseness in not taking the Begam's natural thoughts into consideration; moreover, his policy of declaring war on the Native States on the slightest pretext in order to expand the British Empire, naturally led the Begam to put little faith in mere promises of future favours. If Lord Wellesley had not been recalled within a few months it is probable that the Begam would have been forced to deliver up her former territories.

VII.

In July 1805 Lord Cornwallis came out for the second time as Governor-General, pledged to a policy of conciliation. His attention was drawn to the Doab, and Lord Lake, who was fully acquainted with the situ-

ation, gave his opinion that under the new policy of preserving the tranquillity of the country,

"it is particularly necessary to conciliate the Begam Sumroo, and to inspire her with a just confidence in the favour and protection of the British Government. Adverting to the reasons which are supposed to have chiefly caused the Begam to behave in the equivocal manner she has lately done, His Excellency is of opinion that the most likely means of retaining her in her attachment to the British State, will be to give her a most positive assurance that she shall during life remain in the possession of the jagir in the Doab on the same terms she now holds it."*

Accordingly Lord Cornwallis wrote that memorable letter of 16th August 1805 which reinstated the Begam in her principality of Sardhana:

"I have had the satisfaction to learn that the general tenor of your conduct since you were placed under the protection of the British Power, has been consistent with the duties of fidelity, and I have been peculiarly gratified by the information of your prompt and successful exertions in rescuing Mr. Guthrie, the Collector of Saharanpur, from a situation of imminent danger by the aid of your troops, and of your kind and liberal treatment of that gentleman, after his arrival at Sardhana. These circumstances, added to my recollection of your uniform friendly conduct towards the British Government, and towards British subjects, render me desirous of promoting your comfort and satisfaction by every means in my power. I have reason to believe that the late Governor-General, aware of your attachment to the territory, which during so long a course of years has been in your possession, had it in contemplation to refrain from taking advantage of your consent to the transfer of your jagir. At all events, I have great pleasure in apprizing you, that reposing entire confidence in your disposition to maintain the obligations of attachment and fidelity to the British Government, I have resolved to leave you in the unmolested possession of your jagir, with all the rights and privileges which you have hitherto enjoyed. As the condition of this indulgence, I have a right to expect that you will not only abstain from affording encouragement to those turbulent persons who are disposed to excite confusion and promote disorder, but that you will cordially assist in preventing their attempts to disturb the tranquillity of the Company's territories."

I have directed Mr. Guthrie to proceed to Sardhana for the express purpose of communicating, in further detail, the sentiments and intentions expressed in this letter." (*Refutation*, pp. 363-64).

The Civil Commissioner, Mr. G. D. Guthrie, was deputed to the Begam and the final treaty or agreement with her was made in August 1805. Its terms were as follows:—

however, keep your mind at ease."—Trans. of a letter from Ranjit Singh of Lahor to Sumbanaut Pehsildar of Saharanpur. Vol. of Eng. Trans. of Pers. Letters Received, 18-3-1805, No. 69, p. 227.

* Secret Prosdgs. 31-1-1805, No. 236.

† Letter, dated 15th Feby. 1805, from N. B. Edmonstone, Secy. to Government, to Lt. Col. Ochterlony, Resident at Delhi. Sect. Prosdgs. 28-1-1805, No. 157. See Appendix B.

* Letter, dated Head-quarters, Muttra, 16 August, 1805, from Col. Malcolm, Civil Commissioner with H. E. the Rt. Hon. Lord Lake, to G. D. Guthrie Esq., Civil Commissioner deputed to H. H. the Begum Sombre's Camp. (*Refutation*, pp. 365-66.)

"Those places in the Doab which have formed the *jaidads* of Zeb-un-nisa Begam, shall remain to her as before from the Company as long as she may live. The troops of the Begam shall, according to custom, be always ready in the service of the East India Company. The Begam in every instance, considering herself a faithful friend of the Company, shall perform all the duties required from a friend, and shall not hold any intercourse whatever, either by agent or by letter, with any State or Power, or with the friends or dependants of any State or Power, or with the enemies or refractory subjects of the Company, or with any State or Power whatsoever but that of the Honourable the East India Company."—An agreement between George Dempster Guthrie Esq. on the part of the Hon. E. I. Co., and the Begam Sombre. (*Refutation*, p. 369).

She was reinvested with the administrative powers in the province, and was left in "unmolested possession" with the rights and privileges she had formerly enjoyed.

Henceforth she maintained at her side only half of her troops, which were required for the protection of her person and the collection of the revenue, while the other half she had to depute for service with the English at her own expense.

APPENDIX A

From Zeb-un-nisa Begam to Lord Wellesley:

[The date of this letter, as given on the envelope, is 4 Rabi-us-sani, 1217 H.=4 August 1802. Received 9th September 1802.]

"After professions of submission and subserviency, and expressing an anxious desire of a personal interview, I have the honor to represent that, prior to this, I addressed a letter to the Honorable the Lt. Govr., Mr. Wellesley,* on the subject of Colonel Collins's having taken his leave of the Maharajah Dowlut Row Sindia and of Genl. Perron's having dismissed Col. Sutherland from his service which letter possibly may have come under your Lordship's inspection or the above intelligence may have reached your Lordship through the channel of the Newspapers.

As Genl. Perron is aware of my being a well-wisher of the Company's Government and conceives that some of the Sirdars to the West are particularly well inclined towards me, he is night and day plotting confusion to my affairs, the subversion of my authority, and the accomplishment of my ruin. He wishes to annoy my troops in the same way that the Maharajah's army did formerly, though he has not yet succeeded in making any advances to effect this object, and I have introduced the same rules and regulations for the discipline of my Battalions and Artillery as exist under the Company's Government. But as the only child which I had, Zuffer Yaub Khaun died some time ago, I have now no heir left to me in this world. I therefore desire that your Lordship, who at this auspicious season reflects lustre on the countries of Hindostan, would on the part of the Company take possession of all the property ordnance and stores whatsoever belonging to me, who am of the number of well-wishers and adherents of the Company. Whenever your Lordship may require them I am

ready to give them up and if your Lordship pleases I will send a written instrument transferring them to the Company. Moreover at any time your Lordship may command my services, the performance of which I should consider as happiness both in my present and future life, I shall be prompt to obey. It is only with a view to the arrangement of this business that Hukkeem Meer Mchummad Jaffer who is in my confidence and an inhabitant of the British territories remains in attendance on the Lt. Govr. at Bareilly. The Hukkeem will accordingly represent all particulars to your Lordship; in your Lordship's answer to this ~~arræ~~ be pleased to communicate whatever may be proper and advisable to be done at the present season respecting this business, which will contribute to my honor, credit, and repose. Your Lordship will be pleased to communicate such further particulars as you deem necessary to the Lt. Governor the Hon'ble Henry Wellesley. Vol. of Eng. Trans. of Pers. Letters Received. 9-9-1802. No. 223; Original Pers. Letter No. 321.

APPENDIX B

Extract from a letter, dated 15th Feby 1805, from N. B. Edmonstone, Secy. to Govt., to the Resident at Delhi (Lt. Col. Ochterlony).

2. The information which H. E. the Governor-General has received from various quarters respecting the conduct of Begam Samru has satisfied H. E.'s mind that she has studiously endeavoured to maintain that species of temporizing policy which might induce Jaswant Rao Holkar to believe her to be attached to his cause, without proceeding to acts, which would place her in the condition of a public enemy to the British Power and might enable her to derive advantage from the success of either of the contending parties. This course of policy may be referred either to her concurrence in the extravagant supposition that success might ultimately attend the arms of Jaswant Rao Holkar against the British Power, or to her desire to avoid the danger, the loss or the expenses which might attend her actual co-operation with either party. Under the supposition that in the event of Holkar's success, she would retain the independent possession of her jagir in the Doab, she may justly be supposed to have desired his success, and this probable inclination of her mind justifies a suspicion that the report of her having fomented the disturbances in the Doab, is well founded, but the Governor-General is not apprized of the existence of any positive evidence of that fact. The demonstration of that fact would augment the expediency of the immediate resumption of her territory in the Doab, and would deprive her of all title to an equivalent.

3. In the remarks to which the 1st paragraph of this dispatch refers, you appear to suggest the policy of confirming the Begam in the possession of her jagir during her life. This suggestion is founded on the extraordinary influence which she is supposed to possess over the Sikh chieftains and zamindars in that quarter and on her alleged disposition to favour the causes of the enemy.

5.H. E. the Governor-General cannot concur in the expediency of the measure which you

[* Henry Wellesley—afterwards Lord Cowley—was appointed by his brother, Lord Wellesley, as Lt. Govr. of the newly acquired Ceded Districts.]

appear to recommend; on the contrary, the speedy transfer of the Begam's jagir and her early removal with her troops from the Doab, must be considered to be urgent and necessary in the degree in which the Begam possesses the means of affecting the tranquillity of our possessions in that quarter by her political influence and local power. H. E. has accordingly determined to carry the arrangement into effect as soon as may be practicable.

6. The Governor-General does not desire that the Begam should be encouraged on any ground whatever, especially on the ground of her ability to injure or promote the British interests in her present situation, to expect the confirmation of her jagir which (as she has declared in her letter to the Governor-General received 5th December 1803) she has voluntarily consented to relinquish in exchange for an equivalent on the right bank of the Jumna. H. E. however wishes the Begam to understand that the exertion of her influence or the employment of her troops in the restoration of tranquillity and order in the Northern quarter of the Doab will establish her claim to the same advantages in the nature or extent of her future tenure, beyond the limit of the existing agreement; but that any act of treachery on her part will inevitably produce the destruction of her power and will absolve the British Govt., from the obligation to assigning to her any portion of territory on the right bank of the Jumna after the resumption of her jagir in the Doab.

8. It may be proper to signify to you on this occasion that the British Govt., will be disposed to grant to the Begam compensation for the value of dwelling-houses or other property which she may relinquish on the transfer of her present jagir to the Hon'ble Company on an equitable valuation.

9. It seems probable that until H. E. the Commander-in-chief shall be enabled to detach a force into the Doab for the occupation of the territory to be resigned by the Begam, the arrangement with the Begam cannot conveniently be carried into effect. Under any circumstances, however, the Governor-General deems it extremely desirable to a right understanding with the Begam without delay and you will accordingly proceed to make the necessary communications as soon as you shall be authorized by the Commander-in-chief to that effect.

10. If any exigency should exist to require an alteration of the former propositions to the Begam, the C-i-chief will exercise his judgment upon that state of affairs; and in such a crisis, if H. E. should deem it to be advisable, he will authorise you to signify to the Begam the intention of the British Govt. to confirm her present jagir in the Doab to her for the period of her life. In this case however, it will be necessary to stipulate for the reduction of her force, or for the removal of her French officers, and the substitution of British officers in their place. The total reduction of her brigades would be the most advisable measure, accompanied by an agreement to subsidize whatever the Commander-in-chief might deem to be the necessary proportion within the Doab. If however the C-i-chief should not perceive any necessity of yielding to the Begam's change of sentiments respecting the transfer of her jagir, it would be a far preferable arrangement to remove her establishment to the right bank of the Jumna, and, even in this case, it would be proper to endeavour to accomplish a total reduction of Regular Corps, and the dismissal of her French officers together with subsidiary alliance founded on the principles stated in this paragraph.

Sect. Prosdgs. 28-3-1805, No. 157.

INDIA'S ROLE IN WORLD POLITICS

BY AGNES SMEDLEY

Bear in mind that the commerce of India is the commerce of the world, and he who can exclusively command it is master of Europe."
—Article VIII of the Will of Peter the Great.

IN this article I shall make certain statements, quote certain facts and figures, and draw conclusions which may sometimes—because of their startling nature—arouse doubt in the readers' minds. Therefore I wish to state that facts mentioned here can be substantiated fully, and for every fact or figure a leading authority cited.

No person can understand the foreign policy of England, no person can understand the cultural and intellectual life in England itself, who does not know the relationship

which India bears to the British Empire. No person can understand the British foreign policy which has inspired military and diplomatic activities from the Napoleonic Wars, right down to the establishment of the League of Nations and the Anglo-German Treaty, unless he interprets wars, diplomatic conflicts, territorial annexations, treaties and alliances and extensions of protectorates with the fact of India constantly in mind.

For the British Empire is not an European Empire; it is an Asiatic Empire. And India is its central pillar.

In broad, historical outlines, we see two startling facts in connection with England

and India. They are: first, at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, England was a poor country. As the years pass we see a seemingly spontaneous development of a poor country into one of the richest and strongest in the world.

Now we turn our eyes to India. From the beginning of the same Industrial Revolution, India entered her Gethsemane. The great industries of India which were the envy of the world have vanished; the philosophies upon which much of the thought of Europe rests, have vanished or have remained but shadows; the science, agriculture and literature which flourished through the wonderful centuries, the fabulous wealth of India which led to the discovery of America, have vanished. For, with the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, England put her hand on India. And the touch was deadly. In the words of Senator Joseph France of America, the British exploitation, which has exalted and enriched England and made it possible for her poets to dream of liberty, has stricken India down into the depths of desperate poverty, destroyed her civilisation, unmanned her population, left her the victim of famine, disease and drugs.

The facts relating to this period are so important that they cannot be ignored. The invention of the steam engine by Watt and of the jenny by Archwright would have been left absolutely unexploited but for the enormous wealth that flowed into the London market from the plunder of Bengal by the East India Company. Prof. Brooks Adams, in his excellent work on the "Law of Civilisation and Decay", not only proves this, but he further adds:

"The savings of millions of human beings for centuries, the English seized and took to London, as the Romans had taken the spoils of Greece and Pontus to Italy. What the value of the treasure was no man can estimate, but it must have been many millions of pounds—a vast sum in proportion to the stock of precious metals then owned in Europe."

The Conquest of India

When Englishmen once got the taste of this magnificent wealth, they determined to consolidate their position and to conquer the rest of the country little by little, to drive out all rivals and to obtain the mastery of the land. Thus, during the 18th and 19th centuries, they carried out the same policy regarding the various Indian States as they are doing today regarding the various States of Europe: that is, they first supported one State against another and ended by finally

subjecting both, economically and financially: they waged, during the hundred years from the occupation of Bengal up to the suppression of the rising of 1857, the following wars:

Wars with the ruler of Bengal; two wars with the brave Rohillas of the North; three Afghan wars; two wars against Nepal; three wars against Mysore; two wars against the rulers of the Karnatic; three wars against the Mahrattas; three wars against the Sikhs; two wars against the rulers of Sindh; two wars against Burma, and a number of minor wars.

During this period the French had also tried to build up their Empire in India, and in the Anglo-French struggle in Europe,—which was transferred to India,—the French were defeated and were left with Pondicherry and four other small towns in India. The Portuguese were likewise driven out and confined to the small town of Goa in Bombay Presidency.

After 1857 the country was brought completely under the direct political rule of the British Parliament. The mantle was thrown off and forthwith England proceeded with her well-known policy of disarmament of which Germany has had such a good taste since the so-called peace.

It was one of the greatest disasters of history that England stepped into India during the century when India was passing through her Renaissance, when her entire national life was in the process of political and economic reconstruction. And, according to many historians, had the English not interfered with India's national evolution, there would have been a federation of Indian States under one of the more powerful races like the Mahrattas, who had formed a scheme of the federation of India under Mahratta supremacy very similar to the federation of German States under Prussian supremacy.

During this period, the British Isles—excluding Ireland—went through a brilliant period of cultural and economic activity, and the great names of Byron, Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth, Tennyson, all belong to this period. And curiously enough, when a great people and an ancient civilisation were being conquered and subjected by brute force on the one hand, Wordsworth was writing his sonnets to Liberty, and Byron died fighting for the freedom of the Greeks! Some of the great families of England today have their roots in that period; they are

proud of their culture, and they expect and receive the homage of Germans, Indians, Americans and other naive folk—but they gained their wealth, prestige, and titles by the wealth extracted from India.

After 1857 England had not only the raw materials, but also the political power of India in her hands. She then set about on a systematic policy in which three main tendencies are clearly discernible:

(1) The conquest of all the countries round about India; namely Burma, the Malay States, Siam, Afghanistan, Tibet, Persia, Baluchistan, Mesopotamia, Arabia.

(2) The domination of all the sea-routes between England and India by the occupation of all the strategic points along the route including Egypt.

(3) The conquest or subordination of all territories that could ensure the land route to India. This also includes Egypt.

Conquest of the "Shields" to India

The conquest of all countries round about India was, in British eyes, essential for the domination of India. General Homer Lea, in one of his earlier books entitled "The Day of the Saxon", points out that India is one of the three great strategic centres of the world; the other two being Japan and the British Isles. He shows, by maps and by outlines, how India is the strategic centre for the control of Asia. During the 19th and present centuries the British Foreign office has recognized and stated that Afghanistan, Tibet, Baluchistan, Persia, and Burma, were the shields to India which had to be added to the British dominion. To bring Afghanistan within this category, the British invaded that country in 1833, 1839, 1878, and latterly, in 1919. The military operations were on a tremendous scale and exceedingly costly. Indian soliders and Indian money paid for them—for England uses her conquered lands to conquer others. Afghanistan had been too isolated to be entirely conquered, but England managed to keep the country in a state of semi-independence for many decades, paying the Amir a heavy subsidy (out of Indian revenues). In return for which all foreign affairs passed through British hands. In the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907—made without consulting Afghanistan, of course—Russia graciously conceded England's contention that Afghanistan was in the British "sphere of influence" and that Russia should have no independent dealings with that country. In the latest invasion of Afghanistan,

however, England was not successful. At the present time Afghanistan is independent and has its own Legations abroad.

During the period 1875 to 1903, Baluchistan, which borders on India, Afghanistan, and Persia, was brought under the rule of British India. A very powerful military station was established in Quetta, the capital, which makes it impossible for Afghanistan to find a commercial outlet to the Indian Ocean, and which gives England a military control over the land-routes to Persia.

Another "shield" to India—Tibet—was virtually added to British dominion in 1904. Formerly it was semi-independent, a tributary state of China. But because it commands the north-eastern approach to China from India, as well as important trade routes, the British Foreign Office began to speak of the possible dangers of an invasion of India from that side. The question of "boundaries" was raised! In 1903, British, Chinese and Tibetan authorities agreed to meet in Tibetan territory to discuss the British demands for the adjustment of frontiers. This action came after England had used naive Indian Buddhist scholars to explore and make maps of the country. The English representative on this "diplomatic" commission was Colonel Francis Younghusband, who, instead of acting like a diplomatic representative, headed, instead, a military expedition of 3,000 British Indian troops. He invaded Tibet and, in various engagements, killed 1,500 Tibetans. And thereto the British Foreign office levied an indemnity of £500,000 on Tibet! The Tibetans were absolutely unprepared to defend their country, and so in 1904 it was conquered and became, virtually, British territory. It is of great importance because it is a dagger in the back of China, and guards British power there as Hongkong guards it from the sea. Since 1904, when England made her 15 Demands upon China by which Tibet became British territory, Tibetan trade with India has been very profitable. During the first three years of the War, Tibetan exports to India increased over 50 %; they consisted chiefly of raw wool. Her imports are—as is to be expected—Manchester cotton piece-goods! And Tibetan Lamas are now being used in London on the variety stage; before long we may expect to see them in the circuses of Europe.

The story of the conquest of Burma is one of the most scandalous in the history of the British Empire. After two wars in 1852 and 1856 had added some provinces of Burma

to the rule of the British East Indian Company, the final stroke fell in 1885 when the ruler was deposed by an intrigue; since 1909—when oil was discovered there—Burma has been brought completely under the political and military control of England, and has furnished one of England's most profitable sources of oil supply.

The story of Persia is fairly well-known to Europe, as Morgan Schuster's book, "The Strangling of Persia," has been translated from the English into most European languages. It will be remembered that in 1907 the Anglo-Russian Treaty was signed—without consultation of Persia, of course—by which Russia took northern Persia as her sphere of influence, and England took southern Persia as lying the nearest to India, as hers. Persia itself was generously permitted to keep a barren strip between the two philanthropists. As with Tibet and Afghanistan, we see Persia sacrificed by two powers over the control of the approaches to India.

The manner in which Siam has been paired down, not only by England, but by France, has reduced that ancient and cultured kingdom to at least 30 per cent. of its original size. Were it not for their inability to agree as to its final partition, England and France would long ago have destroyed the country altogether. With each French encroachment upon Siam, England has protested; but instead of demanding that France withdraw, she has, instead, demanded that in *compensation*, Siam give her a slice of territory here and there. The Straits Settlements, with the naval base of Singapore at its tip, has in this manner come into English hands. Siam exists to-day merely as a buffer State, and in any Anglo-French conflict in Asia, England will immediately overrun the country and paint all the vast territory up to the door of Hongkong a British red.

Conquest of Sea Routes to India

Thus, England has attained her first object in the subjection of India—the conquest of all countries bordering the Indian continent. But while this policy was being carried out, England was also mastering the sea-routes to India.

These sea-routes are divisible into two parts: (1) the old route around the Cape, and (2) the Mediterranean route. Gibraltar is the key to both. From 1651 St. Helena was added to the British Empire and furnished a halting station for the ships of the East India Company. Since that time all other points

on the all-sea route have been added, including Freetown, Simon's Bay, Ascension, Tristan de Cunha, the Cape, Mauritius, and the Seychelles, the last two points being in the Indian Ocean.

The Mediterranean route extends from Gibraltar to Malta, Cyprus, through the Suez Canal. These strategic points, including the following, have come under the British flag: Aden and Perim, the islands of Abd-el Keru, Kurian Murian Islands and Bay, and the Sokotra Islands at the southern mouth of the Suez; also Basra on the Persian Gulf, and Koweit at the upper end of the Gulf; and the Bahrein Islands guarding the whole Gulf. All the islands in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea were occupied; these include Rodriguez, the Amiranta group, the Laccadive and Maldive Islands, the Chagos Archipelago, and Ceylon.

In the guarding of this Mediterranean route through the Suez Canal,—which was acquired in 1880—it was necessary to occupy Egypt, which was done in 1882; then the Sudan and Somaliland followed. The last Boer War in 1901 was really fought to secure control of Africa on the one hand, and to guard the route to India on the other. Egypt was occupied temporarily—it was alleged—but with a clear and definite object of remaining in that country as permanent masters. In this occupation England has done what she would have waged war against any other nation for doing to her—that is, she violated the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and had the arrogance to pretend that she had occupied Egypt "to teach the Egyptians good government"!

On the Asiatic side of India, the sea-approaches to India are just as systematically guarded as on the European side. All the islands in the Bay of Bengal and on the route to Australia and China have been occupied. The most important strategic point—in fact one of the chief points in Asia—is Singapore at the tip of the Straits Settlement. British North Borneo likewise occupies a position of great strategic importance. From Singapore, England controls both the Bay of Bengal and the South China Sea. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Bay of Bengal are likewise British, the Andaman Islands furnishing one of the penal colonies for Indian political prisoners.

In addition to these possessions, the Dutch colonies lying between India and Australia are surrounded by British Islands and are absolutely dependent upon British foreign

policy and can never dare to join in any war against England.

And finally, Australia, New Zealand, and Fiji and the mass of Islands in the Pacific, have been occupied by England and ensure the complete ring around India.

Conquest of Land-Routes to India

Aside from the conquest of the countries bordering India and furnishing her "shields", England has never once failed to consistently work to bring all land-routes to India under her direct rule or under her control by some means or other. The last Boer War had a bearing upon this phase of English policy because it enabled England to advance her plan for an all-British land-route from the Cape to Cairo and from Cairo to Bombay. The subordination of Turkey to British imperial interests was one of England's earliest efforts. It will be remembered that at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 England asked only for the ratification of her sea conquests,—Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, the Seychelles Islands, and Ceylon. After 1815 she suddenly began to pose as the friend of the Ottoman Empire and of Islam, although in India she was conquering one Islamic State after another. England became the so-called "Protectress" of Constantinople and kept Turkey in a weakened and corrupt condition deliberately in order to be able to control her,—in exactly the same manner as she is doing today with Peking, China.

And when the Crimean War broke out in 1854, England used her alliance with Turkey to put off the revolution in India by getting a *Fatwa* of the Caliphate calling upon Indian Mohammedans to remain loyal to the British. This was one of the first uses made by England of the Caliphate against India and the Islamic world. In exactly the same manner England has used the Vatican to issue Bulls against the Republicans in Ireland.

The occupation of Egypt in 1882, as already stated, was one of the land-routes to India which had, of necessity, to be brought under the British flag, and so long as India remains under British rule it is ridiculous to think that Egypt can ever have anything but a shadowy form of independence.

International Alliances Used Against India

As England used brute force to rivet the chains more closely about India, both by land and sea, so did she form international alliances, treaties and coalitions for this

purpose. The Congress of Vienna was one of the most striking examples by which England's lawless actions were stamped with the seal of legality. The Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907, by which the fate of Tibet, Afghanistan and Persia was decided without even consulting these countries concerned, is another instance of the same character. Likewise, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, signed first in 1902, and then revised in 1905 after the Japanese defeat of Russia is of great historic importance in this connection. Two of the three clauses constituting the preamble to the revised Alliance read :

Article A. The consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and India.

Article C. The maintenance of the territorial rights of the High Contracting Parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India and the defence of their special interests in those regions.

This Alliance was automatically revised in 1911 and 1921. But since the Four-Power Treaty, signed in Washington 1921, it has been discontinued.

After the defeat of Russia by Japan, England was easier in mind. But, although Russia was driven back, and Japan was bound by treaty, England then began to make coalitions in Europe against the next power after Russia most dangerous to her supremacy. And that power was certainly Germany. After the Franco-German War, Germany's commerce had grown by leaps and bounds and just before the world War she stood second only to England in the trade with India. Her merchant marine and her navy were growing at such a rapid pace that England first tried to limit this development by agreement, while at the same time she was carrying on a policy for the isolation of Germany. Then, again, Germany was building the Berlin-Bagdad railway which was regarded as the one dangerous and direct attempt at England's supremacy in India. There was no alternative for England but to wage a war of destruction against Germany. She gave up her century-old feud with France and her ancient fear of Russia—formed alliances with them and used them to destroy Germany. The object of this destruction was not merely to crush Germany's naval and military power, but actually to occupy the colonies in Africa which were absolutely necessary for the all-British route from the Cape to Cairo. And it was also to drive the Germans out of Asia as commercial competitors.

The manner in which England achieved

her purpose again reminds us of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 which secured England in the possession of the sea-routes to India. A body called the League of Nations was created, and this organisation has put the seal of authority and morality upon the lands added to the British Empire by force of arms. By this international body England has been given 931,000 additional square miles of African territory, a territory in area of approximately one-third of the United States. Germany's colonies, among others, were presented to England.

This international body also made Palestine and Mesopotamia "Mandates" of the British Empire. Both countries occupy important positions on the route to India, and Mesopotamia is one of the most important sources of oil supply. And oil is one of the most important materials used in warfare.

England's policy regarding Palestine is of vast importance. The crowning act of England in her Jewish policy was the Balfour declaration of 1916 which proclaimed Palestine as the national home of the Jewish people. This declaration was made during the War and was calculated to win over the German Jews to British policy. The so-called national home of the Jews, is, and remains, nothing more nor less than a connecting link between Egypt and India. Palestine today is one of the most important outposts of the British Empire, being one of the chief points in the British land and air routes to India. Whether the Jewish people desire it or not, or whether they are conscious of it or not, the fact remains that England is deliberately using them for her imperial policy in keeping India in subjection. And it is not to be wondered at that Lord Reading is a Jew, that the Governor of Madras is a Jew, that the first High Commissioner for India, Sir William Meyer, was a Jew, that the late Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, was a Jew. Or that England sent out a Jew as Governor of Egypt, and that today the Governor of Palestine is a Jew. The brains of all English Jews, and the sympathy of many other Jews, are hitched to England's imperial engine of domination.

A cursory view of world politics shows immediately that Russia and Germany are no longer serious rivals in so far as India is concerned. And it shows that Japan has taken the place of those powers and is the next nation to receive the respects of the British Empire. Thus it was quite natural that the farcical

Disarmament Conference, held in Washington D. C. in 1921, was nothing more nor less than an attempt to strike at the power of Japan in Asia. The Four-Power Treaty which came out of it took the place of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and in reality is nothing more nor less than an Anglo-American Alliance against Japan. For one of the pretexts for a coming war against Japan is that she is threatening British and American possessions in Asia.

In recent Anglo-Russian relations, India has again started to play a dominant role. In the Anglo-Russian trade negotiations in 1921 one of the chief arguments in the English agitation against Soviet Russia was that the latter country was undermining the British Empire in India, and giving help to Indian revolutionaries. Indian spies in Russia in the pay of England kept London constantly informed of the intimate actions of the Soviet Government regarding India. The Anglo-Russian Trade Treaty was finally signed but upon the specific condition that all Russian propaganda in India should cease and that all financial support of Indians should be discontinued. This instance merely shows the role India plays even in trade agreements with foreign powers.

Germans have been so occupied with their own sufferings since the War that they have not seen the important part which the subjection of India plays in their own slavery. By the Treaty of Versailles Germans were expressly excluded from entering India for a period of five years. And in the recent Anglo-German Treaty, concluded two months ago, there are two special paragraphs forbidding Germans to enter India for a further period of two years. England is determined to force all German businessmen to deal through English firms and to prevent direct Indian German trade relations. In accordance with this plan, the German press is filled with propaganda against the danger to Germans if they deal directly with Indian businessmen who, it is alleged, are not honest. Of course, *Englishmen* may deal with these same "dishonest" Indians and not suffer thereby! But Germans, it seems, like Indians and other "undeveloped" subject peoples, must have their interests protected by some benevolent party like England!

Since Germany became a victim of the Entente, England has addressed a number of protests to the German Government against the residence in this country of Indian political refugees. The English Government tried to force the German Government to drive

these men out of this country. And since the end of the War England has really succeeded in forcing two other European countries to expel Indian exiles.

England's relations with America are of far-reaching significance because they affect the future of all Asia as well as of India. Up until 1921, the huge Irish population in America, which in some places dominates American politics, prevented any *rapprochement* between England and America. The granting of the Irish Free State was really a move, not to give Ireland freedom, but to remove Irish opposition in America to such a *rapprochement*. One of the most interesting and vigorous movements in America was that of the propaganda of Indian nationalists in that country against British rule in India. This movement was intimately bound up, both morally and financially, with the Irish movement.

Since the founding of the Irish Free State, the Irish agitation in America has been divided. And the Indian movement has lost its chief pillar of support. After the so-called Disarmament Conference in Washington, the American Supreme Court decided that no Indian could be an American citizen. The new law makes these Indians living there liable to deportation to the land of their birth. This legislation is political and is intimately bound up with the growing English control of America. Warnings of it were constantly seen in small but sinister events in that country not only during the War, but afterwards. I may quote one from personal experience: in 1918-1919, when Lord Reading was English ambassador in America, a number of Indian exiles were held for deportation to India. When Americans appealed to the public, telling them that these Indians were guilty of "treason" *in English eyes*, and could be imprisoned for life or killed in India, an interesting thing occurred: A Jewish professor at Columbia University wrote an article in the *New York Times* denying these statements and denying charges of general oppression in India. A friend discussed this article with the University Professor and the only excuse the latter had was that he wrote it, not because he knew anything about India but because his friend, Lord Reading, had asked him to write it! In this instance we saw the underhand and secret methods by which England was working in America against even unimportant Indians. Today we see the Anglo-American Alliance directed against Asia as a whole.

The Control of Cable and Air Routes

But there are other weapons of control which England exercises against India. One of these is the control of cables. England controls almost all the cables of the world. The cables from India are absolutely in British hands. Cabled news which appear in the European press about trade, and economic and political conditions in India must be read with this fact borne constantly in mind. The most striking use of cable censorship was seen at the time of the Amritsar massacre in 1919, which was kept from the world for eight months after it had happened.

England's air plans are of the most serious and dangerous kind, particularly as they concern India. England knows that she cannot hold India in subjection purely by the use of her land army; but, according to frank debates in the House of Lords in London, England can devastate the land from the air. Thus it is of importance to note that in all Disarmament Conferences no mention is made of the restriction of the manufacture of deadly chemicals for use in war, nor of the restriction of war-planes. England is steadily increasing her air services on the frontier in India. She has already used warplanes to bomb unoffending Afghan towns in 1919; she has used aeroplanes to bomb the protesting population of Arabia and Mesopotamia since the war. She has been bombing Mesopotamia during the past two of three months. And she is building not only a naval base in Singapore, but an air station also.

It is the control of the air routes to India that England is now bending every effort to secure. The head of the British Air Ministry is now on a tour to organise the all-British air route to India and Australia. England now has the Cape to Cairo railroad, connecting South Africa with Egypt, and she has air routes over the same territory. She has the air and land routes extending from Egypt, over her new colonies of Palestine, Mesopotamia, over Persia to Bombay.

Commercial Gains of England from India

When Englishmen are asked why it is that they continue to keep India in subjection they always speak of the "white man's burden" or they give such a reply as that of Sir Eldon Gorst, Governor of Egypt, in 1910:

"British policy in Egypt differs in no way from that followed by Great Britain all over the world towards countries under her rule: namely, to place before all else the welfare of their populations."

But any superficial investigation into the

real reasons put a different light on England's reason for fighting for the right to carry the terrible burden of Empire, with India as its central pillar, and her reason for subjecting nation after nation and waging war after war for the privilege of carrying the "white man's burden."

The gains of England from India can be listed under three general heads:

1. Commercial.
2. Political and military.
3. Moral, intellectual and social.

The outstanding fact about India is her enormous resources in minerals, vegetable and plant raw material. She has the monopoly of the world's jute; she furnished 51 per cent of the wheat production of the Empire; 58 per cent of the tea; 73 per cent of the coffee; almost all the cotton; she is one of the greatest rice producing lands on earth and one of the heaviest exporters. She is rich in minerals and in coal. If left to herself, she could feed herself many times over and rid the land of the famines which carry off millions of the population each year. But, for the maintenance of English industries, it is necessary for England to control India's raw materials and at the same time the political power to make the Indian market exclusively her own for the manufactured goods which she turns out.

England's share of the entire Indian trade is 64 per cent. These are figures of direct trade, or so-called legitimate commerce. They are independent of the interest and dividends paid upon English investments in India, the proceeds of which supply an income to hundreds of thousands of English families. In 1913, the capital owned exclusively by Englishmen in India was £35 billion sterling.

For all industrial undertakings in India, the capital is raised in London, and all orders for railway requisites, which are a Government monopoly, are placed almost exclusively with English manufacturers, although English goods are much more expensive and in many cases inferior to the manufactures of Germany and other countries.

The entire gold reserve of India is deposited in the Bank of England, and as England has the pound standard, and as she controls the Indian money market which has a silver currency, she derives enormous profits each year by manipulations in the value of the silver rupee compared to the gold standard.

In dealing with the industrial and commercial profits, we are not talking of the amount of the Indian revenues which are

spent on the civil service or the army. The civil service leads to a tremendous drain on India's resources to England. England maintains for the administration of India a civil service, all higher posts of which are manned by Englishmen at enormous salaries. Every one of these Englishmen, after a certain period of service, returns home on a life's pension. This furnishes a part of the tremendous drain from India which alone amounts to £20 million. It is estimated by Sir John Campbell that another sum equal to this is sent by private remittance, by Englishmen to their families in England.

This drain, therefore, amounts to the enormous sum of approximately £40 million a year, which is really a tribute paid by India to England, and impoverishes the people because there is no return whatsoever. Proportionately, the figure means much more in India than it would, here in Europe. For in India, the average income of the population is about £4 per head per year. For a people having such a low standard of living it is not easy to have to meet an annual drain of £40 million per year. This systematic flow of money has continued for at least 60 years, and does not take into account the plunder of the East India Company before that time. But it gives some idea of the continual impoverishment of the Indian people and of the tremendous prosperity of England; for this sum, if distributed over the entire population of England, would give *one Pound* sterling per head to each Englishman. What India means to England in economic strength is, however, best summed up in the words of Prof. A. Demangeon of the Sorbonne University of Paris in his book "America and the Race for World Dominion"

"India is the typical colony for exploitation. Immensely rich and thickly populated, she represents for her masters at once a fortune and a defense. It is through India that the British Empire assures her destiny. India is the holding place of British Commerce to the Far East. India gives the fleet places of support for the sea-roads. India recruits for the Army legions of high-spirited soldiers; native contingents fight for Great Britain in China and South Africa. During the great War, India supplied more than a million men of whom more than 100,000 were killed. India is for Great Britain an enormous market: two thirds of her importations come from English sources; she furnishes 51 per cent. of the wheat production of the Empire, 58 per cent. of the tea, 73 per cent. of the coffee, almost all the cotton. An immense British capital is invested in Indian mines, factories, plantations, railways and irrigation works. India pays the interest on probably 350 million pounds sterling. India keeps busy an army of British officials whose salaries she pays."

and whose savings go every year to Great Britain. She pours into British coffers the interest on her public debt, the pensions of old officials, the governmental expenses of her administration. More than 30 million pounds sterling a year is the estimate of the sums that India pays in the United Kingdom to her creditors, her stockholders, and officials. At that we do not know how much she brings to the merchants who trade with her and the shippers who transport her goods. Never was the term exploitation better applied."

England's Military Gain from India

As stated, England maintains an English and Indian army in India; of the expected revenue of India for the year 1923-24 which will amount to about £133 million pounds sterling, something like £42 million pounds is estimated for military expenditure. This amount is larger than the military and naval expenditure of Japan for the same period. Yet with these figures in mind, the idea is prevalent that England is not militaristic, but that she has but a small standing army and no compulsory military service. No one thinks of India as the centre of British militarism. Yet the Indian army is always kept on a war footing, and, according to the statement of Lord Curzon, India is always ready for war and at a moment's notice the Indian army may be hurled against any point in Asia or Africa. But Germany learned in the late War that this mercenary Indian army was ready not only to be hurled against any part of Asia or Africa, but against free and independent nations in Europe as well.

The period of service for English soldiers in India is limited to short terms, raw recruits are sent out to India and return to England as trained men who are put into the reserves. So that, within a few years, hundreds of thousands of Englishmen are actively prepared for military service. Even the cost of the transport of these British recruits to and from India is taken out of Indian revenues.

England's Moral Gain from India's Subjection

It is not difficult to imagine what this exploitation of India means to India. Generation after generation of Indians have known only serfdom and an unendurable poverty which has dragged the annual length of life down to 23.5 years, whereas in Europe it is 45. On the other hand, there have been generations and generations in England, from the early 18th Century to the present time, receiving wealth

from India which is spread in over-growing social circles until it has raised England's intellectual and economic life to a fairly high level. The English bourgeoisie has been built upon this imperial exploitation. The entire middle and upper classes have thus acquired the leisure that is necessary for culture and for higher education. Their poets stand upon the prostrate body of India and sing of freedom and liberty. Their statesmen praise the beauty of the Empire as worms praise the beauty of a decaying corpse. Their dramatists produce works of such high quality that the world honours them. The necessity of retaining India as the central pillar of the Empire is so much a part of the consciousness of Englishmen that it pervades the thought of the English working class. This was very evident under the ministry of Ramsay MacDonald, when some of the most repressive legislation in India came into being. And it can be seen in the statement of a leading English Communist who remarked to an Indian: "We English Communists will not turn the Indian working class over to the Indian bourgeoisie". Thus it is clear that eventually the English Communists hope to carry the "white man's burden". The attitude of the Independent Labour Party, which is supposed to be "left" in its politics, is best summed up in the words of Mr. A. Fenner Brockway, in an official letter to a German organisation:

"I do not think that the Labour Government would be prepared to let India and Ireland leave the Empire. I think the Independent Labour Party would be ready if these countries wished to leave. I do not think that there has been a real indication that Ireland or India wish to be totally independent of Great Britain."

It can be confidently said that there is no organisation of Englishmen who would be willing to withdraw the army from India long enough to see whether the Indians wanted their freedom or not. You cannot expect Indian leaders to declare that their goal is independence from the British Empire because such a program would mean a war with England which India is not prepared to meet. Even now she has gone as far as she dare go and remain within the law.

Perhaps one of the most honest admissions of the reasons why England holds India was made by an English imperialist, A. E. Duchesne, in his book *Democracy and Empire*:

"Britain has need of India. If it had not been for India the British Empire had never been at any rate in its present form. India has supplied,

from Elizabeth's reign onward, precisely that stimulus of which our country has stood in need. To the desire to reach India is due maritime enterprise and discovery. To the struggle to obtain India is due our naval and military supremacy as against Holland and France. To our trade with India is due much of our past and present prosperity and wealth. Without India, Lancashire were bankrupt. To our retention of India is due our present Imperial prestige. To our training in and by India, is due our practical sagacity as administrators."

'England's War against Asia

It can be easily seen that, with such a great power in her hands, England is not going to surrender her privileged position without the use of every weapon of slaughter the mind of man can invent. Yet it is this struggle which faces the world within the next ten or fifteen years. For England is determined to keep India—and all Asia—in continued subjection that her own power, prestige and comfort may continue. She faces three or four great forces in Asia against which she must fight to the death. One is the Indian national movement, which eventually can have only complete freedom apart from the British Empire as its goal. Secondly, the awakening of Young China and the determination of that country to free itself from every imperialist power now feeding upon her. Thirdly, is the might of Japan, able to meet any Western power on its own ground. Added to these forces is the new Asiatic Alliance, composed first of all of Russia and Japan, but with every indication that China will—if she has not already done so—join this combination.

The political example of Japan to the rest of Asia that an Asiatic people need not of necessity be subjected to a Western power is one of the menaces of British rule in India and of British-American rule in China.

In an attempt to meet the rapid developments in Asia, England and America are calling another Disarmament Conference in Washington, D. C., which has the same purpose as that of the Conference in 1921, *i.e.*, the attempt of England and America to disable Japan militarily. This is the same trick England tried to play with the Haldane Proposals to limit Germany's navy some three years before the world War.

America is holding tremendous naval manoeuvres in the Pacific as a warning to Japan. Japan has held counter-manoeuvers in which the problem she worked out was the defense of every entrance to the Island Kingdom. And in the meantime Japan has been revising her attitude toward China,

which for a number of years has been as hostile and arrogant as that of England or America.

In her internal Indian policy England is making nothing less than gigantic war preparations—for all her political manoeuvres now are War manoeuvres. Aside from the part British agents undoubtedly play in precipitating Hindu-Mussalman quarrels, England is trying to form a so-called independent Arab Federation which shall serve two or three purposes of value to her plans: it will furnish a bulwark of British influence against the one progressive, and consciously anti-English, country in Asia—Turkey; and it will guard the holy places of Islam and form the seat of a puppet Caliphate dependent on England's good-will, who will issue *Fatwas* to Indian Mohammedans to remain loyal to England in the coming war against Asia. It is further expected that Indian Mohammedans will render allegiance to this new Arabian Federation, and with this allegiance to a foreign power, the disunion of India will be so complete that it can in no way unite with Asia in the coming conflict. In this manner the Indian Mohammedans are going to have the opportunity of betraying three-fourths of the human race in return for an allegiance to their religious head.

Within India, England is fortifying the North Western Frontier and establishing air stations and hospitals there. And the head of the British Air Ministry is on a tour for the purpose of constructing an all British air route from England to India, India to Singapore and India to Australia.

But of more significance is Lord Reading's presence in London. His mission to London is undoubtedly intimately connected with preparations for war in Asia. To any one conversant with British political manoeuvres, we may expect a new reform bill in India the purpose of which will be to shut the mouths of the Indian leaders, some of whom only want a few more reforms. It may be that a semblance of autonomy will be granted to two or three Provinces and thus the national consciousness of India divided. Together with provincial and religious disunity, and then a reform bill to confuse the issue, India is expected to be either impotent in the coming struggle, or to be loyal to England. And it is but honest to say that a number of Indian leaders are capable of this loyalty. In the last world war, for example, we saw Indian troops fight against a nation of whom they

hardly knew the existence, and we saw intelligent Indian leaders give their support to such a war hoping thereby to bargain reforms for India. A number of Indian leaders are quite capable of such an unethical and dishonourable performance again. For we cannot forget that the results of political and economic slavery include intellectual and psychological slavery.

The building of the Singapore air and naval base is now known to be directed against India, Japan and China. It is not directed solely against Japan, for Singapore is 3,000 miles from Japan, and is a strategic point which guards the Bay of Bengal on the one side and the South China Sea with the approaches to China on the other. The necessity of this base in the Anglo-American combination against Asia, is shown in an article by Mr. W. H. Gardiner, Vice-President of the Navy League of America in the November, issue of the *Fortnightly Review* of London. A paragraph may be cited:

"It may be well to recall that, in 1923, the external trade of the British Isles—upon which most British labour there lives directly or indirectly—amounted to nearly 2 billion pounds, of which about half was carried by the Pacific and Indian Oceans, while in the same year the external trade of the United States, which has been increasing most rapidly in the Orient, was about four-fifths as large as that of the British Isles. With such ideals and interests at stake, it would seem patent that the practical and peaceful way for America and Britain to maintain them would be for each to hold its pivotal position and dependent possessions in the Far East with such evident firmness as to make obviously futile any attempt on the part of the Japanese to carry out their southward trending marine plans.

"Whatever idealism Europe and America may each indulge in at home, the fact remains that modern Asia is at least as much a realm of realism as was *ante-bellum* Germany—a realm in which practical conditions must be met by America and Britain each holding its pivotal position and dependent possessions with such evident firmness as to make any attempt against them obviously futile.

"The American fleet is not as strong as it permissibly should be. The British fleet is without an adequate and permissible base in the Pacific....It would seem to be to the interest of Americans as well as of Britons that the construction of such a British base as that planned for Singapore be delayed as little as possible."

Mr. Gardiner relates his conversation with the authorities in the Dutch Indies who, he says, are depending upon the Singapore base. Accordingly, in Holland, we see an increased military and naval budget. Mr. Gardiner further says that it is to be taken for granted that in the coming war in Asia, England will have to use a number of her

battleships in Indian waters,—for India may become unreasonable!

The *New Statesman* of London, as well as *The Nation*, frankly discuss the Singapore plans, stating that Japanese regard the Singapore plan as embodying a revival of war-like principles, and that incitement to war directed against Japan is, after all, incitement to racial war. The Japanese, they say, anticipate a racial war with its dread consequences, owing to America's vast resources in wealth and munitions of war.

America and England have accordingly been much excited over the Russo-Japanese Treaty by which Japan has acquired in the island of Saghalin to the north 500 million tons of hard coal, as well as valuable oil wells; and recently, also, has come the news of the discovery within Japan of valuable iron ore deposits. These developments mean self-sufficiency for Japan both industrially and militarily.

In Europe and America there is a steady propaganda of color and racial hatred being kept up. Visions of "Asiatic invasions" are being held up; we are told that Asiatics are just waiting for the opportunity to murder every "European" in Asia. The white world is told to unite before it is too late. The German press is being steadily filled with articles against India and the Indian national movement. We are warned of the dangers of a free India! Yet why Germany should fear that, I do not know. Or any other European nation outside of England. One may take it for granted that this propaganda of hate based upon the difference of race and color is nothing but the propaganda carried on by the Anglo-American combine in an attempt to unite European nations with them in this war against Asia. That color and race is not the issue at stake is shown by the fact that Russia is with Asia on this question. And France is compelled to be, because of the Anglo-French conflict in Africa and the Near and Middle East. The propaganda becomes clear and we see the naked truth instead: that England and America are planning the complete conquest of Asia. And since they fear they cannot manage the job alone, they are anxious to obtain German and other mercenaries. We see in this coming war the attempt of capitalist-imperialism, of which the chief standard-bearers are England and America—attempting to hold in serfdom $\frac{3}{4}$ of the human race in order that their own industries may be 'fed, that they may

have markets and room for the investment of their surplus, capital, and that their own populations may live in comfort and ease. It does not matter to them that untold millions die of famine, disease and drugs—all the making of this system. But to us, who believe that the way of human development lies in another direction, it

does matter. And ours is the duty of enlightening every man, woman and child on this subject, that Germany and other European nations may not throw in their weight on behalf of the forces of oppression and human devastation, but rather on the side of human progress and liberty.

BOMBAY'S GRIEVANCES

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE Finance Member has shown in his budget for 1925-26, that there would be a surplus of more than three crores. For this reason he proposed to give some relief to some provinces in the matter of their financial contributions to the Central Government. Bombay's contention was that, as there was to be a surplus, the cotton excise duty ought to have been abolished. It was also an additional complaint of Bombay that it was not among the provinces to which, at first, Sir Basil Blackett proposed to give relief, though he has subsequently done so owing to Bombay's remonstrances.

Surplus or no surplus, we hold that, as the cotton excise duty is unrighteous, it ought to go. We are also entirely for justice to Bombay and every other province as regards the provincial contributions to the Central Government. The Meston award also requires revision.

But what is to be regretted is that both in the Bombay Legislative Council and in some Bombay papers bitter remarks have been made against Bengal. Bengal, however, is not responsible for any injustice to Bombay or to any other province. In the counsels of the Central Government, neither the official nor the non-official Bengal element has had any predominant influence for years. In the Bombay Council Bengal was characterised as the spoilt child of the Government. We suppose the correctness of that appellation is proved by the special efforts which are being made and have been repeatedly made during the last two decades to crush Bengal.

We read in the *Indian Daily Mail* for March 4 (Dak Edition), page 6, that in the

Bombay Council "Mr. Surve further pointed out that the revenue of Bengal was not in anyway less than that of this Province", i. e., Bombay. This is not correct. Bombay's estimated revenue for 1925-26 is Rs. 15,68,00,000, whereas that of Bengal for the same year is only Rs. 10,45,00,000. Ten crores may not be less than fifteen crores, according to Mr. Surve's arithmetic, but according to ordinary arithmetic, it is.

Mr. Lalji Naranji is reported in the same paper to have said in the Bombay Council: "He did not understand why the policy of favouritism was shown to Bengal." Not having all the materials before us, as we write, to judge whether there is any favouritism, we shall assume that particular favour has been shown to Bengal for some reason or other, and shall try to find out that reason.

It will appear from the annexed table that the Government of Bengal has at its disposal much less money for carrying on its work than some of the other major provinces.

THE ESTIMATED REVENUE IN RS. FOR 1925-26

Province	Population	Total Revenue	Revenue per head
Bombay	26701148	156800000	5-13-0
Madras	42794155	165179100	3-13-0
U. P.	46510668	134293000	2-14-0
Panjab	25101060	110000000	4- 6-0
Bengal	47592462	104500000	2- 3-0

It may be presumed, therefore, that as the Bengal Government has less money (both in the aggregate and per head) to do its work with than some of the other Provincial Governments, it may have been a greater object of the Central Government's pity.

It has been argued that Bengal is lightly taxed. We may consider that point in a future issue. In the meantime, if we take it for granted that Bengal is lightly taxed, the people of Bengal are not to blame for that fact; for it is not they who impose and fix the rates of "imperial" and "provincial" taxation in Bengal and the rest of India. It is the Government which levies taxes.

It has been repeatedly urged that, owing to the Permanent Settlement, Bengal pays less land revenue than the other provinces, and as land revenue goes to the provincial government, that is one reason why the total receipts of the Bengal Government stand at such a comparatively low figure. If Bengal really pays proportionately less land revenue than every one of the other provinces considering the total areas and cultivated areas of the provinces, the people of Bengal are not gainers, because it is only the revenue payable by the Zemindars or Landholders which has been permanently fixed, but not what the tenants have to pay to these Zemindars. Let us, however, see whether Bengal really pays less land revenue than Bombay proportionately to their total and cultivated areas. The revenue is shown in rupees.

For 1920-21.

Province	Area in sq. miles	Cultivated area in acres	Net land revenue
Madras	142260	42952121	39965114
Bombay	123611	42636082	29904324
Bengal	76843	28970724	22903013
U. P.	106295	38594883	54482469

This table has been compiled from the Statistical Abstract for British India from 1911-12 to 1920-21, published in 1923. No later issue has yet been received.

Considering the *total* areas, Bombay and Madras do not pay more land revenue proportionately than Bengal; the United Provinces do. Considering the *cultivated* areas, again, Bombay does not pay more land revenue proportionately than Bengal; the United Provinces and Madras do. It may be submitted, therefore, that Bombay has no particular reason to be bitter against Bengal so far as land revenue is concerned.

Income-tax goes to the Central Government. Let us quote the income-tax figures in rupees from the Statistical Abstract, for 1919-20 and 1920-21, which are the latest available in that publication.

AMOUNT OF TAXES ON INCOME AND CHARGES.

The charges are shown in the second lines.

Province	1919-20	1920-21
Madras	16235965	19649284
	149341	348722
Bombay	72654986	67902289
	442885	584630
Bengal	95126337	83975291
	266623	311468
U. P.	10559516	9572900
	264601	372169

These figures appear to show that Bengal does not pay less income-tax than any other province; and the proceeds of this tax go to the Central Government.

In order to plead with the other provinces not to be angry with Bengal, we may be permitted to point out that her land revenue, which is not expansible, she is ordered to keep for herself, and that her income-tax, which is expansible, she has to contribute to the Central Government. As we have said that the land revenue both of Madras and U. P. is greater than that of Bengal, we may be forgiven for pointing out in addition that Bengal pays a far larger income-tax than both those provinces combined.

Bombay can rightly urge that she pays the cotton excise duty, though not the whole of it. Its amount in 1920-21 was Rs. 23092870. But Bengal is taxed on raw and manufactured jute, the amount of the duty in 1920-21 having been Rs. 32112628. So here again Bengal is not more useless to the public exchequer than Bombay.

There are various reasons why the revenue of the Bengal Government is small. One of these reasons is that Bengal is not an industrialised province to the extent that Bombay is. Another is that, the Bengal Government derives very little income from irrigation, the irrigation works in the province being quite negligible: as the following table will show:—

Province	Miles of canals and branches.	Gross receipts in rupees
Madras	3898	11732445
Bombay	2476	2615163
Bengal	70	236136
U. P.	1459	14028767
Punjab	2830	46755892

Excise is a source of provincial revenue. But the excise revenue of Bengal is, happily, not so big a figure as elsewhere.

EXCISE REVENUE FOR 1920-21

Province.	Revenue in Rs.
Madras	5,43,56,904
Bombay	4,60,67,843
Bengal	1,96,67,588

It is to be hoped, no Bombay or Madras patriot will consider it a grievance that Bengal is not up to the mark in drunkenness, in the opium habit, etc

We have no desire to pursue this subject further. We would only respectfully urge that there should be no interprovincial bickerings. As a Bengali, the present writer always bears in mind that Bengal has many faults; but he must also urge that among these faults robbing any other province of its dues is not one. It is our fault that we

are not enterprising in commerce and industry; but it is not a grievance of the people of any other province who come to Bengal and are able to make money here which we cannot make either here or elsewhere. We are grateful to Bombay for its ready help to us in times of famine, etc., in Bengal. But we would respectfully remind the capitalists of Bombay that they could not have been quite as rich as they are, if Bengal had not done its bit in rousing a feeling of preference for Indian mill-made cloth during the Swadeshi agitation and afterwards, both in Bengal and outside, and purchased large quantities of such cloth to boot.

March 28, 1925.

JYOTISH-SIKSHAK OR JATAK-KESARI *

Hindu Jyotisha comprises three branches, viz. (1) Siddhanta or astronomy. (2) Samhita or natural astrology, that is, the predicting of terrestrial events by natural phenomena, and (3) Jataka or horoscopy, the predicting of future events in a man's life by the disposition of the planets at the moment of birth. An important section of the second branch is called *muhurt*, the determination of proper times for the performance of religious and socio-religious ceremonies. This branch was the oldest and gave rise to astronomy. Horoscopy was the latest and received abnormal development from the West, culminating in Tajik and its allied branch, Raml. of Arabian astrology.

The book deals with the Jatak branch but has some chapters on Muhurta also. The first step is, however, the calculation of sidereal time and the computation of the places of the planets, for which astrologers usually depend upon the almanacs. The author has, however, tried to make them independent by furnishing rules for computing them, and ephemerides for a certain number of years. This has considerably enhanced the usefulness of the book.

The astrological categories and their interpretation are all given in Marathi. We would have liked to see the Sanskrit authorities on which they are based. Sanskrit slokas are much easier to remember than the Vernacular prose, and an astrologer must have a store in his memory before he can handle a horoscope. The slokas with the names of the authorities would have encouraged critical study and induced the reader to seek fur-

ther information in them. A student who cannot understand simple Sanskrit with the help of the vernacular translation is not fit for the subject.

There is, however, a more serious defect in the publication. It is bad arrangement, rather want of systematic arrangement of the topics dealt with. This has made the subject difficult for beginners for whom the work is said to be intended and unnecessarily increased the bulk. The book appears to have grown out of notes compiled at random and put together as they were ready before publication. Barring this defect, the book is well written and as far as we can judge, shows ripe scholarship in the treatment of the subject.

Some very important questions have been raised in the book. One of these, though concerned with horoscopy alone, is whether the positions of the planets have to be taken from the moving equinoctial point, or from the fixed point of the zodiac as recognised by the early writers on Jataka. In other words, are the signs of the zodiac movable with the moving equinox, or as fixed as the stars? We are not adepts in astrology, but know that opinions differ. Western Zadkiels measure the positions from the moving equinoctial point, the so-called First Point of Aries. Many Indian astrologers do the same and say that their forecasts come out true, while the majority are for the fixed zodiac. The former hold the opinion that it is the relative positions of planets that counts, and as the laws were discovered when the zodiac commenced from the equinoctial point they remain true under that condition only. The latter maintain that the First Point of Aries was fixed once for all without reference to equinox. The author holds this view. It is, however, obvious that both cannot be correct. They make at present a difference of three quarters of a sign in the position

* JYOTISH-SIKSHAK OR JATAK-KESARI. By Pandit Raghunath Sastri Patwardhan. *Jyotisha*, Secretary Panchanga-pravartan Committee and Bharatiya Jyotiṛ mandal. Poona. 634 pages Cr. 8 vo. 1924.

of the planets, and reduce the calculation of sidereal time (Lagna), which is sometimes done to the nearest fourth minute, to a wild goose chase. To the uninitiated it is a puzzle that such a fundamental question as this has not been settled, and yet horoscopes are drawn in a punctilious manner as if they were based on exact science.

There arises the further question which has been before the public for nearly half a century in connection with our almanacs. What is the position of the fixed point, the First Point of Aries? There are four different opinions, and one of them is that the star *Zeta Piscium* marked the fixed point. The advocates of this opinion belong to the Panchanga Pravartan Committee of Bombay, whose object is reform of our calendar. The author is the Secretary of the committee and has tried in the book to show that their opinion is correct. They maintain that since Revati was the terminal star of the sidereal circle, and since its position is given as a degree in the astronomical works and has no latitude, and since it happened to mark the equinox about the time calculated from their rules given in them, *Zeta Piscium* was the star meant. For, there is no other star in the sign *Pisces*, which is situated very close to the ecliptic and was at the equinoctial point in the 6th Cent. A.D. when its position was observed. So far the argument is correct, and we believe this star was the Revati of the Siddhanta writers. But since it fails to account for the positions of most of the other stars as given in their works we are forced to conclude that there was something else, and we know inference by exhaustion is not always safe. Let us take, for instance, the two stars on the two sides of Revati. We find that in 572 A.D., when the true longitude of *Zeta Piscium* was 0°, the polar longitude of *B Arietes* (Asvini) was 10° instead of 8° as stated in the Siddhantas, and that of *a Andromeda* (U. Bhadrpada) 343° instead of 337°. If we take *a Arietes* for Asvini, and *r Pegasi* for U. Bhadrpada, the positions do not improve. For the former had then 14°, and the latter 344°. The usual explanation offered to meet this difficulty is that the discrepancies were due to errors of observation. We admit, there were errors, but not to the extent which the figures disclose. One should expect the errors to have been nil in the case of those stars which are close to the ecliptic. But that is not so. For instance, Pushya should have 109°, and not 106°; Magha 130°, and not 129°; Satabhisha 322°, and not 320°. These positions prove that they were not measured from *Zeta Piscium*, which cannot therefore be taken as the zero point. This is corroborated by Lalla, one of the early astronomers of the period, who placed Revati 1° west of the point. This takes us back to 499 A.D. (Saka 421) on the assumption that this point was the equinoctial point. It is remarkable that the year, Saka 421, commenced at the equinox, and it has therefore been supposed that the equinoctial point of the year was the zero point. This view, again, cannot be accepted; for it was an accidental coincidence, exactly as the equinox happened at *Zeta Piscium* in 572 A.D., while the sidereal circle with its Nakshatra divisions had been in use for at least two thousand years before the dates. Possibly this star was not the Revati in old times; for it has no other merit than its situation near the ecliptic. It is a solitary star, and is inconspicuous. The ancients selected bright stars, and, wherever possible, groups of two or more stars for

easy reference. This is, however, not the place to discuss this highly important question. We have merely pointed out some of the difficulties to which the author has not apparently attached due importance. So far as we can see he has given up Saka 421 and adopted 496 which was not even suggested by any of our astronomers. To be consistent, however, the date ought to have been about seven years earlier when the polar longitude of *Zeta Piscium* was zero.

The author has reviewed the fundamental question whether astrology is a science, and devoted some pages to its discussion. The same question is often asked by our countrymen, ninety-nine per cent. of whom practically believe in it. It may be useful therefore to see what the astrologers say on this. The author has given a large number of horoscopes of eminent men, living and dead, to prove that their future career was written thereon at the moment of their birth. In other words, astrology is a science, since its predictions are proved to be true. This is the common answer with all believers and dabblers in it. They say that they do not know how the disposition of the planets and particular aspects of the heavens influence the destiny of man, exactly as we do not know how the monsoon in India is influenced by the meteorological condition, say in the Argentine Republic, or say why a piece of stone thrown upwards falls to the ground. We are living in the midst of creation, and influencing and influenced by, every part of it. Astrology explores one part and seeks its connection with our life.

It is not in the modern times only that the question has been asked and answered. There were sceptics in ancient times as there are now, and the authors of Jataka had to satisfy them. The difference is, they did not say that the planets influence our destiny but said that they indicate it. There is no causal relation between the two. The birth of a child in a particular family of particular parents is as predetermined as his death and character and career. It is *Daiva*, the *Adrishta*, the unknown and unseen depending upon past actions in accordance with the Law of Karma. None can evade it, and the effect of Karma done in previous births is more potent than individual effort in shaping a man. There are cycles as marked in a man's life as in all natural phenomena. Astrology lets us peep into the unknown, and astrologers are therefore called *Daivajna*.

It will be seen that belief in Fate is not an isolated phenomenon in the mind of a Hindu. It arose from the same questioning spirit which gave birth to his philosophy. Diversity in nature, and non-uniformity in man's life appealed to him violently no less than the results of his efforts. All men are not alike, all actions are not alike. The laws of nature are not uniform, there is multifariousness everywhere. If so, and as there is no effect without a cause, the cause must be sought out. This was the attitude of mind which formulated the doctrine of Karma and the theory of *Daiva* or Fate.

Belief in inevitable predetermination is not confined to Hindus alone. In some form or other it flourishes everywhere. At times man feels himself weak, circumstances appear to conspire and to thwart his efforts. It is surely some hidden forces which frustrate his well calculated design, his well thought out programme of work. These may be unseen agencies, watching for opportunities,

nasib which cannot be altered. In despair he finds solace in the thought that there is Providence or God's will which is exercising care and direction for and over him. He prays to the Almighty to take timely measures against misfortunes. For surely they do come in spite of our supplications. On the other hand, there are times when fortune smiles upon us and good luck follows us at every step and crowns our endeavours with success. The unexpected do happen, and fate gets the credit. It is therefore wise to be fore-warned and fore-armed to look round, pry into every hole and corner and scrutinize the possible sources of information which are all hidden in Time.

Here is, however, contradiction. For, if a result is inevitable and predetermined, there is no room for action. Previous knowledge of what will happen cannot modify it. The reply is that though we have no hand in shaping our destiny we may be prepared for the worst so as to be able to bear the burden of sorrow with passive submission, and if good be in store for us we may be able to accept it without elation and make the best use of the favourable times for securing further good.

The desire to probe the unknown is natural and has made man what he is. His science and civilization, his progress in the spiritual and material world, are the outcome of his inherent inquisitiveness. Yet we cannot view with equanimity the mental slavery to which we have been reduced by multifarious doctrines promulgated by our ancestors borrowing the hallowed names of ancient Rishis. At one time, during the Buddhist period, the country appears to have suffered from a plague of fortune-tellers who were called Nakshatra-suchi and denounced as out-castes by the wise leaders of thought, while shrewd statesmen like Chanakya realizing the failings of the people employed them as spies. Yet soothe-sayers and Zadkiels flourished as they do now in every country. Garga (2nd cent. B. C.?) was eloquent in his praise of the proficiency of the Yavanas in astrology, and not a few eminent astronomers both of the East and of the West believed in its truth. It seems the desire to be duped is as strong as the desire to be fore-warned, and we commend the problem to psycho-analysts. The crowing of the crow, the tick of the gecko, the sneeze of a man, the running of a fox, and the behaviour of other animals have been given meanings by the sorrowing and hesitating mind. The throwing of dice, the naming of numbers, the drawing of lots, and a hundred other contrivances to determine events are purely gambling with chance. As in the medical profession there are a hundred quacks for one doctor, so there are charlatans in the realm of belief. Once the door is opened to the possibility of divination, there is no knowing where the signs may end. Heaps of rubbish have thus accumulated in the nooks and corners of the edifice which was merely a hut at the beginning, and though Railways and Steamers running every day at all hours, without heeding the malignant influences of the lords of the days and hours, and a host of evil conjunctions are a daily and open proof of the absurdity of their claims as determining factors, it will take years before the apprehension from the supposed influences can be removed from even the well-educated mind which has imbibed the belief.

The author has laid stress on the importance of Daiva which we readily admit, but has hardly anything to say regarding the possibility of divining it, and through an analysis of the elements of time as measured and expressed some fifteen hundred years ago. These are distinct propositions, and each has to be established independently of the doctrine of Daiva before Jataka can claim to be a science. It does not matter whether Lok Tilak or other eminent men believed in its truth, or whether certain predictions proved to be true. We have ourselves heard of startling predictions made by a gentleman who studied Jataka out of curiosity. But he had doubts, since many were wide off the mark, and no sane man would depend upon the predictions and guide his life accordingly. The books on Jataka themselves afford numerous instances of doubt which is to be decided one way or the other according to the judgment and cleverness of the adept. At any rate the precepts are not mathematical formulas, but admit of different interpretations. The early horoscopists were content with seven planets which were supposed to control destiny by their positions in the signs of the Zodiac as they were supposed to do the days of the week. The two nodes of the moon were afterwards added to the list about the 7th cent. A. D. (The author has added two more, Uranus and Neptune, after European astrologers.) There are various periods, and Parasara's Hora is a voluminous work on the subject which will bewilder any serious student. Of these three at least are now recognized, viz., one which assumes the full span of life to be 120 years, another 108 years, and a third 36 years (perhaps average duration of life), over which the planets exercise their influence for definite periods in succession. Besides, there are the influences of the day of the week, month, year, the tithi, nakshatra, yoga, karana, the signs of the zodiac, the degree of the ecliptic on the horizon at the time of birth, and a hundred different kinds of conjunctions, enmity and friendship among the planets. Have the effects of each of these factors ever been verified? Where was the mathematician who analysed the vast mass of statistics which were necessary and calculated the effect of each factor? To this question there is no answer.

The book before us is meant to be a text book for students who desire to learn the art of drawing horoscopes, who, it appears, sit for an examination, model questions of which have been appended. In Calcutta also there are bureaux for the diffusion of astrological lore, and examinations are held to test the progress of students. We have nothing to say against them. Rather we welcome them; for we believe spread of knowledge even of doubtful utility is sure to bring in its train much which is true and useful. We understand there are committees, self-appointed, whose object is to investigate the truth of the so-called laws. This is serious business, and good may come out of it if the committees are well equipped for the stupendous task they have undertaken, and the enquiry is conducted in a truly scientific spirit. This will of course require the labour of a body of competent men for some years, but we cannot imagine any other way by which the chaff can be sifted from the wheat and belief in astrology in all its branches placed on a rational basis. It cannot be dismissed as a relic

of mediæval superstition when it has built a strong citadel hallowed with age in the minds of the people. If there be truth, let it be purged of extravagance and trumpery, and another probability be added to those which guide our life. If on the-

contrary there is no truth in it whatever, let it be proclaimed by a competent authority and the people allowed to breathe freely and fight the battle of life like freemen.

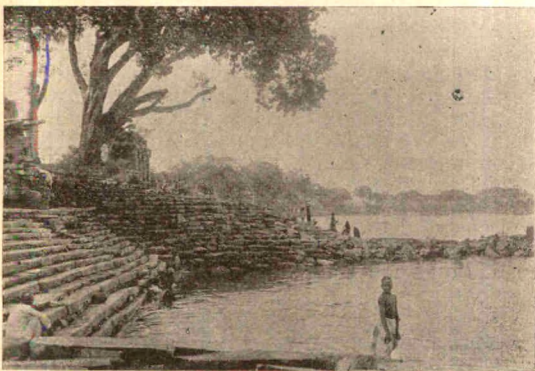
J. C. Roy

THE SACRED KAVERI RIVER

By BETA

"Hail noble Kaveri of thee I sing.
Thy rolling waters to the valleys I bring.
A welcome succour; with a liberal hand
Bestowing plenty to a burning land.
Oh, could I flow like thee and make thy stream
My great example, as it is my theme."

THE honour of second place among the sacred rivers of India is contested by several streams, but, whatever be the opinion of those who live on the banks or in the vicinity of the other claimants, that the claim of the river Kaveri, is second only to



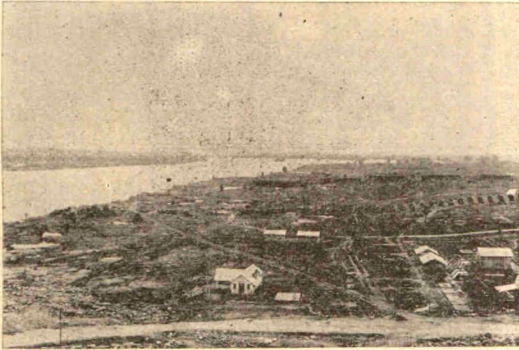
A Bathing Ghat on the River

that of the Ganges, is undisputed in the south. From its very source to its delta, it passes through lands which it fertilises, and all along its banks devotees offer their thanksgiving to the goddess of the river. The river is supposed to have a divine origin as we might expect. The story of its origin is related in the Kaveri-Mahatmya of the Agneya and the Skanda Puranas. She was first Vishnu-maya, a daughter of Brahma. By his direction she became incarnate in Lopamudra, a girl formed by Agastya (with a

view to her becoming his wife) of the most graceful parts of the animals of the forest, whose distinctive beauties, as the eyes of the deer, etc., were subjected to loss in her superior charms. Brahma gave Lopamudra as a daughter to Kaveri muni, whence she acquired the name of Kaveri. In order to secure beatitude for her father, she resolved to become a river, the merit of whose waters in absolving from all sin and blessing the earth should accrue to him. But when she became of age, Agastya proposed to marry her. To reconcile the conflicting claims, Lopamudra or the mortal part of her nature became the wife of Agastya, while the Kaveri or the celestial part flowed forth as a river. There can be no doubt of the high place the Kaveri holds in the affections of the people of the south. It is even said that the goddess Ganga resorts underground to the all-purifying floods of the Kaveri once a year as at a certain feast, to wash away the pollution contracted from the crowds of sinners who have bathed in her waters in the course of the year. We cannot imagine any greater claims to sanctity than that.

The river rises in Coorg, a small state contiguous with the Mysore State on its western side, at a place called Tala, on the verge of the western ghats. At the foot of a hill near Bhagamundala, the river is joined by the Kanake. There are several temples at this point, and here, on the occasion of the Kaveri feast, from eight to fifteen thousand people assemble. But the course in Coorg is short and tortuous. The banks are high and steep. The bed of the river is alternately sandy, pebbly, and rocky. In the monsoon it becomes a thundering torrent, and overflows the surrounding country. At Fraserpet, where there is a bridge 516 feet long, the river rises to the height of 20 or 30 feet on

these occasions. From its source to Siddar-pur the river runs due east, but afterwards turns to the north, forming a boundary of 20 miles between the two States. It now passes into the Mysore State, and its course is full of interest for its passes through a most fertile country and over several falls. A brief reference only can be made to the places of interest through which it passes. Before



Sagara Dam Below Kossbra Roya

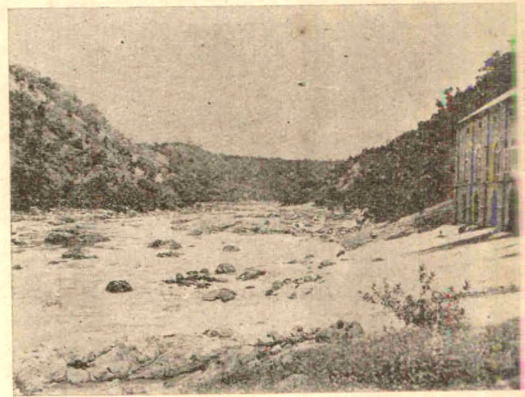
referring to these important places it ought to be stated that the waters of the Kaveri are dammed thirteen or fourteen times in its course through the State, and from each of these dams long channels are cut to carry off the water for irrigation purposes. A very large area is now covered by these irrigation channels, and the value to the people of the district cannot be overestimated. Reference to the great dam at Kanambadi, known as the Krishnasagara Project will be made later.

After passing through Saligram, Yedatore, and Bhairapura, where it receives the Laksmantirtha, it reaches the famous island of Seringapatam, where it branches into two arms enclosing the island. The story of this great fort is well known. Here Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan held their Court, and for many years resisted the attempts of the British to dislodge them. But in 1799 the forces of the British general, succeeded in completely capturing the stronghold, and within a short time, the whole country was in their hands. The British forces, after a long march, reached the right bank of the Kaveri, opposite the fort. Here the stream is wide, but fortunately, in the dry season, shallow. After careful preparations, the order for the attack was given, and General Baird who had himself known something of the terrible cruelty of Tipu, led the British

forces across the river. It was a fine bit of work, and the soldiers were rewarded by an entry into the fort, after severe fighting. On this projecting piece of land a monument has been erected in memory of the fallen soldiers. This place is frequently visited by the soldiers stationed in Bangalore.

From this place the river flows south-west, passing the village of Somnatpur, where is to be seen one of the most perfect specimens of Hoysala architecture in existence. This style of architecture is well represented in the Mysore State, but, though smaller than some of the better known, it is a wonderful piece of work. The building was completed in 1269 by Soma, a member of the Royal Family of the Hoysala king Narasinha III. The temple consists of three pyramidal towers surmounting a triple shrine. Round the base are portrayed consecutively, with considerable spirit, the leading incidents in the Ramayana, Mahabharata and the Bhagavata, carved in potstone, the termination of each chapter and section being indicated by a closed or half-closed door. Unfortunately this place is not very accessible and so does not receive the attention it would otherwise enjoy.

The ruined town of Talkad is next passed. This is a town of great antiquity, the first



The Kaveri at the Electric Station of Sivasamudrum

authentic notice of which appears in the Sanskrit Dalavana-pura, in connection with the Ganga line of kings. It had a long and chequered history, but today the city is almost completely buried beneath hills of sand stretching for nearly a mile in length, only the tops of two pagodas being visible. The sand used to advance on the town at the rate of 9 or 10 feet a year, principally dur-

ing the south-west monsoon, and as they press on three sides, the inhabitants were constantly forced to abandon their homes and retreat further inland. As there is however, good provision for wet cultivation, by water from one of the channels of the Kaveri, the population in the neighbourhood is increasing. More than thirty temples are believed to lie buried under the sand. That of Kirti Narayana is occasionally opened, with great labour sufficiently to allow of access for certain ceremonies. The most imposing temple left uncovered by the sand is that of Vedeswara. The place finds mention many times in Hindu legends.

From near Talkad the river runs northward until it reaches the island of Sivasamudrum, where two branches of the river encircle the island and form the famous falls of Gagana Chukki on the Mysore side, and of the Bar Chukki on the Coimbatore side. The re-



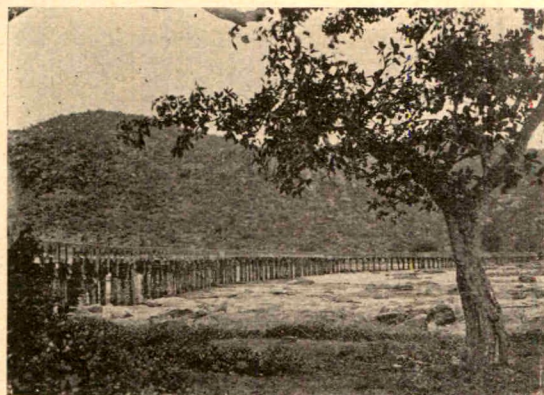
The Falls of Sivasamudrum

united stream, with a bed 300 feet lower passes then eastwards through a wild gorge and receives the Shimsha and the Arkavati from the north. Sivasamudrum is a romantic spot, and though it was previously well known on account of the great waterfalls, it has in recent years been known to more on account of the electric works established there by the Mysore Government. The principal island embraced by these two streams, is called Heggura, but is more generally known as Sivasamudrum. The falls are very fine, especially in the monsoon season when the flow of water is very great. On the western branch of the river are the Gagan Chukki Falls. The approach is by a steep path leading down from the tomb of an old

Mussalman saint. The waters of the Kaveri dash over the steep rocks with a deafening noise, so great that it is almost impossible to hear the sound of one's own voice when in the near vicinity. The cloud of vapour is seen at a great distance. In his account of these falls Buchanan states that they are grander than anything he had previously seen. The Bar Chukki, on the eastern branch of the river, is a very grand and impressive sight. They display a great volume of water which in the rainy season pours over the hillside in an unbroken sheet a quarter of a mile wide. In the centre is a deep recess in the form of a horse-shoe, down which the principal stream falls, and having collected in a narrow channel, rushes forward with prodigious violence and again falls, about 30 feet into a capacious basin at the foot of the precipice. The Government of Mysore has taken advantage of this drop in the river, and by means of a dam, and long channels has brought the water above the power works. Here the force available is used for the driving of the turbines which produce the electric power for Bangalore, Mysore City, and the Kolar Gold Fields. The place is therefore of interest, both for the natural scenery and on account of the way in which it has been harnessed for industrial purposes.

Reference ought to have been made at a previous point to the very important project known as the Krishnaraja Sagar Project, whereby the Kaveri waters are dammed at a point before the river reaches Seringapatam. For many years the Government of Mysore had been impressed with the great loss of water in the monsoon time when the heavy floods carried away to the sea millions of gallons of water. Then, too, they have found themselves in difficulties with respect to the supply of the necessary head of water for working their turbines at Sivasamudram. In order to meet the needs of this Power Station it was deemed necessary to dam the river at a higher point. This is now being done. The work has already progressed very considerably and a dam over a mile wide has been erected. The work has been in progress for about ten years, and though it is far from complete, the dam is of sufficient height to form a huge lake when the monsoon floods come. It is one of the biggest engineering schemes in the whole of India, and when it is completed, will provide irrigation facilities for thousands of acres of land, as well as the necessary power for the Electric Power

Station. The whole project has been carried out by the Mysore Government. There has been a dispute between this Government and the Madras Government, for the holding up of water here naturally affects the great plain in the Madras Presidency, but it is likely a working arrangement will be possible.



Old Hindu Bridge at Sivasamudrum in Mysore State part of which was recently washed away by the floods

The Kaveri now leaves the Mysore State at what is known as the Goat's leap. In its further course it runs southwards, then enters the Trichinopoly District in an easterly direction, and spreads in a rich delta over the Tanjore District. The average breadth of the river in Mysore is from 300 to 400 yards, but after Sivasamudrum it swells into a much broader stream. In some places the bottom of the river is used as vegetable gardens when the water is low, but in other places it is too rocky to permit of this. The first rush of water generally occurs about the middle of June but in August the flow is more normal.

But we must briefly refer to one or two of the interesting places the river passes through after leaving the Mysore State. The town of Trichinopoly is reached after a journey of many miles. This place is of great interest, especially from a historic point of view. The great rock is one of the best known physical features of South India, and is well worth a visit. The Kaveri passes by the city, and along its banks there are many ghats and temples. From the top of the rock one gets a wonderful panorama view of the winding river with the hundreds of acres of land bearing heavy crops, all possible by

the beneficence of the great river. Truly this river goes sweeping over the plains bringing healing and life in its train.

Next comes the sacred temple city of Srirangam, probably holding the premier place in South India as a sacred spot. The temple there is the largest in India, for it is literally a town in itself, having huge walls and gateways, while inside every kind of life associated with a town, is to be seen. The temple has even a municipality which regulates and controls the affairs of the whole. Every year countless numbers of pilgrims make their way to this sacred city, and we may be sure that, at this part of its journey the sacredness of the Kaveri is a very real thing to the devotees. Much might be said of this wonderful temple city, but it is sufficient to say that its sacredness is enhanced by its proximity to the sacred river whose course we have been tracing.

The next place of importance is the town of Tanjore which is one of the most flourishing cities in the South. Its wealth is mainly due to the extensive paddy crops which are yearly reaped in the great delta, watered by the Kaveri. We can understand the anxiety of the people of this district about the Mysore scheme which dams the water at a higher point, for their very life depends on the supply from this river. We do not see how this delta could be made fruitful



The Monsoon floods of Kaveri at Krishna Raja Sagara Dam

were it not for the supply from this river. Can we wonder that the people living along its banks, right from the time it issues from the mountains of Coorg to the

time it reaches the sea, should look upon the Kaveri as sacred, and offer to it their sacrifices of thanksgiving?

The Kaveri is spanned by several bridges, the most important being those at Fraserpet, Yedatore, Seringapatam, and Sivasamudrum. There are many alligators in the river, but it is said that they seldom attack, the fishermen being allowed to carry on their work without hindrance. Several varieties of fish are also caught in the river. At several places the Brahmans feed shoals of large fish daily as a religious ceremony. We have stated that the sanctity of the Kaveri is ranked second to the Ganges. It is known in the South, as the Dakshina Ganga. Though the main river enjoys such sanctity the tributaries do not appear to partake of the same measure of affection or sacredness.

In order to supply the city of Mysore with water from the Kaveri, Dewan Purnaiya, cut a canal from a point about 30 miles above Seringapatam, which terminated, after 70 miles in Mysore. Immense labour was expended on the excavation work, and in many places cuttings upwards of a hundred feet were made through solid granite. But this ambitious scheme was ineffectual, for the water could not reach Mysore City. But by means of modern science, the sacred waters have been successfully carried to a special reservoir at Mysore, turbines being used near Anandur for pumping the water. The water was first used when the present Maharajah was installed. If the sacredness of a river may be measured by its usefulness and life-giving power, then the Kaveri well deserves her high title.

OUR RULERS AT HOME

I: BRITONS IN LOWLY WALKS OF LIFE

(Illustrated with Photographs Specially taken by the Author)

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

I asked an Englishman who was sweeping the street I was crossing the other day if I might make a photograph of him. The little camera which I held in my hand had powerful German (Zeiss) lens, and I could have snap-shotted him without asking his leave, but he looked so respectable in spite of his lowly vocation that I thought it would not hurt me if I asked him first.

"If you will wait just two minutes it will be 12 o'clock," he said, "then it will be my dinner hour. My time will be my own, and you can do as you please." While he was talking he held in his hand a silver watch carried in a yellow celluloid case which he had put round it for protection.

There you have the up-to-date English worker. His task is lowly—he occupies an humble station in life. He, however, carries a watch in his waistcoat pocket. He reports for duty punctually and finishes on the

stroke of the hour when his day's work is supposed to end.

II

Englishmen who sweep the streets in London and other English cities, like this up-to-date man, can read and write. They almost without exception have passed through the primary school maintained by their respective municipality out of the local rates supplemented with a subsidy from the State.

A daily newspaper is left at the door of these humble workers by the newsdealer before they get up in the morning, and they scan the head-lines while drinking their tea from large cups or mugs, which the "Missus" has specially risen to make for them. Many of them will buy an early edition of one or another of the evening papers to see if their favourite horse has won, or what the latest news is about a football or cricket match in which they are interested. Few of them can resist the national tendency to

"put money"—be it only a penny or "tuppence"—upon a race or some other sporting event, and the mid-day and the late extra editions of the evening papers are specially got out to enable the bettors to satisfy their curiosity about races and to know the prospects of their favourites.



A street-sweeper in South-East London

These men either read the picture papers which dish up the news in snippets, relying mainly upon illustrations to attract and to hold buyers or one or another of the popular papers with a large circulation—perhaps ten lakhs of copies a day or thereabouts. Such newspapers are, generally speaking, owned and conducted by men who do not hesitate to stoop to serving news and printing articles of a highly sensational character or twisting facts to advance their political or other ambitions.

Since the street sweepers stayed at school only for a few years, and have, as a rule, taken little trouble to improve their knowledge afterwards, their intellectual horizon is quite restricted and their sympathies narrow. The truth reaches them in a very diluted or distorted form, and they are interested only in matters which touch their



An old man who has been sweeping the streets the best part of his life

pockets or the pockets of those persons who are near and dear to them, or in matters of local, parochial concern. They nevertheless keep in touch with what is going on about them, and some of them are fairly well informed.

III

The street sweeper to whom I have referred in particular told me, in a burst of confidence, that he could read anything and enjoyed reading, everything he could get

hold of, though he never went to school a day in his life. He was entirely self-taught. At the age of five he was engaged to scare away crows from the corn in a field belonging to his father's employer. At twelve he "changed over" and got a job on a railway. When he was about 25 he "changed over" again and took to sweeping the streets, and has been at that occupation, I should say, for at least a score of years, for he cannot be far short of 55—possibly 60.

"Why did you leave the railway and take up your present job?" I asked the man when I was giving him a copy of the picture I had made of him.



A street sweeper in the down-town district

"I like it better," the street sweeper replied. "It pays more. It is not so dangerous to life and limb. Me hours is reglar. I don't 'ave to wake up in the middle of the night one week and in the middle of the day the next. I like it (street sweeping) altogether, sir. I wish I 'ad never done anything else in me life."

"How much do you make, may I ask?" I said.

"We 'ad a bit of luck last week-end," he replied. "The Council (that is to say, the municipality) gave in to us—partly, you know—and we were given a rise of 'alf a Crown (two shillings and six pence) a week. Our wages now comes to just under £3 a week."

IV

"That was awfully good of the Council," I said. "If you did not engage in this work or if your job were not well done, there would be no London. The stench and dust from the unswept streets would be unbearable. It would breed disease and plagues of all kinds. I must say you do your work admirably. Indeed, the Council looks after the cleaning of the streets exceedingly well."

"But I do not think that the 'dust' (as household refuse is called in Britain) is collected as often as it should be. The dust-man comes only once a week. He should come once a day. When we first came to London, if I remember aright, he used to come twice a week—at least that was the case in the summer. During the war, on the score of economy, that service was cut down. Now onion tops, cabbage leaves, and peelings of potatoes and carrots and other vegetables, must go on rotting and stinking for six or seven days before they are removed from the backyard."

"There you 'ave it, Mister. I think so too," rejoined the street sweeper.

"A little more money spent upon that job would do it better," I suggested.

"Ah, Mister," replied the sweeper, "it's not just a case of a little more money. It needs to be done in a different way. It may need more money at the start, but in the end it would save money and not cost more."

"Case of better organisation," I said, by way of supplementing his statement, and also to make sure that that was what he really meant.

"You may put it that way if you like."

"How would you go about it if you were asked to reorganise the service?" I asked.

"I 'ave me ideas, Mister."

"Will you tell me your ideas?"

V

The man's face beamed. A new light came into his eyes. Words began to pour

from his lips in a steady stream. As nearly as I can set them down, he said:

"If I was asked to take on the job I would first buy a fleet of motor lorries, each with a trailer. I would make each householder provide six bins. Instead of takin' the bin and emptyin' it into the van, as is done now, with the dust and dirt and filth blowin' everywhere pollutin' the air, I would take the refuse, bin and all—that is why I would have so many bins. While three would be taken away in the motor lorry, three would be left for use.

"After the motor lorry and trailer had been filled up with the bins, all carefully covered, I would have them drive straight to a farm which I would have some miles out of town, for burning the refuse. I would not have the dust loaded into a cart, and then unloaded and dumped into a railway truck or a barge. I would have the whole work done by the motor, and throughout the transit operations the dust would never be uncovered to contaminate the air.

"I would save all the money that is now given to the railway and shipping companies for handling the dust, and I would sell the ashes from burning the refuse on the farm to farmers for manure. Between the money I would save on the transport and the money I would make off the farmer I would soon make enough to pay for my motor lorries and trailers."

VI

"It sounds like a good scheme," I complimented the man, "but the railways and shipping companies would be after your hide. They are rich and powerful."

"I know it, Mister, only too well. Didn't I tell you that I was on the railway before I took up this job?"

"Besides, the vegetables would keep on rotting for two or three days in the back yard, even if you had your motor lorries and trailers. Why cannot the refuse be burnt everyday or twice a day by the householder or their servants? Incinerators can be had," I said.

"There aint no need for incinerators," replied the sweeper-philosopher. "We never put no vegetable or fruit or meat refuse in the dust bin. Nobody didn't ought to do it. We burn everything of that kind in the kitchen. We leave nothing for the dustman to carry away but ashes. Why cannot everybody else burn their garbage in the

same way, without no special incinerator?" he asked.

"For the simple reason," I replied, "that kitchen ranges are going out of fashion. Coals are dear. Servants are becoming scarce. Even when you can get them, they do not want to get up in the middle of the night to light up fires. The gas-cooker is easier to light and to manage, and, taking everything into account, cheaper to run."



These dustmen are highly regarded by the people whom they serve in their humble capacity.

"There is that to consider," admitted the man. "But I agrees with you that the refuse should not be left to rot and stink in the backyard for a week before it is collected. The whole work of cleaning the streets and of cleaning the sewers needs to be done better."

VII

"I do not like them there machines that they have bought to clean the sewers. They may save a little money, but the work is not done well enough. If they was to be a'cavy rainfall, the whole district would be flooded, the sewers is that stopped up with the dirt, the machines leave in them. You need two men working in the old-fashioned way to do the work thoroughly. They must let down the scraper, fastend to a long pole, and take up all the muck that has gathered down below. It takes more skill to do the work thoroughly than you would think."

"I do not like all this cheese-paring economy in which the Borough Council is indulging, anyway. I ought not to say it, because they are me employers; but I do not like shop-keepers and estate agents gettin' elected

to the Council. There is not the kind of people that ought to be on the Council. What do they know of the real work that needs to be done? They are too much interested in keepin' the rates down to get the municipal work done well, not to speak of payin' us well. They are always for stinting money."



Dustmen who take a pride in their work, and are not ashamed of their lowly vocation

"You ought to be on the Council yourself," I said. "You have got ideas and ideals. I dare say you would make a better Councillor than some of the men who get elected. Owners of property, surely, are not going to be merciless in the way of putting up the rates so that their tenants may live in healthy surroundings."

"I believe in working men being put on the Councils. They would do the work a sight better than tradesmen and property-owners. They would know how much it ought to cost. It would not be so easy for

the contractors to cheat them. They would treat us better, too," the sweeper declared.

VIII

"What are your politics?" I asked. "Do you vote Labour?"

"I don't vote at all—never voted in me life," was the surprising reply. "They are all a pack of swindlers, them politicians, Tories and Liberals and Labour alike. The night before the election they will come to your house, shake hands with you, and kiss all your babies. The day after the election, if you was to go into their frontyard and pick up a stone they would have you summonsed. Little they care for us poor folks once they get into Parliament."

I wished to tell that man that philosophy like his was really born of apathy, and that so long as it existed the few would continue to exploit the many, and politics would remain a dirty game.

I could, in fact have talked with him for hours: but already a chap with a hand cart full of dung had come round to hear what we had been talking about for so long. The odours rising from his wagon, even more than his inquisitiveness, made me realise that I was making myself late for going to my bank. I, therefore, took leave of the interesting street sweeper and went my way.

IX

I never cease marvelling at the skill which Englishmen and English boys display in sweeping streets which, during the busy hours of the day, are congested with traffic. They have to weave in and out among motor cars, omnibuses and lorries, horse-drawn and sometimes donkey-drawn vehicles and pedestrians, gathering up manure and other refuse. When it is wet and slushy they use rubber squeegees fastened to long handles, pushing the muck from the street into the gutters at the edge. The traffic, be it fast or slow-moving, does not seem to bother or to hinder them in the least. They miraculously manage to keep from being run over. I have never known nor heard of one of these sweepers being maimed or killed.

As may be expected from persons who have enjoyed the advantage of schooling, and who read the daily newspapers, the English sweepers do not do their work in a dirty way. They do not use their hands to pick up the dung and other refuse from the streets, but sweep it into a pile with a

long-handled broom fitted with a scraper on one side to be used for clearing away anything that stricks to the pavement. They lift it up with a shovel and deposit it in a small hand cart provided for that purpose, or into large vans which come around regularly to collect it. The boys who keep the streets clean at the approaches to bridges and in thoroughfares where the traffic is heavy, use short-handled brushes and dustbins to collect the refuse, and deposit it in bins. The street sweeper has quite an array of implements, which he carries along with him in his little hand cart.

Whether it be wet and slushy, as is generally the case during the winter and often during the spring and summer, or dry and dusty and windy, the streets, roads and footpaths are all kept scrupulously clean. Seldom is a banana skin or orange peel or bit of paper left lying about for long. The streets in the "City," as the financial centre of the British Isles is called, or in the West End, where the rich reside, particularly present a tidy appearance, whatever the time of the day or night, and during whatever season you may pass through them.

X

Now and again when I have chanced to leave a newspaper office late at night or in the early hours of the morning, I have come upon huge motor-driven cleaning machines sprinkling and sweeping the streets. How fast they work! And how efficiently!

With the Thames running through the heart of London, it is indeed surprising that the municipal authorities do not take greater advantage of water-flushing arrangements. They will perhaps wake up one day to such possibilities. Some day also, they will realise the utility of the incinerator and abolish the dustman.

XI

The dustman is practically the only type of English sweeper whom I have seen at times doing his work in a nauseating way. I have, for instance, seen a stream of refuse leaking out of a dustbin as the scavenger carried it, half on his back, half on his head, to the van in the street, to empty it. This, to be sure, was fundamentally the fault of the careless housewife or servant rather than of the dustman himself. If it was not possible to provide a dustbin which did not leak, she might at least have taken the trouble to wrap up the garbage in bits of old paper

before depositing it in that receptacle, so as to make its removal easy and as little offensive as possible. I have never, however, heard a dustman complain when the refuse dropped, or ran over him as he carried it. They seem to be quite callous to that sort of thing.



One of the boys who sweep the streets with brush and dust-pan while heavy traffic is moving all about them

I have frequently seen dustmen pawing about in the muck in the vans with their bare hands to see if they can discover anything of the slightest value which they can sell to a "rags-old-iron" merchant. Empty bottles, bits of dirty rag suitable for paper pulp, or old iron utensils are picked out of the reeking mass and put into a basket or one corner of the van, to be disposed of as opportunity offers. In one district where I used to live, a "rags-old-iron" man followed the dustmen in a light trap, buying from them, as they went along, anything they might find in the dustbins they emptied.

Before returning the dustbin to the back-yard or cellar wherefrom the dustman takes it to empty it into his wagon, he sprinkles a chemical deodoriser and disinfectant into it to destroy bad smells and prevent the spread of disease germs. The municipal authority which employs him supplies this disinfectant free of charge.



The real "man in the street" in Britain. He is a great philosopher, and has ideas and ideals of his own

XII

The work the dustmen are called upon to perform being of a dirty nature it happens that though they may be perfectly clean when they set out in the morning, they are in a filthy condition by the time they leave off at night. When they are off duty, washed, and dressed in their best clothes, they look so different that it is difficult to single them out from persons who engage in other vocations. The metamorphosis is, indeed, astonishingly complete.

"Who was that nice-looking man who just lifted his hat to us?" asked my wife as we were sauntering about in a park close to our London home.

"He collects the dust from our backyard every week," I reminded her.

"Now that you speak of it, I recognise him," she replied. "He looks so clean and respectable that you would never think that during the week he did the dirty work that he does."

"No," I remarked. "This is not India. The sweeper here is not an untouchable. He mixes with his fellows without anyone thinking the less of him because he makes his living by sweeping the streets or carrying away the refuse from the house."

"Isn't that statement a little too sweeping?" she asked. "Don't you remember the conversation we had with Mrs.—after we had been to see Shaw's 'Pygmalion'?"

XIII

I did remember that conversation. I had been very much struck by Shaw's audacity in making a dustman one of the principal characters in that play, and in putting the



Cleaning the street in front of St. Paul's

deep philosophy in his mouth that he had done. The friend to whom my wife referred had told me, shortly after she had seen the play, that though she considered herself unusually free from class prejudice, she could not bear to touch anything the dustman had handled.

"In the summer," she said, "when they knock at the back door with their dirty book in which they ask me to write my name and the amount I propose to give them for their annual holiday fund (in spite of the warning written on their vans that they are not to receive any gratuities they come regularly for this tip), I will not touch the book, nor can I bring myself to hand them the money in the ordinary way. I always half throw it, half drop it into their hand, or on the open book as it is held out, so that no actual physical contact takes place. They look so disgustingly dirty, and they do their work in such a filthy manner, pawing through the garbage

and trash to see if there is anything in it worth perhaps a farthing, that it almost seems to me that they are an order apart. I am sure that if I had to do work of that sort I would at least use a stick to search for treasure of that sort, and a bit of wood or the top of an old tin can to scrape out the dustbin, instead of employing my hands for that filthy purpose."

XIV

That conversation reminded me of a talk that I had had with one of the best educated Englishmen I know. He had spent many years at Oxford, and had gone out to India as a missionary, and spent several years there. We were talking about caste at the time—of the tenacity of its tentacles.

"The thing that surprised me," my friend said, 'was the hold caste was getting on me. We had some *bhangi* converts in to a fete we were giving. Would you believe me, I could hardly bear to see them eating and drinking from the dishes which we ordinarily used. I knew the feeling was wrong. I conquered it. But there it was."

XV

The English are not free from caste invidiousness. They call it "class feeling," but it amounts to much the same thing in the last analysis. Even a person belonging to the lower middle class will not, for instance, invite to dinner the man who removes the refuse from his home, or wish to see his daughter married to him. Generally speaking, however, he does not look down upon him because he engages in that vocation. I doubt, in fact, whether one man out of a hundred even troubles to think that the street sweeper or the dustman engages in a lowly form of toil.

I remember, for instance, a case that came to my attention shortly after I first landed in England. I noticed that a handy-man who had been working for my landlord, who was a builder by profession, no longer came to work.

"What has happened to Harry?" I asked. "Is he not working for you any more?"

"Oh, Harry has bettered himself," was the

reply. "He is working for the Council now, getting more than I could afford to pay him."

"In what capacity is he working for the Council?" I asked.

"As a street sweeper. He turns up here of a Saturday afternoon, when he has his half-day off, and does half a day's work for me, and sometimes even works of a Sunday, but his position under the Council is much better than anything I could offer him," said my landlord.

So a man was considered luckier to work as a sweeper than as a builder's handy-man! That was an eye-opener to me.

XVI

In a sense the apathy of the general public in regard to the vocation of a sweeper or dustman, combined with the terrible pressure of population in so small a land—albeit a land which, until recently, was thriving upon industries, many of which had to look to other countries for their raw materials—has prevented the abolition of the street sweeper and the dustman. There is little doubt that if the scientists and engineers were to devote their attention to this matter they, in a short time, would devise means whereby such work could be performed mechanically and efficiently. Until the mechanical age rises to that height, and human beings in England, as elsewhere, are compelled to engage in such work, it is just as well, however, that no social stigma should attach to them.

We Indians who boast of being enlightened might teach our sweepers to learn from these lowly Englishmen to do their city work in at least as clean a way as it is done in England. An exhibition of the brooms, scrapers, squeegees, and other implements employed by them might serve a useful object. Or the Municipal Corporations of Calcutta, Bombay, and other large cities might usefully import a few English sweepers to instruct our *bhangis* how to do their work in a sanitary manner.

The classes which regard themselves as superior to the "untouchables" might learn from the English a sense of toleration, and cease to despise the men and women who until the mechanical age reaches its zenith, must perform this service to mankind.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM.

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, "The Modern Review."]

'Prajā-Vishnum' and 'dhanurdurgam' in "Rajaniti-Ratnakara."

Professor Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya Sastri of Santiniketan considers that in the expression *prajā-Vishnum sakshinam* in the *Rajaniti-Ratnakara* (p. 83), edited by me, *prajā* and *Vishnum* should be read separately, and in his opinion,

"Anyhow the whole sloka simply says that having Visnu as a witness he makes all the subjects hear." (*The Modern Review*, April, p. 435)

That this meaning is inadmissible can be seen by reading the preceding lines of the passage, where it is expressly stated that Vishnu (along with some other named gods) has been sent home (*visrjya*) just before. Hindu subjects occupied the position of the Deity according to the coronation oath of the Mahabharata which I have cited in the introduction to the *Rajaniti Ratnakara*. It is, therefore, natural to find the subjects described as Visnu in the coronation passage of the *Rajaniti-Ratnakara*.

The sloka is edited by me in one place, i.e., at p. 83, and not at pp. s, bb, where it has been discussed. The latter two places are English and Sanskrit introductions. At page s, *prajā* and *Vishnu* have not been closed up but the reference to p. 83 which is given there and the succeeding singular 'sakshinam' would obviate all confusion. Printer's prerogative to make such mistakes should not have been converted into 'three ways' edition of a text by me. I suppose there is some difference between 'editing' a text and 'discussing' it in the introduction.

The other point dealt with by Mr. Bhattacharya is the reading *dhanurdurga* (p. 26). He thinks that Manu's reading *dhanva-durgam* ought to have been indicated by a note. But the very verse which Mr. Bhattacharya quotes is as a matter of fact referred to by me in the footnote. Pointedly I have drawn attention in the introduction (p. 4) that Mithila texts read differently in the time of Chandesvara from what we have got now and in other parts of India. The value of the text lies in showing what Chandesvara found it to be. Not only in the verse cited he reads *dhanurdurgam* but also in his commentary he has the same reading. What right had I to change it? My duty was to indicate the corresponding text in the printed editions of Manu, which I have carried out. It would have been gilding the gold to quote all the texts from the printed books in the foot notes in addition to references and not very respectful to my readers to go on emphasizing such obvious differences in readings after once having drawn attention to the fact in the opening pages. Mr.

Bhattacharya says that *ucchraya* of Chandesvara has no sense. I respectfully point out to him that in Sanskrit it has a sense and a very good one (See Meghaduta, Purva 58). Chandesvara says that bow-shaped fortress should be surrounded with elevation. *Ucchraya* cannot be a misreading for *maru*, as Mr. Bhattacharya supposes. Chandesvara had his own reading and his own interpretation. Had Chandesvara been alive to-day, probably he might have said that he would rather prefer to err in the company of Medhatithi and read with his *dhanurdurgam* (ed. Gharpure, 1920, p. 530) to being wiser with Kulluka. Mr. Bhattacharya's authority.

K. P. J.

Reply.

PRAJĀ-VISNU

As regards my esteemed friend Mr. Jayaswal's Praja-Visnu, he has offered two arguments against my interpretation of the sloka. First, he appears to say, as "Visnu has been sent home just before" (Italics are mine), he cannot be a witness of the declaration made by the old king or his *purohita*. This seems to me to be too weak to discuss. Yet, in order to satisfy him, I may say, following his way of thinking, that Chandesvara himself brings the god, Visnu, again after his dismissal (*Visarjana*) when he enjoins sprinkling (*abhisecana*) of the prince (*Kumara*) with different kinds of water chanting the *Santi-mantras*; for, in these *santi-mantras*, Visnu, with other gods, is invoked. The author himself refers (p. 84, ll. 3-4) to the *mantras*, saying that they begin with "Let gods sprinkle thee." These will be found quoted from the *Visnu-dharmottara* in the *Viramitrodaya*, Ch. S. S. Vol. VI. (*Rajaniti prakasa*), pp. 67 ff., and the first line of them runs as follows:

"Let the gods, Brahman (the creator), Visnu, and Mahesvara sprinkle thee!"

By *Visarjana*, which is a particular form of divine services (*Upacaras*), not only the external symbol of a deity is removed—where that symbol is used, but also the deity is placed in one's heart (*hridi devam sthapyet*).

But apart from the question of *Visarjana*, is it not a fact that, in any time or anywhere in taking oath or making promise, God is invoked as a witness?

The second argument is that "Hindu subjects occupied the position of the Deity according to the coronation oath of the Mahabharata". "It is therefore natural to find the subjects described as Visnu in the *Rajanitiratnakara*."

I am unable to follow him here and I shall state my grounds. In order to make clear the meaning of the verse of the Mahabharata, referred to by Mr. Jayaswal on which his theory of *Praja-Visnu* is based, I should like to quote it below.

"Pratijnam cadhirohasva
manasa karmāna gira
Palisyamyaham bhauma
brahma ityeva casakrit.

—Santi parvam, 59, 106,

The main point to be discussed here is *bhauma brahma* in the second half of the verse. J. translates or rather interprets it (p. s.) as follows :

"Mount on the *pratijna* (take the oath) mentally, physically and verbally (without reservation) I will see to the growth of the country considering it always as God (Brahma).

From the above it appears that according to J. *bhauma brahma*=*Brahman* (God) in the form *bhumi*. *Bhumi*=earth=country. Now as every thing comes into being from *Brahman* and is only His manifestation, it would not be illogical to regard *bhumi* as *Brahman* or God. But is the phrase used here in that sense? If so, what is specially added by doing so when every thing is *Brahman*?

The text of the Mahabharata itself, both before and after the verse, clearly shows that *brahman* here means nothing but the Veda. It is stated before (verse 20) that when confusion set in amongst men *brahman*, i.e., Veda (see Nilakantha) disappeared, and owing to the disappearance of *brahman*, Veda (*nasac ca brahmanah*), duty (*dharma*) also disappeared. And both, the veda and duty, having disappeared (*'naste brahmani dharme ca'*), the gods were frightened and came to Brahman, the creator (verse 22) and told him that, with the loss of the Veda, duty had also been lost, *brahmanas ca vinasena dharmo vyanasad*, verse 25. The creator gave them assurance of safety, promising to think over their well-being. Compare these verses with the one under discussion and it will be quite clear that the word *brahman* in the latter, too, means 'the Veda'. The next sloka (107) quoted below will also support it.

Yas catra dharmo nityokto dandanitivyapasrayah
Tamasankah karisyami, svavaso na kadacana.

"And fearlessly will I do that duty which is obligatorily laid down there with reference to *dandaniti*, and will never be capricious."

Mark here in this verse (a) the word *atra* 'here' which refers to *brahman* in the preceding one (106d). It is thus only in the sense of 'veda' of the word *brahman* that the meaning of the sloka 107 becomes appropriate and consistent: 'The duty which is obligatorily laid down here (i.e. in the *brahman*, 'Veda'), I will do fearlessly. On the other hand, if the word *brahman* is taken in the sense of God it would be meaningless in connection with *atra*, for one cannot think that *dharma* is laid down in or on God.

It may, however, be contended that *atra* refers to the *palana*, 'protection', of *bhauma brahman*, and not to *bhauma brahman* itself. And thus *atra* means 'on this', 'on this subject' (*asmin visaye*), i.e., on the protection of *bhauma brahman*. But judging from all and specially from what has been said above and will also be said below, I do not consider it to be reasonable.

It would have been better if we could consult all the commentators of the Mahabharata on this point. But unfortunately the only commentary at

present with me is of Nilakantha, who is silent here, evidently thinking the verse to be simple, the only doubtful word, *brahman*, in it being already explained as 'Veda' as quoted above. I confess, therefore, the discussion pursued here is defective in this respect.

As regards the subsequent writers, Bothlingk and Roth, the authors of the *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, referring to the same verse of the Mahabharata take *brahman* (Vol. IV. p. 394, *bhauma* S. V.) in the sense of the Veda. They are followed also by M. M. Williams in his *Skt-Eng. Dictionary* (*bhauma* S. V.). The same meaning is given also in the Bengali translation of Kaliprasanna Sinha as well as of the Vardhamana Raja-vati (Burdwan Palace). The same meaning is taken by Manmatha Nath Datta, too, in his English translation, which may be quoted here.

"Do you also swear that you would in thought, word, and deed, always maintain the religion laid down on earth by the Vedas."

This translation is not literal, and very free in the last part; yet it is clear that *brahman* means the Veda.

Now, there remains one thing more to be discussed in this connection. What is the true meaning of the phrase *bhauma brahman*? As has already been shown, *brahman* is the Veda and *bhauma* literally means 'one of *bhumi* ('earth')'. Thus *bhauma brahman* is 'the *brahman* of *bhumi*', that is, the Veda which deals with the *bhumi*, i.e., which deals with the *palana* of the *bhumi* 'protection of the earth.' (Cf. *Arthasastra*, Shama Sastri, 1909, p. 424, l. 17). This explanation is borne out by the word *dandaniti-vyapasrayah* in the next sloka (107).

It is to be mentioned here that in the Bengali translations referred to above *bhauma* is taken to mean *bhumi-sthita* 'one on the earth.'

In passing one thing may be pointed out. J. says with reference to the verse of the Mahabharata that it is "the coronation oath." But the fact is that there is nothing of coronation in that chapter.

Thus the *Praja-Visnu* theory of J. has no foundation whatever in our ancient text. He seems here to have been much influenced by the light of modern nationalism.

In regard to my remarks on editing the verse I meant to say only that anyhow it was desirable to get a text everywhere in one and the same form, but it was not so.

DHANVA- AND DHANUR-DURGA

Now, with regard to *dhanva-* and *dhanur-durga*, let me first try to find out which of these two was in fact accepted by Chandesvara himself. I think it is quite clear from his own explanation of *Manu* VII, 70. He writes (p. 27), as we read in the edition:

"Asyarthah—dhanurdurgam ucchrayavestitam
Saryadisam pancayojanam. Nirjalam mahi durgam."

Here the full stop is wrongly put between *panca yojanam* and *nirjalam*; it must come after *nirjalam*, and the meaning will be clear.

As regards the meaning of *ucchrayavestita* I shall come to the point later on; at present let it be left out, laying also no stress on the word *dhanur-durga*.

Mark here in the above extract, Chandesvara's *dhanur-durga*, 'bow fort', is one which is *waterless* (*nirjala*) in all directions up to five *yojanas*. Is it

not in fact a dhanva- or dhanvana- or maru-durga, 'desert-fort'? Compare here the description of a desert-fort given by different authors, which I refrain from quoting to avoid prolixity, giving only that of Kulluka, whom Chandesvara follows very closely. J. seems to suppose that he follows here Medhatithi, but that he does not do so will gradually be evident in the following discussion. On that sloka of Manu K. says:

"Dhanya-durgam maruvestitam caturdisam pancha yojanam anudakam".

The meaning of the word *ucchraya-vestita*, as found in the edition and for which K. has *maru-*, is, according to J., 'surrounded by elevation'. In determining the sense of the word, let one first consider the use of *vestita* 'enclosed' or 'surrounded', which is employed not less than three times in the passage under discussion (p. 27. ll. 1-9), and one will find that the enclosing in all the cases, as is right, is by some thing concrete, as a wall, etc., and not by an abstract thing. *Ucchraya*, 'height', is an abstract thing and hence nothing can be enclosed by it. The idea that there was elevation on all sides could easily be expressed by some other word or phrase. But, I think, strictly speaking, it cannot be done by *ucchraya* unless it is taken in indirect sense (*ganana artha*) to mean something *ucchruta*, 'elevated', 'high'. But why did not the author himself mention it expressly? This consideration, coupled with that of so many mistakes in the passage which I am going to point out below, led me simply to suggest a reading which might have been misread or miswritten by the scribes.

After having dealt with the desert-fort Chandesvara goes on to describe the other forts and in every case he borrows from K. and that can be known at a glance on both the passages concerned. J. appears not to have noticed the fact, otherwise he could easily have corrected the whole passage (p. 27, ll. 1-9) under discussion, which is full of inaccuracies. I may be allowed to point them out, giving the corresponding readings from K.

L. 2. *vistara* must be *vistarad*, as K. reads. It may be a printing mistake.

L. 3. (i). *dvadasa hastadyunnatena*. Here *hastadyunnatena* seems to be a better reading as supported by K's "*hastad ucchritena* and Kautilya's (*Arthashastra prakarana* 20-10; Jolly, Vol I. p. 3a) *hastad urddham*."

(ii) *Sadharana-gavaksha*. What does the word *sadharana* mean here? 'Common', 'ordinary'? It goes without saying that in a fort a special kind of air-hole (*gavaksha*) is wanted and not a common one. Why then does the author recommend it? The fact is that the actual word used by him is *Savarana*, 'one with cover', and not *Sadharana*. K. has *Savarana*.

L. 4. *Agadhajale catu vestitam*. Here must be read *jalena*. K. reads *Agadhodakena*.

L. 7. *Giridurgam sarvatah pristham*. What does *sarvatah pristham* mean? The actual form is *parvata-pristham*, as in K.

L. 9. *Puram vicarayet*. The last word must be read *viracayet*, as in K., meaning with *puram*, 'one should build a town', and not *vicarayet* 'one should think of a town.'

In this connection, in order to show the nature of the three Mss. upon which the present edition is based, and how the readings therein are considered or discussed, I should like to point out two

other readings in two slokas connected herewith.

In the sloka (*Manu* VII. 70) under discussion the edition reads (p. 26, l. 16) *jala-durgam* for *abdurgam*, which is an undisputed reading. That *jala-durgam* can in no way be admitted here is evident from the simple fact that it spoils the metre by increasing one syllable. Yet, there is not the slightest mention of it by the editor. None can believe that the mistake was committed by Chandesvara himself. Undoubtedly it is due to the carelessness of the scribe, who seems to have copied the simpler form, *jaladurga*, noted by some one on the margin as the meaning of *ab-durga* and in doing it he did not or could not take the metre into consideration.

The second reading is *nri-durgamtu* for *giridurgam* in *Manu* VII. 71, quoted by the author just after the long passage (p. 27) discussed above. That the reading is not admissible is obvious. Could not the editor mention it, as he does in many cases, even on the same page in footnote 2?

It will be noticed that as regards the readings discussed above there is complete agreement of all the Mss. utilised for the edition. The editor's footnotes, too, will tell us the same thing. This goes to show that the Mss. are copied either from the same original or a copy made from it. Such being the case individually or collectively, they have little value in deciding the question of a separate recension when the readings supplied by them are obviously so full of inaccuracies. I am fully aware of the fact that the question cannot be decided until and unless all the readings in the quoted passages in the work are critically discussed. A textual criticism can reasonably be expected from an editor.

We have seen that the description by Chandesvara himself shows that he has spoken of *dhanva-durga* 'desert-fort', though the word *dhanur-durga* is actually found in the text before us. It has also been shown that he has followed K. Now, let me try to trace the origin of *dhanur-durga* on which J. lays here so much stress.

Originally in older texts such as *Mahabharata* (xii. 86. 5), *Vishnu-smriti* (III. 6) *matsya-purana* (CCVII. 6-7) *Manu* (VII. 70), *Arthashastra* (XXI. 2) etc., mention is made of *dhanva-* or *dhanvana-durga* 'desert fort'. Later on also the words *Maru-* (*Kamandakiya* IV. 55) and *airina-* (*Samarangana sutradhara* GOS. LV. 39) *durga* came into use to mean the same thing, *dhanva-durga* still being the most predominant of them all. The word *dhanvan* is a Vedic one and it has two meanings, 'desert' (*maru*) and 'bow' (*dhanus*). Cf. *dhanu* and *dhanus* 'bow'. In the course of time there arose a confusion as regards the meaning or pronunciation of *dhanva-durga*. In other words, it might be that some wrongly took *dhanva* in the sense of *dhanus* 'bow', or it was also possible that some wrongly pronounced the word as *dhanu* and then naturally it took the form of *dhanur* in consideration of grammar, and consequently the meaning was 'bow'. Owing to this confusion some of the passages referred to above containing *dhanva-durga* are quoted in some works with exactly the same word while in others with *dhanur-durga*. For instance, see *Matsya-purana* ed. Anandasrama, 1907, and Vagavasin, 1316 B. S., Vol. CCXII. 6-7, and *Viramitrodaya*, Ch. S. S., Vol. VI (*Rajanit*), p. 199. In the former the reading is *dhanur-*, while in the

latter we have *dhanva*. *Manu*, VII. 70, is quoted in the *Parasara-Madhava*, I. 62. Here the Bibliotheca Indica edition, Vol. I, p. 406, reads *dhanva*, but in the edition of Bss, Vol. I, Part I, p. 464, it is *dhanur*. This fact was noticed by Mitra Misra and he settled the question once for all in his *Viramitrodaya*, Vol. XX (*Laksana*), p. 240, ll. 5-10. This will be found reproduced in English by Dr. Ganganath Jha in his *Manu-smriti*, Calcutta University, Notes, Part II, p. 452. Mitra Misra first explains *dhanva-durga*, saying that it is a fortification in the midst of a *dhanvan* 'desert,' and it is *durga*, 'because of its inaccessibility due to absence of water and other difficulties'. He gives another explanation, saying that *dhanvan* means 'a tract of land devoid of water and shelter, and a fort that is surrounded by such a tract of land is *dhanvadurga*.' Then he goes on to say that according to some (*kechi*) *dhanvan* means 'a bow' and indirectly

indicates 'one with a bow', i. e. 'archer', this a circle (*mandala*) of defence 'consisting of men armed with bows and arrows' is called *dhanu-durga*. 'This', he continues, 'is not right; as it involves the necessity of having recourse to metaphorical explanation; and also because we have never heard of such a fort; again, because such a line of defence could be very easily broken through; and lastly because this would be the same as the *nri-durga* coming later'.

This is the story of *dhanva-durga*.

It may be noted further that according to J. *dhanur-durga* is a 'bow-shaped fortress'. (Italics are mine.) But is there any foundation for this statement? In that verse of *Manu* (vii. 70) mention is made of the place of a fortress and not of its shape.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

BEAM WIRELESS

By S. R. M. NAIDU, F. R. S., M. R. A., etc.

This method has always been a matter of great interest, and is now very rapidly coming to be one of paramount importance and commercial value. It is a very difficult problem, for the distance or location of a wireless transmitting station may be seriously misjudged if estimated by signal strength alone. More accurate results are obtained by employing two or more direction-finding stations, on the triangulation principle of ordinary surveying practice.

Hertz, in his original researches, showed that electro-radiation could be reflected by means of mirrors, and later, Marconi carried out various experiments, transmitting a wireless "beam" to a considerable distance by the use of copper parabolic mirrors. For long wave-lengths, however, the use of a mirror was found to be impracticable, since the size of the mirror must be comparable with the dimensions of the wave-length employed. About 1899 to 1902 screen reflectors met with some success. These consisted of vertical wires spaced about the transmitting aerial in the form of a parabolic screen, and arranged so that the transmitting aerial was at the focus. Even now the modifications of this method are in use, but only for wave-lengths very small in comparison with those normally used for commercial wireless signalling.

More accurate directional wireless depends upon the radiation of two or more aeriels, the currents in which bear definite phase and amplitude relations to one another. Mr. S. G. Brown shewed that a system of two vertical aeriels connected to a spark-gap and spaced half a wave-length apart was found to have maximum radiating and receiving properties in the plane of the two aeriels.

A mobile wireless station may find its bearing from a fixed transmitting station with a fair degree of accuracy by Bellini-Tosi Radiophare. The method of operation involved is to arrange that the direction of maximum radiation from the transmitting station shall be continuously revolved at a constant speed in a clockwise direction. At given intervals corresponding to a known bearing, a distinctive signal is transmitted and any ship or other mobile station suitably equipped is thus enabled to find its bearing from the transmitter by noting the signal corresponding to maximum signal intensity.

The Telefunken compass makes use of a series of directional aeriels radiating from a single mast as shewn in figures 1 and 2. At pre-arranged intervals a time signal is transmitted on the non-directional aerial, and this is immediately followed by a series of further signals sent at intervals of one second

on each of the directional aerials in turn. There are thirty-two of the latter corresponding to the points of the compass, and the direction of transmission will therefore revolve once in thirty-two seconds, and is so

Ship stations using this system are provided with a special stop watch having the dial marked out in the form of a compass, the pointer of which revolves once in every thirty-two seconds. When the time signal is

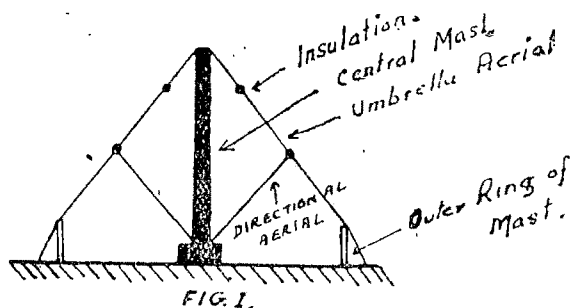


FIG. 1.
DIRECTIONAL AERIAL FOR TELEFUNKEN COMPASS.

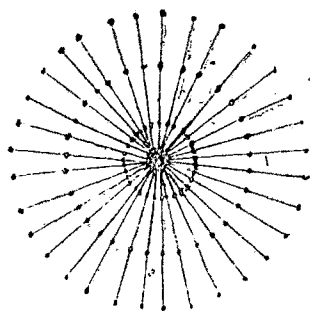


FIG. 2.
Plan of Umbrella Aerial.

arranged as to start and finish in the direction of due North.

first heard, the listener starts his stop watch and as soon as the signal has reached its maximum strength, the watch is stopped. The position of the pointer on the dial will then shew the direction of the transmission at that instant, thus giving the ship's bearing with regard to the transmitting station.

Directional wireless is possible to a certain extent by using the simple loop or frame aerial. When a loop aerial is rotated about its vertical axis the strength of the signal will be found to vary, being a maximum when pointing direct to the transmitting station, and at a minimum strength when at right angles to the transmitter.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

From "Stri-Dharma"

The following paragraphs are taken from *Stri-Dharma* :—

CHILD WELFARE IN BOMBAY

We are very glad to hear that Mr. Wadia, a mill-owner in Bombay, has offered sixteen lakhs of rupees for the construction of a Maternity Hospital for the poor women in the north of Bombay. The Government is ready to give the necessary land for the purpose. Mr. Wadia, is wellknown for having the best regulated mills in Bombay, and he has already provided a Maternity Home for his own factory women. It is very much to be desired that other mill-owners in this great manufacturing city

copy the example of Mr. Wadia, as the condition among the mother labourers in the mills is indeed bad and sad, and at present very little is done to alleviate their sufferings at the time of child bearing. A Maternity Benefit Bill was recently introduced in the Legislative Assembly. But the fate of that has not yet been decided. We heartily congratulate and thank Mr. Wadia for his splendid gifts to mothers, and hope that many other mill-owners will consider following his splendid, and humane example.

COCHIN, THE PIONEER STATE

The Legislative Council in Cochin was inaugurated on April 3rd by the Maharaja. This marks a great epoch in the State and the beginning of a

Democratic Government and, what is more, *real* Democratic Government. for the Cochin Women have equal rights with men in the franchise, and also they are eligible for membership of the Council.

THE CHILDREN'S HOME OF SAFETY

By the time our readers see this in print, the official notification of the appointment of a Provision Committee nominated by the Government, will have been published. This is the first concrete step towards the actual establishment of the Children's Court and Place of Safety. This latter will be staffed and run by the Women's Indian Association. We are hoping to get a house in Vepery or on Poonamallee High Road. This means that any child under sixteen, in need of help or rescue: who is destitute; or in any way in need, can be taken to this Home of Safety day or night, and, pending the consideration of the case by the court, adequate care and protection will be provided for the child. Any child in future, instead of being taken by the Police to herd with ordinary criminals, will be handed over to the W. I. A. at the Place of Safety, and will never come into open court as heretofore, but will be given understanding and sympathy. The aim of the Place of Safety will be to help the child and bring out the good in him, not to punish him for his naughtiness. Dr. Pandali, our Chief Magistrate, will give all his advice and assistance when required and finally dispose of children's cases, with the assistance of our women Magistrates, at the Place of Safety. Our thanks are due and most gratefully given to the Home Member—the Hon. Sir Arthur Knapp—for so speedily putting the necessary machinery into motion.

TO RIGHT WRONG.

The Bombay Vigilance Association, after two years of good preparatory work, is now ready with a systematic programme to carry out. They have rented a room in the Brothel Area and Miss Dickinson and Miss Samules are in charge with a good strong Committee at the back of them and plenty of funds to carry on the plan as decided upon, and the law as their right-hand-man of power.

The city of Madras has also just formed a Vigilance Association with The Women's Indian Association Commissioner for the Children's Court, Mrs. Stanford, as a Secretary and Mrs. D. Jinarajadasa as one of the members of the Committee. Practically no work has been done as yet, as the Association has its preparatory work still to do, but it is expected that the crying need for the activity in Madras will soon be taken care of and a well-worked-out plan ready at an early date.

There are many wrongs to be righted in the world but this one of Prostitution, which is a crime against the home and its sacred childhood; a crime against womanhood and manhood, is one of the very worst, because it kills the very best in those who use the prostitute and the woman herself. The Brothel is filled with disease which is carried into the homes of little children and pure wives who must suffer untold agonies because of the selfishness and thoughtlessness of others. We must remember that the Prostitute is someone's daughter and try and help her up out of her deep degradation, to be a self-respecting being.

THE AGE OF CONSENT BILL

By DOROTHY JINARAJADASA

What right had the Government to bias the

Assembly at all on a matter that concerned the Indian people only? In no way can the marriage age of Indians concern an Englishman, except for him to rejoice, that a quite large body of Indian Legislators are ready to carry out a much needed reform, being convinced that the great mass of public opinion is ready to co-operate with and obey the law. Out of the 30 Englishmen in the Legislative Assembly 16 voted against the Amendment to raise the marriage age for girls to 14 from 12. We should have thought that an Englishman would think with horror of marriage being consummated on a little girl child of 12, one of the outcries of missionaries against Hindus is that girl children are married and often become Mothers at the age of 13. A great body of Indians all over the country have come to realise the sin against childhood and the race, that is committed in the continuance of this evil, and this Resolution in the Legislative Assembly was merely voicing the feeling of the people. Had the Government and the English members remained neutral in the matter, instead of employing all their force against it, the Bill would have passed.

THE CHILDREN'S CHARTER

The Declaration, which was drawn up by the Save the Children Fund International Union, is a short document asserting that "mankind owes to the child the best that it has to give," irrespective of race, nationality, or creed, and sets forth in five clauses the Rights of the Child which should be recognised as a minimum programme in all civilised countries.

It is demanded:—

(1) The child should be given the means needed for its normal development, both materially and spiritually. (2) The child that is hungry should be fed; the child that is sick should be nursed; the child that is backward should be helped; the erring child should be reclaimed; and the orphan and the waif should be sheltered and succoured. (3) The child should be the first to receive relief in times of distress. (4) The child should be put in a position to earn a livelihood, and should be protected against every form of exploitation. (5) The child should be brought up in the consciousness that its talents are to be used in the service of its fellow men.

TURKEY

Two Turkish women have been elected as representatives in the Angora Assembly. It is a striking thing, the remarkable progress that has been made by Turkish women since they threw off their purdah and became interested in the progress of Muhammadan womanhood.

Religion in Malabar

Writing in the *D. A. V. College Union Magazine* on "Religion in Malabar", Principal M. Rama Varma says:—

Christianity remains here as a separate religion owing to the initial mistake of the early European missionaries who, according to Abu du Bois employed as servants Pariahs, ate the flesh of dead cows, and got themselves dubbed as Mlechchhas. Mahommedanism keep itself distinct and aloof by its deep ignorance of the meaning of the Koran and the fanaticism born of such ignorance. Both

these religions are in for conversion. The lower strata of society oppressed by the caste system which denies them the elementary rights of man of approach to his brother, the use of public roads, tanks and wells and even schools seek social freedom by conversion. Christian missionaries attract them by their schools and hospitals besides the usual propaganda work. Hinduism of Vedic religion alone not only remains idle but is ready to ostracise any one for the slightest breach of meaningless superstition. In Travancore the so-called depressed classes have been converted in hundreds and now the Thiyyas, a large, enterprising community, growing in culture rapidly, eager to continue Hindus, are face to face with the alternative of conversion or fight. Almost all the Moplas of the recent rebellion notoriety of Malabar are converts to Mahommadanism from the Hindus, especially the lower castes. The apathy of the Hindus is responsible for the frequent recurrence of these rebellions. Each rebellion adds a number to the ignorant fanatics because the Hindus refuse to reconvert the forcibly converted. The blind Brahmin never realises the danger he is bringing upon himself. Even in the recent rebellion, but for the strenuous exertion of the Arya Samajists a large number of helpless fellows forcibly converted into Mahommadanism would have been added to the Mopla population. The so-called religious neutrality of the Government is in effect only a premium held out for the oppressed Hindus to become Christians.

Governments' Purchase of Stores

Prof. Manu Subedar's article on "Rupee Tender" in *The Indian Review* concludes with the following observations:—

All countries in the world make their own purchase inside their limits and leave it to the merchants to ferret out the sources and to organise the supply. In India alone such a retrograde scheme prevails. Amongst the many links, which are used for ruling this country under the dominance of London, the purchase of stores in London is not the least important. The full significance of the change of policy involved in the calling of rupee tenders cannot be realised until the public are told that the total purchase of the different Departments of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments and the local and public bodies amount to between 25 and 30 crores of rupees a year. The day is perhaps very far, when all the material required by Government to the full amount of this large sum can be produced locally, but if the effort is never made to utilise such industries as have already sprung up through private enterprise, then those results will never be secured. Cases have been known where *bona fide* enquiries as to the nature and quantity of Government requirements, which were sent down to the Director-General of Stores in London from India, have been turned down and no information was vouchsafed. Money raised from the Indian tax-payer in this manner has been deliberately spent to support the enterprise and to provide employment for the people of alien lands when a substantial part of it could be spent in India with all the incidental gains not only to the people but

to the railways and to the revenues of the country. There are, however, too many vested interests in the existing practice of purchase through London and unless Indian opinion is informed on the subject and pressure put on Government, the deprivation of legitimate opportunities to Indian efforts must continue. While the more picturesque aspects of administration may excite greater notice the solution of this problem on right lines will undoubtedly secure lasting glory for Lord Reading and his Cabinet. The economic discontent in the country, of which more than one evidence has been given in different directions, could not be allayed more effectively than by prompt action in this direction, which will secure fairness in comparison, spread information as to public requirements and give a fillip to private enterprise in manufacturing which has hitherto shown itself quite ready to adjust itself on a reasonable basis.

Swami Turiyananda on "The West"

When Swami Turiyananda was living at Kankhal, a pilgrim wanted to know something about the Swami's experiences in the West, writes Swami Atulananda in *Prabuddha Bharata*.

The Swami smiled and said, "The West is materialistic, the land of enjoyment. But there are many good things. The food is superior. Everything is done in a scientific way, even cooking. And sanitation is much better. They are strong and healthy people. The women have much more freedom, and they are all educated. There is more privacy in the West, and their dress is fit for action. Here everything is for inaction. We are not so energetic. Everyone in the West speaks in a subdued voice, and the servants receive much better treatment than with us. Even the humblest servant is treated with respect. Work is no disgrace. A man is man, no matter what his occupation is. But he must obey the laws of society. There are no outcasts and no *don't-touchism*. Think of how we treat our low-caste people!"

Genius

Prof. S. G. Dunn observes in the *Allahabad University Magazine*:—

Genius, as a faculty of the sub-conscious, is within the reach of us all if we have but the faith to believe it; that we too may receive the inspiration if we will obey our own hearts and let the imagination go free,—free from the pressure of material needs, free from the fear of height. "Pain would I climb but that I fear to fall." Many a man never excels in anything because he is afraid of failure. In art, as in life, we must venture all, launch out into the deep. This is why, it seems to me, those men who have had a precarious hold on life, men like Keats and Stevenson who have heard ever at their backs "Time's winged chariot hurrying near," have produced more that the world will not willingly let die than those who have felt themselves secure in their bodily

habitations and possessed a goodly heritage of health. The unknown sower scatters the seed with a liberal hand, but with too many of us the cares and riches and pleasures of this life choke its growth that we bring no fruit to perfection. Art demands a complete surrender; he only that gives up all for it shall enter into its kingdom.

Allahabad University Intermediate Colleges

The Allahabad University Magazine observes editorially:—

At the end of a few years' experience, our well-considered view is that Intermediate Colleges have failed. Progress has been delayed by the Intermediate student being sent back to school. Formerly, after passing his Matriculation Examination, he came straight to the College; he came in daily and intimate contact with senior students, intercourse with whom widened his outlook. He sat at the feet of professors who were recognised masters of their subjects. He lived, moved and had his being in an atmosphere of pure study. He learned to cherish the long-established traditions of his College, imbibe them during the years that he spent there, and hand them on to coming generations. The feeling that he was a member of a College gave him a peculiar dignity of bearing, and it was constant effort to see to it that the fair name of his *alma mater* was not in any way sullied. He might be dull; he might be incapable of much learning; but he could not help being inspired by his surroundings. In the hostels, in the College corridors, on the College lawns, he always mixed with his senior contemporaries and unconsciously learned a great deal from them. He passed on from the Intermediate, after two years, to the degree stage and took his degree normally four years after entering College. During these years he owed no other allegiance, he had no other love, he acknowledged no other mistress than his College; and this profound affection, entertained so early in life, continued until the end, an everlasting joy and inspiration. But the Sadler Commissioners said, "Let the Intermediate students go down to school", and lo they have gone down. What is the new condition of things? The young boy of sixteen, on passing the High School Examination enters the portals of an Intermediate College—College, forsooth!—, the connecting link between the High School and the University. He is there for two years, and constantly feels like a brief sojourner, constantly longs to get away, never content to be there, ever casting wistful eyes towards the distant gates of the University. He is at the Intermediate College for two years, and has hardly the time to know well his surroundings, his class-mates and his teacher. He has no time to inherit the traditions of the institution; to *esprit de corps* he will be a stranger; the likelihood indeed is that the institution will neither have any traditions nor *esprit de corps*. Then when he comes to the University his fresh enthusiasm has been almost completely damped, his two years at the Intermediate College having fairly withered the tender feelings that alone enable him to make and keep friends. The objection that the In-

termediate students are not fit to profit by teaching of the college standard loses the little force it ever had when the quality of the batch of students now coming from Intermediate Colleges to the University is considered. It is the experience of most University teachers that the majority of students, except from about half a dozen institutions, find it very hard to follow their lectures. The reason for that of course is that the High Schools are equipped with indifferent teachers. The evil does not stop there; the teachers who are available for the Intermediate Colleges are those who have failed to get employment at the Universities and are distinctly inferior in attainments. So that whereas in the past, the stage of inefficient teaching stopped at the Matriculation and that of competent guidance began at the Intermediate, now inefficiency is carried right up to the end of the Intermediate. We trust we are no pessimists, and we have certainly not attempted to draw too lurid a picture of the present state of education.

Similar comments were made in *The Modern Review* years ago on the proposals for Intermediate colleges in the Sadler Commission's Report. But the educational reformers in the United Provinces did not take any notice of them.

The Peasant Triumphant

Dr. H. H. Mann contributes an article to the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* under the above caption and writes in the course of it:—

Ten years ago nearly all Eastern Europe including Russia, Austria-Hungary, Eastern Germany, Servia and Roumania was an area of large estates. Some were worked by their owners; more belonged to absentee landlords and were worked by tenants on rents as high as could be obtained. Even then the peasants had, gradually, in most countries, been increasing their interest in the land by legislation or otherwise. But the soil of each country was still dominated by the large proprietor—often an absentee landlord—and the worker on the land was usually a tenant (often a small tenant) cultivating the land with more or less control of his cultivation by the landlord or his agent. Towards the end of the Great War, a strong movement gained impetus in all the countries that I have named towards the acquirement of actual ownership of the land by the cultivators themselves. It was successful first in Russia, where indeed in the first years of the revolution it went further than the peasants wanted, though this has been altered since. But from 1919 onward, the peasants in most of the countries have obtained possession of the land they cultivate; and laws have been passed in most of the new States created as a result of the War, granting the land to the actual cultivators, and dispossessing those who owned more than a certain amount of land. In most cases, except Russia and the Baltic States, it was the intention to compensate the land-owners thus dispossessed; but owing to the fall in the value of the currency in all these countries, the compensation has

amounted really to little or nothing, and the peasants have the land without giving very much for it.

What has been the result of this change on the prosperity of the countries concerned? When the changes described were in the course of being accomplished in the years up to 1921 it was freely stated that they would result in an economic decline in the countries concerned, in a lowering of production, and in general misery. We have now materials in several countries to judge how far these prophecies were true, and in Roumania, in particular, the figures are fairly complete. There they show that, however judged, the result has not been what was prophesied. Coming at the end of a ruinous war, the change found the country with less cultivation, with less domestic animals, and with general disorganisation. Now five years later the cattle are greater in number than before the War, while the sheep and pigs are nearly as many. Horses have declined, but this is to be expected as the number of horses, in a country where agriculture is carried on by bullocks, represents the luxury of the few rather than general prosperity. The total amount of cultivation has nearly reached the pre-war standard, and the area under grain crops is likewise almost equal to what it was before the troubles. On the other hand, the yield of crops, per acre is now lower, though it is rapidly regaining the former standard. One point is very clear. The change from landlord to peasant agriculture seems to have led to a change in the character of the grain crops produced. Wheat grown chiefly for export, has gone down by nearly thirty per cent; the grain crops grown for local consumption, whether by men or by cattle, like barley and oats, have largely increased.

One result of the sudden development of peasant proprietorship, which is of particular interest to us here, has been the rise of co-operative organisation, particularly for sale and purchase.

The Buddha Gaya Temple

The Mahabodhi writes truly, though with justifiable feeling:—

The Buddhagaya Temple is going to be converted into a Saivite shrine by means of a public agitation. In India truth and justice have no value. The starving millions of India are illiterate and ignorant. The only way to upset the officials is to start an agitation. The Mahant has money, he has an army of sanyasis to do his bidding, there are starving pleaders and newspaper correspondents ready to do any evil, provided they are liberally paid. There are University professors who are ready to make history to show that the Buddhagaya Temple had always been a Hindu temple. One professor is preparing the way by writing articles to an influential Journal to show that the Mahant is the rightful owner.

The Mahant does not know even the principal articles of the Buddha Dharma. Does he know that the Lord Buddha preached against caste and animal sacrifices, against rituals, against a creating God, against a separate soul? As a Saivite would he be allowed to officiate in a Vaishnava temple? It is said that Vishnu came in the form of the

Buddha to preach against vedic sacrifices in order to send the Daityas to hell.

Whatever hirelings may try to prove, the temple belongs by right to the Buddhists, and we are sure when it comes into their possession they will be glad to allow all Hindus who really consider Buddha an *Avatar* to worship him there.

Sivaji's Mother

The Volunteer contains a biographical sketch of Jija Bai, the mother of Sivaji, in which the following incident is related:—

Her sense of honour was superb. In 1627 when Jehangir, then ruling at Delhi, found the little army of Ahmednagar resisting his own powerful one again and again with the help of the sturdy Mahrathas, he determined to win over these Mahratha chiefs. He succeeded in his design. Among those who deserted their old chief and went over to the Moguls was Jadhav Rao, Jija Bai's father. Very soon after this Jadhav Rao was sent with an army against Ahmednagar. But conscious of the son-in-law's strength he caused by secret conspiracies suspicion to be cast on Shahaji who had to flee with his wife and four years' old son. They were wildly pursued by Jadhav Rao and his men. Jija Bai was in a delicate state of health at the time but she bravely kept up with her husband. She was finally lodged in a fort under the protection of Srinivasa Rao while Shahaji went on with his journey. In the meantime Jadhav Rao coming to know of his daughter's state sought her immediately. Jija Bai turned her proud gaze on him and scornfully said "I have fallen into your hands instead of him, act towards me as you would have acted towards him." Her crest-fallen father cowered under her blazing eyes and appealed to her to accept the shelter of his roof. "No, I shall not go with you—I remain here," came the decisive answer. It was a time when she most needed care and tenderness and here she was living from day to day in the most cruel uncertainty never knowing when she might be caught in the clutches of the enemy. There was moreover the agony of seeing the little son sharing this stern fate with her and the thought of how or where her husband might be. But she preferred all this to the hospitality of one who had turned traitor. For ten years while her husband fought bravely on the battle-field, Jija Bai fought her own domestic battles in her little home.

Marriage Customs Among the Muduvans

L. A. Krishna Iyer says in *Man in India* that among the Muduvans of Travancore, an interesting hill-tribe,

Marriage generally takes place after puberty. Sexual licence before marriage is neither recognised nor tolerated. All the unmarried young men live together at night in a 'Bachelor's Hut' away

from the married quarters. The young unmarried women live likewise separately in the company of old women. Soon after supper both young unmarried men and women go to their respective huts. This custom finds its counterpart among the Nagas of Assam and the Oraons of Chota Nagpur.

As among the Veddas of Ceylon, marriage takes place between cross-cousins, i.e. between the children of brother and sister, never between those of two brothers or two sisters. The union of such people will be considered incestuous. The practice of marrying a maternal uncle's daughter is an old custom. It was said to be universal among the Dravidians at one time, and is considered to be a survival of the mother-kin stage.

The Twelfth Indian Science Congress

Messrs. N. L. Sharma and S. P. Chatterji of the Benares Hindu University have contributed to the *Educational Review* of Madras a brief and interesting account of the twelfth Indian Science Congress, from which we make the following extracts:—

The Benares session of the Congress has been a record session this year. It was attended by about 300 members, and more than 400 papers were submitted to it.

SECTION OF ANTHROPOLOGY

President:—Prof. P. C. MAHALANOBIS.

The president delivered his presidential address on "Race Mixture in Bengal." His lecture was illustrated with lantern slides, and included statistical analyses of anthropometric measurements of Indian castes and tribes. He showed that the problem of caste resemblance was much more complex than previous workers had assumed. He suggested that each caste in India showed a dual set of affinities, one with other local castes of different social status and a second series of affinity with castes of other provinces of the same social status. After a brief discussion of older theories, he gave a provisional description of racial affinities and tendencies based on available anthropometric evidence. Prof. Mahalanobis also considered the Anglo-Indian question and discussed the racial position of the Anglo-Indian group with reference to Indian castes and tribes.

Several extremely interesting papers were read in this section. Prof. P. Sampat Iyengar, of the Mysore University, read an extremely interesting paper on certain recent Palaeoliths found by him at Biligery, Tiptur Taluk in Mysore.

SECTION OF MEDICAL RESEARCH

President:—Lt.-Col. F. P. MACKIE

The President in his most learned and interesting speech mentioned the nature of the diseases caused by insects, and gave an idea of the high mortality due to them. He stated that deaths and invalidity caused in India by diseases known to have been caused by insects, and the proportion of diseases in which insects played a contributory part are enough to stagger humanity. He said, in-

sect-borne disease was an enormous burden on the financial, economic and social conditions of the Indian people. India like other Eastern countries was awaking from the long slumber, and the immense fatality from preventable disease was one of the most important problems she had to face. He added if they rid India of these insect-borne diseases, they would go far to bring her mortality into a line with that of temperate countries.

After emphasising the importance of preventive as compared with curative medicine, Lt.-Col. Mackie urged an expenditure of at least a part of the available money for medical purposes on preventive measures. He said, "Lowering of the death-rate, especially of the infantile death-rate, increased expectation of life and general increase of healthiness—such as have been brought about during the last half a century in the countries of the West—have been caused not so much by the success of curative medicine, but almost entirely by triumph of prevention. One of the most amazingly retrograde steps which has resulted from our recently-acquired methods of legislation is the demand from one province after another for the abolition of Public Health Commissioners, and a weakening of the services they control. That politicians should be found so short-sighted as to try to weaken the very organization on which the whole health and future depends, causes one almost to lose faith in the future of human progress." The President further added that if adequate measures are to be taken to deal effectively with the vast subject of preventable disease, it must be by strengthening and not by weakening the public health services. We look, and we believe not in vain, to the Supreme Government to stand against this rising tide of ignorance and prejudice. Lt. Col. Mackie said with great emphasis that it is their duty when the time comes to hand over the government of this country to its own population to see that they leave it with a strong, well-organised and efficient public health service, and that, he believes, is the greatest boon which the Western medical science can confer.

In this section several papers of academic interest were read and discussed, and a resolution was passed to the effect that members of the Medical Research Section of the Science Congress were of opinion that in view of the vast amount of epidemic and endemic parasite disease in India, the government of India and the Local Governments should be urged to enlarge and strengthen the public health and research departments throughout the country, with a view to reducing the enormous amount of invalidity and death-rate resulting from preventable disease.

SECTION OF GEOLOGY

President:—DR. G. E. PILGRIM, D. SC., F. G. S.,
Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.

The President gave a very learned and interesting speech on "The Past History and Migrations of Indian Mammals."

SECTION OF BOTANY

President:—MR. R. S. INANDAR, B. A., B. AG.

The subject of Prof. Inandar's address was "The Auto-Regulation of Physiological Processes in Plants".

SECTION OF AGRICULTURE

President:—MR. R. S. FINLOW, B. Sc., F. I. C.

The subject of the President's speech was the review of work which had been done and of the progress which is being made in the improvement of Indian Agriculture.

SECTION OF CHEMISTRY.

President:—PROF J. C. GHOSH, D. Sc.

In the past, the presidents of this section chose for their addresses topics of general scientific interest and organisation. This year, Dr. Ghosh departed from that precedent and spoke on modern theoretical developments in Photo-Chemistry—a branch of chemistry in which he has been interested for some time. He defined this branch of Photo-Chemistry as one which deals with those groups of allied phenomena where radiant energy is transformed into chemical energy, and *vice versa*.

Of all the sections, this Chemistry section had the largest contribution of papers. The total number of papers was 108.

Animal Diseases and Public Health

Mr. K. Kylasam Ayyar writes in the *Indian Veterinary Journal*:—

For convenience of description the diseases communicable from animals to man may be classed under three groups, *viz.* (1) by ingestion of infectious material through meat and milk, (2) by actual contact and (3) by inoculation.

Group I.—Tuberculosis, Intestinal and other Worms, Foot and Mouth Disease, Diphtheria, Sore Throat, etc.

Tuberculosis or consumption as it is popularly known is common to man and most of the domesticated animals throughout the world, but it is more widely prevalent in some countries than in others. For instance, it is more in evidence in England than in India at the present time. Some years ago, the disease assumed such alarming proportions in England in both men and cattle, that a Royal Commission on Tuberculosis was appointed. The final report of the Commission was issued in 1911. I will quote a few salient points from the conclusions arrived at by the Commission:

"We have investigated many instances of fatal tuberculosis in the human subject in which the disease was undoubtedly caused by a bacillus of the bovine type and by nothing else.

Foot and mouth disease affects chiefly cattle, sheep, goats and occasionally other animals. Outbreaks of this disease frequently occur in this country. It is not a fatal disease. The disease can be conveyed to man by means of the milk of affected animals, by butter made from infected milk. Young children are specially susceptible.

Diphtheria is another disease which may be conveyed to man especially children, by milk. Some septic infections of the throat and intestinal disorders in human beings are undoubtedly caused by the germs contained in the milk obtained from cows with inflammation of the udder.

Some of the internal animal parasites or worm infections in man are caused by eating improperly

cooked meat of animals, including fish, which serve as intermediate hosts in the life cycle of these worms. It is obvious, therefore, that the importance of an organised and thorough system of meat and milk inspection in all our large cities and towns cannot be over-estimated.

Group II.—I would here mention Mange or Scabies, Ringworm and Variola.

Mange or Scabies and Ringworm are common diseases of domesticated animals such as horse, camel, cattle, dog, sheep, cat, etc. There are several recorded cases of these diseases having been transmitted from animals to man.

Variola in man is known as small-pox. It is a contagious disease of animals affecting cattle, sheep, horses, goats, pigs, buffaloes, camels and monkeys. Cow pox or Variola vaccina is largely connected with public health consideration.

Group III, includes some of the more important diseases not mentioned previously, *viz.* Glanders, Anthrax, Rat-bite infections and Rabies.

Glanders is a highly infectious disease of the horse tribe, communicable to man and all warm-blooded animals except cattle, pig and white mouse.

Infections connected with Rat.—Rats have proved to be a real menace to public health, in various ways, some of which are carriers and transmitters of dangerous disease and as contaminators of food materials and water. Rat is the carrier of two serious diseases in man, known as Weil's disease or Spirochaetel Jaundice and rat bite fever.

The role played by rats in the transmission of plague to human beings is fairly well understood and so I do not propose to deal with it here.

Rabies is another most dangerous disease transmitted to man by the bite of a rabid animal—usually dog.

Two forms of rabies are recognised in the dog—the dumb and the furious. The latter, as the name indicates is the more dangerous of the two, as the unprovoked attacks on man and beasts are made by dogs having it. No better illustration of the saying, 'Prevention is better than cure' than the one furnished by this disease, can be wished for. It is possible to stamp out the disease by stringent suppressive measures, and prevent its re-introduction by adequate quarantine regulations as has been done in Great Britain and Ireland. This was accomplished by the Rabies Order of 1899, and other accessory orders dealing with the importation of dogs. In this country destruction of street dogs has been in vogue for some years now, but, in order that it may produce the desired effect, it needs to be carried out on a large and sustained scale. Killing dogs in the streets by clubbing them is generally condemned. The method now recommended for adoption by all municipalities and large towns is to catch the dogs and pass them through a lethal chamber.

Manufacture in India

We read in *The Indian and Eastern Engineer*, a monthly review owned and edited by Englishmen:—

Few of the numerous Home and American manufacturers' representatives who call at these offices

during the cold season tours omit to raise the all-important problem as to whether it would pay to establish their works in this country. The problem is a most important one and the most careful consideration has to be given to it. One criterion and one criterion only can be applied and that is "Will it Pay?"

It is necessary, in order to appreciate the present position, to realise that though the legislatures of this country, both provincial and imperial, are *de jure* merely debating societies yet *de facto* they are capable of, and do exercise, a great influence on the policy decided on by the Government.

Will it now pay Home manufacturers under present conditions to come out here? It may be taken as a *sine qua non* that the nationalistic spirit, a very right and proper spirit, which has forced the Government to protect Indian industries will grow stronger as time goes on and our own considered opinion is that in time India will be a country protected by a very high wall of tariffs. This will not be for many years yet, but the manufacturer who contemplates coming out here has to consider not only immediate conditions but what they are likely to be in the future.

There are certain points for and against the proposition. Against the proposition we have the fact that the demand in India at the present for most engineering commodities, taken individually, is not so great as to justify the building of large works and without large works and a steady output the cost of production must be high. Manufacturing costs in India are in any case high, due to the expensiveness of the labour.

Where expert European supervision is provided in factories (we are not, it must be understood, dealing with textile factories of any kind, overhead charges become more than usually heavy and frequently even efficient Europeans imported into India lose their vitality and are not always a success with the labour they have to handle. The last point against the proposition, which we propose dealing with, is the high freight charges made by Indian Railways. It is actually cheaper to import goods from almost any continental port in Europe to Calcutta or Bombay than it is to move goods from Calcutta to Bombay or vice versa. Future years may see a considerable reduction in freight charges, but certainly there are no immediate prospects of this state of affairs arising.

In favour of the manufacture of goods in this country we have that very strong nationalistic opinion which is determined on giving every support to Indian enterprise. Again, while labour is to-day inefficient, there is growing up in the country an industrial force born to the work and the use of fool-proof automatic tools has lessened the period of great inefficiency to a considerable degree. Numerous Indian engineering enterprises run on most economical but usually hopelessly impossible lines, have helped to build up a labour reserve which has passed its first stages of ignorance, and this source of labour will always be available as the wages and opportunities offered by bigger firms are greater than the Indian mushroom enterprises can provide.

In the manufacture of paints, firms in India have against strong Home and Foreign competition succeeded in establishing themselves. Agricultural implements are also being turned out in competition with European products and are holding their own. Other lines are struggling along some of

whom will go under while others will see their way through to happier times.

The manufacturer who contemplates coming to India to manufacture will need to study the problem both from its political and economic sides. In the former he would be wise to enlist the support of influential Indians on his directorate. On the economic side he would do well to deduct a third from his most conservative profits and output estimates in order that if even the worst be realised he will be able to carry on.

Other than in the heaviest types of engineering products India, we consider, offers a fair return to that manufacturer who keeps low his initial capital outlay and expands accordingly as the demand arises. To that manufacturer who comes to this country, as several have already done, and builds big works with an enormous capital outlay aiming to create a demand, to that type India offers a disastrous venture. The British type of manufacturer rather than the American type will prosper in India.

A German Lover of Ahimsa

In *Current Thought*, Mr. C. F. Andrews tells of Mr. Albert Schweitzer, a German lover of *ahimsa*, and relates the following anecdote:—

In the morning, as we hurried to the station I witnessed a perfect example of Ahimsa in his own case. We were carrying between us, on a walking stick, his bundle which was rather heavy. Each of us was holding one end of the stick. The road was very slippery owing to the frost. Suddenly he pulled himself up very quickly indeed and I nearly fell over at the sudden wrench that was given to the stick. He apologised to me and took up from the ground a worm, which was half frozen with cold and put it carefully on the ground at the hedge side. He said to me tenderly, "There it will be quite safe. Here, in the road, it would be killed". It is difficult to describe the beauty of that action, but it will remain ineffaceable in my memory, as a perfect example of the spirit of gentleness toward all created life.

The Test of a Picture

In the same journal Mr. Manindra Bhushan Gupta gives a translation of a brief Bengali article by the great artist Nandalal Bose on the test of a picture, in which we read:—

A great difference lies between the picture of an object and the photograph of it. In the picture besides the form of the object, we perceive particularly the joy of the artist in the object, while in a photograph we see only the material form and not the artist's joy. It may be argued that one may take pleasure in a photograph, just as one finds pleasure in Nature. But that is not necessarily true, for an individual may see nothing in an object which gives intense joy with fact: hence, in the photograph there will not be that light of inspiration, which will play over the work of the artist.

Then we may say, that a picture is the expression or embodiment of the heightened joy and emotion of the artist. There are two worlds in God's creation—the world of phenomena and noumena. The eternal world consists of the sun, the moon, stars and all other material things, while the mental consists of impulse, feeling, joy etc. To express the joy of mind, man has created 64 kinds of Kalas (Fine Art). The impulse finds outlet to give expressions to our personality in songs, in dance, in pictures, in sculpture and so on.

What is the need for this expression? Joy demands expression. It does not matter, whether others need it or not, a lamp will shine, when kindled; when a flower blooms, it must exhale its fragrance.

Saadi on State-craft

The passages which Sheikh Abdul Kadir quotes from Saadi on state-craft in an article in *The New Orient* are all worthy of attention. We extract two at random.

"Do not say to the king: go and place thine honoured feet on the skies, but say: prostrate thy sincere face on the ground."

Thus he places before his king the motto that kingship means service and this is a truth which he emphasises again and again in his writings. In a story given in the first chapter of *Gulistan* he tells us of a poor *Dervish*, who had retired into a desert and was free from all greed of gain. The king passed by, but the *Dervish* took no notice of him. The king resented this and sent his Wazir to question the man why he did not pay due respect to his Majesty. The *Dervish* told the Wazir to tell the king that he should expect service from those who expected to get anything from him and added that the kings were meant to guard their subjects but the subjects were not created for the sake of the service of kings. The goat, he said, is not for the shepherd but the shepherd is for the service of the goat.

In conclusion, I do not think I can do better than give a translation of a little story relating to Alexander the Great, with which the first chapter of *Gulistan* ends. Saadi observes:

"People once asked Alexander: 'By what means did you acquire so many countries of the East and the West?' There were monarchs before you who lived long, had larger territories, armies and treasures than you have and yet their conquests were not so great.' He replied: 'Whatever country I conquered with the help of God, I made a point of causing no harm to the feelings of the inhabitants of the country. I also kept up any good work and charity prevailing among those people from the

times of the monarchs of old and I always cherished the good memory of past kings. Whenever I mentioned them I referred to their virtues. The wise do not regard him as great who gives a bad name to the great men who have lived before him. All things mundane come to nothing as they are so transitory, whether it be the throne, or the authority to order and to forbid, or the power to take and to control. If you wish that your good name may be preserved, the best way of doing so is that you should preserve the good name of those who are no more."

The British rulers and historians of India stand badly in need of always bearing in mind the anecdote told above. They generally paint all previous rulers of India in black colours.

"Moral Education—India's Greatest Need"

Mr. C. N. Zutshi writes in *The Vedic Magazine*:—

"Education" according to Prof. James "consists in the organisation of the resources in the human being, of powers of conduct, which will fit him to his social and physical world." The present system of education viewed in the light of this statement, has been a failure; it has failed to develop and organise the powers of conduct in our youngmen who receive their education in the present-day schools and colleges. The education which they receive has been too secular to inculcate any sound morals in Indian youths: I mean, it has not encouraged the formation of character in them. The result is that our youngmen do not possess stamina, moral courage—either of action or conviction—honesty of purpose and consistency, and very much lack in strict adhesion to truth. These effects of an epicurean morality on the moral development of our youths have been of too disastrous a nature to be exaggerated. Our youths are always taught to regard pain and pleasure as the lords of life and Mammon the only god to be worshipped. The present education has unnerved their character and dwarfed the possibilities of their moral growth. The result is that the present generation of Indians has become very ease-loving, luxurious and over-sensitive to the slightest touch of pain; and so, it is that the hardihood of the older generation is gone and a sort of moral effeminacy has come to predominate our national character. The result was inevitable; Indian students being constantly fed on the doctrine of "eat, drink and be merry" without being subject to any moral discipline.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Mothers We Want

In the course of an article in the *Century Magazine* on "Revaluing Motherhood," Anne Sturges Duryea observes:—

Men are as big as ever they were; bigger by so much as that they have irretrievably welded together by trade, radio, airplane, and a new international spirit the hitherto separate parts of a world which must henceforth be regarded and dealt with as a unit. We are to-day handicapped not by necessarily smaller men, but by more extensive and complex situations, which call truly for a new product in the art of man-making, and nothing so abnormal as some monster superman will meet our requirements.

In some way, coming mothers must learn to get larger outlooks, wider inspirations, deeper values of the immense significance of the human spirits committed to their care and of a mother's relation to them. They will look upon themselves as temporary custodians of these lives which belong first to themselves and then to the future. They will not see their children as of interest in relation to themselves, but themselves as of an only temporary interest in relation to their children. The physical love will claim less emphasis; personal sensibilities even moral ones, will be submerged; they will be looked upon as subservient to the higher love—the love which regards the individual rights and potentialities and achievements of the child as the really significant values to be devoted to world-wide services.

Will they not, then, create a race of beings who need never seek their coveted joy in unusually perfect methods of killing; but in richer and completer ways of living and of fostering the life of others in its world-wide, as well as in its more restricted relationship?

If we cannot seem to develop this sort of being from the human specimens produced by the good old mothers of the past, why not look to a new and revalued motherhood for the hope of the future?

Mothers of the coming day will find thrown into their crucible by rapidly changing modern conditions about every element needed for not a new chemistry of manhood but the new alchemy of motherhood. If old-time mothers will empty out their stale decoctions, if they can wash away their early Victorian sentimentalities, their stupidly virtuous, though essentially selfish, crystallizations, they may distil some new and potent magic of motherhood, some spiritually utilitarian essence, in which the coming world-infant may grow and take on some sort of world proportions and with which he may in safety "primarily identify" himself. Such a mother would in a truly abnegating catalysis, by eliminating herself, precipitate for the young Narcissus of the future a separated and independent self-image worthy of his own regard, because expanding to the dimensions of the normally balanced and finely adjusted citizen of the universe, whom the whole creation is just now groaning and travailing to bring forth.

Poverty and Elected Assemblies

The Living Age says:—

Baron Saito, the Governor-General of Korea, has made a contribution to political philosophy that may help to explain why the United States, the British Dominions, and some of the less impoverished Powers of Western Europe are blessed with democratic institutions—at least in form. He tells the people of Japan that elected assemblies are a luxury suitable only for wealthy countries. The poor Koreans over whom he rules could not afford such an indulgence. They would be unable to stand the cost. And all this before he had an opportunity to cite the last salary-grab in Washington to point the moral of his tale!

It may be pertinent to enquire in this connection whether our legislative bodies are not too costly for the service (or disservice?) rendered by them to the country.

Exchange of Populations.

In explaining in the *Nineteenth Century* the effects of the exchanges of the populations in the Balkans during the past few years, A. A. Pallis gives some figures, which are to be found in the following extract:—

To take Turkey first. In Asia Minor the Greek and Armenian population have completely disappeared, except for a small number of Roman Catholics who do not come under the exchange. In Eastern Thrace, before 1912 there was a mixed population of Greeks, Moslems, Bulgars, Armenians etc. The proportion between the various races, according to the Turkish official figures of 1902, was—Greeks, 45 per cent.; Moslems, 39 per cent.; Bulgars, 9 per cent.; Armenians, 4 per cent.; others 3 per cent. To-day the Moslems compose 95 per cent., of the population, the Greeks and Armenians have completely disappeared, and Bulgars do not exceed 1,000. The rest are Jews, Gypsies, Europeans, etc. . . . Turning to Greece, we find that Macedonia has been hellenised to an extent which, without the exchange, would have been hardly possible in so short a time. In 1912 the proportion between the various races inhabiting what is to-day Greek Macedonia was—Greeks, 43 per cent.; Moslems, 39 per cent.; Bulgarian Exarchists, 10 per cent.; others, 8 per cent. To-day, after the settlement of the Greek refugees in the country and the departure of all the Moslems and part of the Exarchists, the proportion is—Greeks, 88 per cent.; all others, 12 per cent.

In Western Thrace, where the Moslems are exempted from the exchange, the proportion is as follows: 1912—Greeks, 37 per cent.; Moslems, 47 per cent.; Bulgarian Exarchists, 14.5 per cent., others, 1.5 per cent. To-day—Greeks, 62 per cent., Moslems, 28 per cent.; all others, 10 per cent.

The conclusion to be drawn from the preceding figures is that the emigrations and exchanges, in spite of the great suffering and loss of human life they have entailed, have at least had the compensating advantage of creating a more homogeneous population where before there was a perfect tangle of races and religions. It is to be hoped that many

causes of political friction between the countries concerned will thus tend automatically to disappear.

Date of the Koran

The *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library in Manchester says that a very important Syriac manuscript has recently been deposited there for purposes of investigation. It contains portions of a previously unknown translation of the Kur'an into Old Syriac.

More than two-thirds of the important Surahs of the Kur'an are involved in this translation, which is of the utmost importance, for the following reasons:

1. It contains some new verses of the sacred text of Islam, which are not found in the standard text which has been in use by Muslims for many generations. Some of these verses have been traced by Dr. Mingana in the works of Muslim traditionalists, as having been actually uttered by the Prophet, whilst some of them cannot be accounted for, and are unrecorded even by the numerous compilers of Islamic tradition.

2. Even in the verses that are actually in the Kur'an of to-day the Syriac translation offers a considerable number of variants. Some of these variants are shown by Dr. Mingana to have arisen from an Arabic text similar to the one we possess, and others seem to be completely foreign to it.

Furthermore, the Kur'an is shown to have been standardised in the form in which we now know it, not by the third Caliph Othman, as has been universally believed hitherto, but more than forty years later by Hajjaj, the powerful lieutenant of the Umayyad Caliph Abdul Malik.

Beauty Aids for Men

The Women Citizen says:—

We rise to protect against discriminations against men in advertisements of modern cosmetic Leaf through the big magazines and you will find appeal after appeal directed to women to use this or that in order to get a husband or to make sure of holding one already captured. All sorts of advice are issued to the wife for preserving her complexion, hair, figure, her youth, to the one purpose of having and holding. But, with the exception of the afflicted gentleman whose engagement is abruptly broken off because "his best friends won't tell him," almost nothing is done to help a man win a girl or keep his wife's affections. The texture of his skin is apparently only a matter of his own physical comfort; hair tonic ads never ask him if his wife's illusions are damaged by his baldness; and his figure may bulge grievously to the complete loss of a wife's pride in him, for all the advertisers care. It isn't fair. Men have a right to aids to beauty too. If the advertisers are in the business of keeping homes together, they really should work from both sides.

The Quality of Women's Greatness

We read in the same journal:—

At a dinner given in honor of Mrs. Edward MacDowell as a recognition of the *Pictorial Review's* \$5,000 award to her as the American woman who made the most outstanding contribution to American life during the year, Mary Austin drew an interesting distinction between greatness in a man and in a woman. Greatness in a woman, she said, will always carry with it a quality of mothering. In whatever a woman does, there are involved the maternal qualities of fostering, developing, protecting and comforting. This instinct has always been at the service of man and has undoubtedly been responsible in considerable measure for his greatness. Nearly every man who has achieved great things has had some woman to make things comfortable for him, to shield him, to take on her own shoulders all the petty, irritating, time-consuming details and leave him free to create.

Many think that this is woman's chief function in life. Whether this is true or not, there is no question that the creative mind needs this mothering care, and it is quite possible that one of the reasons why women have not equaled men in creative achievements is that they have not had any one to give them the freedom of mind and body which most men have had. Mrs. MacDowell's achievement, through the Peterborough colony, is to give some of this protection to creative minds working in the various arts. It is a service given to men and women alike, and may be responsible—who knows? for developing some unknown woman's genius that would otherwise be smothered under the pressure of ordinary life. In this it is unique. It will be interesting to see if the achievement of a woman which wins the next award will have this same maternal quality.

The Future of Art

Herman Epstein observes in *The World To-morrow*:

Today vulgarity surrounds us everywhere in all our doings and in most of our art, and only the protest rings burning and vital. Tomorrow there will be inspiration in the air always, everywhere; when we awaken, when we labor, our minds and bodies and souls will sing with the joy of living and our hands will easily do their bidding.

Art is the most important thing in the world. It is not a pastime or entertainment, but the flower and purpose of our being. Today it is hard to realize what this means for art has been so prostituted for entertaining, merely filling the weary hours, for commercial advertising, for ostentatious display, that we have forgotten its source and function.

Of all the reasons for which the new world should be hailed with greatest joy and hope, the most important is this that art will then come again into its own; and we will all be artists in some degree. We will have songs to sing, pictures to paint, images to carve, beautiful things to fashion, and our hands will have the necessary cunning to express our ever young, pulsing,

vitalized, responsive, simply human, god-like souls.

such political disturbances, the economic conditions in China have made yearly progress and development. This is note-worthy.

Well-ordered Adult Education

We read in *The Play-ground*:—

It is probable that very few minds are ever again at alert or as active as they are at about twenty-two or twenty-three years of age. When the pressure of formal instruction is removed and when the early stimulus has passed, the vast majority of human intelligences plod through life on a dead level. Only now and then is there evidence given in later years of real initiative, of mental alertness, and of productive intellectual power. The number of human beings, even those of some conspicuousness, who continue to grow in knowledge and in power after forty years of age is very small indeed. Observation indicates that those who are continuing to grow at forty will, in all likelihood, maintain that power of growth and achievement throughout life, however long. Well-ordered adult education might easily come to the rescue of vast numbers of those men and women who are, under present conditions, unconsciously sentenced to a life of dismal conformity to type without any genuine interest or intellectual activity. No one supposes that the methods of home study can displace the personal relationship of teacher and taught, or that it can compete with the closely planned schemes of educational work that have stood the test of generations of use. What home study can do, however, is to carry the sparks of scholarship to the dry place of adult life and light here and there a fire that will give both brightness and warmth to otherwise weary and shut-in lives. It is a noble and a splendid type of service which will well repay whatever effort may be spent in perfecting it.

China As She Is

The Japan Magazine contains an important article by Marquis Komura on the actualities of China and her relations with Japan, from which we make two extracts.

1. The General Situation.—Not a few people, who observe China superficially, speak pessimistically of her future as well of the past 14 years of republican government, during which she has been in a state of complete chaos. We must not overlook, however, many things, which have been progressing and developing constantly behind the scenes of disturbances. These inside facts must not be forgotten by those wishing to coexist or co-operate with China either politically or economically. It is true that China is extremely disunited but that is simply political; and socially and economically, she has been making steady progress and development. The masses have been gaining in power steadily, step, by step, while the political men have had constant ups and downs.

2. Economic Progress of Development.—The Chinese Republic has thus been in chaos since its foundation, and its unification and pacification cannot be hoped for in the near future. Despite

"Europe Drifting Backward"

Georg Brandes writes in *Tilskueren*, the Copenhagen Literary and Political Review:—

The ideal of political liberty that obtained in the nineteenth century is almost forgotten. In conservatively governed countries popular rights are thrust aside by dictators. In revolutionary Russia, and her satellite States like Ukraine and Georgia, there is freedom neither for the individual nor for the press. The entire education is Communist and antiliberal.

Since looking at the dark side of life is both unpleasant and unfruitful, let us conclude with one word of hope. It is that out of our present travail and apparent backsliding something better may be born.

"China's Campaign Against Missionary Education"

We read in *The Living Age*:—

Last October an annual China Educational Conference was held in Kaifengfu, the capital of Honan Province. At this Conference a committee of Chinese educators, who had investigated missionary education in that country, presented a series of resolutions which were adopted and expected to receive the approval of the Ministry of Education in Peking. These do not represent the snap judgment of a meeting that, we are told, 'included the most responsible body of educators in China,' but a matured programme that has been under discussion for a year or more. They demand in substance that the Chinese Government shall henceforth control all educational work in China. Foreign schools shall be required to register with the Government, to follow in their curriculum and administration the national and provincial regulation, to employ teachers having Government certificate, and—here comes the most controversial point—to observe the following prohibition: 'Foreigners shall not use their schools or other educational agencies for the propagation of religion.' To be sure, the Chinese Government cannot enforce these resolutions under existing treaties, nor would these measures have the unanimous support of the Chinese people; but they are very significant in expressing a state of mind.

Alcohol in the Tropics

The following article, extracted from *Abkari*, will be found instructive:—

The distinguished physician, Sir Leonard Rogers who was for many years in the Indian Medical Service, contributed to the Special Alcohol number of the *Practitioner* (October, 1924) a most useful article on "Alcohol in the Tropics." He pointed out firstly the predisposing effect of alcohol towards heat and sunstroke, and to the liver complications

of dysentery. Its value in the treatment of tropical disease he sums up as follows :—

"There is thus weighty evidence that the administration of alcohol as a drug in many of the most important tropical diseases is positively harmful, while I do not know of any serious tropical disease in which its regular exhibition is of value, although it may be required in individual cases, especially in such patients as have become habituated to its use."

He answers the question, Has alcohol any prophylactic value against tropical disease? with a quotation from Sir Ronald Martin, writing on "The Influence of Tropical Climates":—

"We hear much amongst habitual toppers of the supposed prophylactic influence of spirits and cigars against night exposure, malaria, and contagion: but no medial observer in any of our numerous colonies has ever seen reason to believe in any such delusive doctrine, nor is there in reality the smallest foundation for it."

He replies to his final question, Is alcohol necessary or beneficial in the tropics? by quoting the happy result in his own case of abstinence during twenty-seven years of strenuous work in India with only one year spent in the hills, and with no complete year of leave, in spite of the warning from advisers whom he met at the start, of the risk he was running. Whilst he knows of no definite evidence that drinking a very moderate amount of well-diluted alcohol after sunset and only at the evening meal, does any harm, he infers from statistics drawn from temperate climates that abstinence would result in longer life and less sickness in the tropics, and commends to the consideration of insurance companies a reduction to abstainers living in the tropics.

The writer further says :—

"Unfortunately, there is no doubt that the consumption of alcohol by Indians has greatly increased in recent years, especially in large towns, while liver abscess is still rare in the Indian Army the men of which are rarely addicted to its use. Once more the rarity of liver abscess in women and children in India has been attributed, and rightly so, in my opinion, to the infrequency of their use of alcohol as compared with men."

Finally, he quotes Sir Edmund Parks, the famous Professor of Hygiene at the Netley Army Medical School, who had studied the subject closely, and who wrote in 1873 :—

"The common notion that some form of alcoholic beverage is necessary in tropical climates is, I firmly believe, a mischievous delusion. On this point the greatest Army surgeons have spoken strongly (Jackson, especially and Martin), and yet nothing is more common even at the present day than to hear officers, both in India and the West Indies, assert that the climate requires alcohol. These are precisely the climates where alcohol is most hurtful."

[Sir Leonard Rogers is Physician and Lecturer at the London School of Tropical Medicine; Member of the Medical Board, India Office; late Professor of Pathology, Medical College, Calcutta, etc.]

Records of Two Halves of Humanity

Dr. Sudhindra Bose writes in *The Cosmopolitan Student* :—

It is often supposed that the record of one-half of humanity is a record of continuous political freedom and democracy, while the record of the other half is one unrelieving midnight of barbarism and oppression. Is this true?

The fact is that ancient and medieval Asia, for instance, passed through the same political and institutional experiences as did Europe until the French Revolution. City-states, republics, jury system, divine right of kings, Machiavellian statesmen are to be found in Europe as well as in Asia.

If it is true that the East has been the home of Timurlane and Zenghis Khan, it is equally true that the West has been the breeding ground of such libertines as Caesar and Alexander, such tyrants as Louis XIV and Alva of the Spanish Netherlands. Not every conqueror in the Orient was a bloodthirsty murderer any more than every invader in the Occident was a William the Conqueror who after taking the leading citizens of a captured city, skinned them alive and hung their skins on the city walls.

Impartial historians will bear testimony to the fact that Mongolian rulers, like Jenghis and Kublai, "were at least as understanding and creative monarchs as either that flamboyant but egotistical Alexander the Great" or, "that energetic but illiterate theologian, Charlemagne."

After all, history is not made up of all campaigns, and massacres. Even amidst the benevolent despotism of Asia, we see that life, through all its ups and downs, went on progressively. We find that vast sums of money and effort were spent on arts, industries, architectures, roads, schools and colleges, academies of literature and science.

Take this matter of education. In ancient India scholars and teachers were supported in early times by the State. They were maintained by gifts of land or proceeds of taxes. "Under Brahmanism education was mainly confined to the higher classes of society, but Buddhism proclaimed the equality of all mankind, and Buddhist monarchs thought it necessary to make arrangements for the instruction of the multitude."

The British Government and the Opium Trade

With reference to the withdrawal of the American delegation from the Opium Conference at Geneva, *The New Republic* observes :—

A particularly regrettable aspect of the matter is the amount of ill-will engendered between British and Americans. If the latter have failed to take into sufficient account the problems of the Empire, the former have also been guilty of equivocation and misstatement. We regret to find in so intelligent and honorable a journal as the *New Statesman* (London) such observations as these :

"In Persia, Turkestan, Arabia and India opium is eaten—as a stimulant, a febrifuge, a narcotic, the most universal and well-understood of medicines. In these countries it is very rarely, if ever, abused and the almost universal verdict of expert opinion is that it does far more good than harm. What right in any case has America or even Great Britain to attempt to interfere with the ancient

abits of countries like Persia and India? Even the more vicious use of opium which obtains in China is a Chinese not an Anglo-Saxon affair.

".....In America the use of morphia and heroin has increased of late rapidly and dangerously; and it is easy to understand why American public opinion should desire sweeping measures of world-wide scope not merely to prevent the manufacture and sale of these dangerous drugs, but even to prohibit the cultivation of the opium poppy from which they are obtained."

With no desire to fan a flame already too hot, we submit that there is no scientific basis for these observations. The best opinion of British medical men who have studied the subject in the field is that the use of opium in any form whatever is invariably harmful; that it is not a food, and that its effects of stilling the pangs of hunger and relieving such conditions as dysentery are only temporary and illusory. The latest edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, in its excellent article on opium, says flatly that eating the drug is much more deleterious than smoking, and that "to break off the habit of eating opium is exceedingly difficult." Because of its effect on the spinal cord in infants it should never be given to young children "under any circumstances, in any dose"; yet it is constantly fed to babies throughout the countries mentioned by the New Statesman, to keep them quiet.

The other statements quoted above are equally incorrect. In view of the fact that the East India Company virtually created opium addiction in China, that Great Britain fought a war with China (ending in 1842) to compel her to import Indian opium, and that the trade was developed for many years thereafter with the help of the Indian government, the observation that Chinese addiction "is Chinese, not an Anglo-Saxon affair," seems about as cynical as could well be offered. Finally, the statement about the growth of the habit in the United States is far too strong. It is based, no doubt, on a wild misstatement which appeared several years ago in an annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury which declared that there are a million drug-addicts in the United States, and that their number is increasing rapidly. Similar statements have often been made by fellow journalists, and one and all are without scientific verification. There are no reliable statistics of drug addiction: the Secretary of the Treasury was just guessing. While the traffic is a very serious problem, those who know most about the matter believe his guess was a great deal larger than the reality. It is altogether likely that drug addiction in this country is diminishing, and has been for a long time. The Americans in their attitude at Geneva may have proved themselves impractical idealists: they may be rejecting half a loaf have brought the conference to a result of no bread: but it is absurd to argue that their self-interest lay at the bottom of their endeavors.

In this connection Rabindranath Tagore's article in our present issue, translated from *Bharati*, will be found illuminating.

"Collective Hypnotism," and Indian Jugglers' Tricks

John Dill Ross writes in *Chamber's Journal*:—

I recently read a novel in which the heroine possesses the faculty of collective hypnotism, by means of which she creates a variety of remarkable episodes to the utter undoing of the villain of the plot. I do not know whether such a thing as collective hypnotism really exists, having had but little time or disposition to study this and other phenomena connected with hypnotism. But during my long residence in Singapore I saw three performances given by Indian jugglers which I wish to describe, as I could never obtain any satisfactory explanation of them.

(1) I was on board the Russian Volunteer Fleet troopship *Kostroma*, lying at Tanjong Pagar Wharf, Singapore, busy arranging her despatch to Odessa. While I was on the quarter-deck an Indian juggler with a woman assistant begged permission to give a performance. A space was cleared on the upper deck so as to make a stage for them, and the Indian began by putting the woman into a course of net, which he fastened securely. He then folded the woman up and put her inside a small oblong basket, trampling her body with his feet until she exactly filled the basket, which he closed with a tightly-fitting cover. It would have been hard to believe that the compact little basket really contained a human body, had we not seen the brute way in which he packed the woman into it. He next took a long, sharp sword and ran it through the basket in every direction. When he had finished wiping the blood from the blade he opened the basket, and took out an empty net! The woman was found outside the ring of sailors and soldiers who had been eagerly watching the whole thing, which took place in broad daylight on the teak deck of the *Kostroma*, before some hundreds of spectators. I got the juggler to repeat the trick at my house next day for the benefit of some of my friends. This time he worked on a floor paved with large squares of polished Italian marble, but with exactly the same result as on board the Russian steamer.

We witnessed an exactly similar performance by an Indian juggler, at Santiniketan, many years ago, in which the jugglers's son was thrust into a basket, etc., etc.

After describing two other performances, Mr. Ross asks:—

How are these things done? I have an idea that certain Indians know much more about hypnotism and things occult than any European. Is it possible that those various jugglers *willed* that we should see exactly what they intended us to see? If so, in the case of the experience on board the *Kostroma* they must have hypnotised some hundreds of strong men simultaneously, which seems to be beyond the bounds of credibility. Perhaps some of your readers may have a theory.

I have stated what I have seen quite correctly and truthfully, without the least effort to colour or exaggerate effects.

Civilization and Spiritualization

Swami Paramananda writes in *Message of the East*:—

What is civilization? What are the distinctive marks of a civilized man? How does he differ from the uncivilized? It is right that we should have definite answers to these simple questions. To-day almost everywhere we hear the loud cry to save civilization. It is seldom that we can pick up a newspaper or a magazine of any worth without reading something along this line. We might attempt many superficial answers to these outstanding questions. We might say it is easy to differentiate a civilized person from an uncivilized by his manner of apparel or through the mode of his living. Richness does not make a person civilized nor can poverty make one uncivilized. It does not consist in building up of trade or commercial exploitation, or any of these superficial means, even though they may have certain outer glamour. The distinctive mark of differentiation is in the standard of conduct. Perhaps we would better use the simple translation of the word "civilization," which means departure from brutal instinct, or reclaimed from savagery. If we have not risen above the instinct of brute passion, hatred, treachery and other low instincts common to all uncontrolled animal nature, although we may live in fine houses surrounded by great luxuries and material splendor, we are far from being civilized.

"Swami's Teaching Reaches the Blind"

We are glad to read in the same journal that Swami Paramananda's book, named "The Way of Peace and Blessedness," has been recently put into Braille by the Clovernook Institute for the Blind, in America, and that on a recent occasion Helen Keller read the book in Braille. A correspondent writes to that journal:—

Then we laid your book in her lap, and I wish I could picture her as she sat there in the big chair reading aloud to us as she slipped her fingertips along the Braille lines. "Through the blessings of the Supreme, may our life be fruitful," and so on to "May we serve God alone with our whole heart and soul," where she stopped to say, "Ah, this book is my creed." (The book referred to is "The Way of Peace and Blessedness," by Swami Paramananda, recently put into Braille by the Clovernook Institute for the Blind.)

The Secret of Democracy

The following is from Philips Kerr's lecture on Democracy published in *the Indus*:—

The real, the ultimate, secret of democracy is the leadership of moral virtue. For unless democracy can throw up enough people who will take moral principle as their guide, at whatever cost democracy releases passions and animosities which destroy it, and drive people back to some

kind of absolutism as the one means of tranquillity and peace. It is not very easy to describe how moral principle operates in public life. It is unselfish fidelity to what one believes to be right, not surrender to political animosity in any form. It is fearless readiness to face facts as they are and to deal with them as they are, and not fanatical disregard of everything which seems to run counter to one's own preconceived ideas. It is unselfish readiness to forgo personal ambition, profit, place or power, for the sake of the common good. It is determination to do what one believes the public good really requires and not merely what is popular or what the crowd demands. It is readiness to face abuse and unpopularity, not from one's opponents, for that is easily sustained but from those whom you seek to help and on whose support you rely. It is wisdom, unselfishness, self-control in the face of temptation and pressure to short cuts and easy ways.

Organized Society's Hate

Clarence Darrow writes in *The Century Magazine*:—

The whole life of man on the earth abounds in the record of the cruel vengeance administered by the State. It is a record of killing in the most ghastly way—killings for what are still crimes and what are no longer crimes. Only a very small fraction of the victims put to death have suffered for acts that the world punishes to-day. Deaths for sorcery, witchcraft, and heresy have claimed a far larger number of victims, and the punishment has been meted out in a far more odious and horrible way. All this shows that society punishes those whom it hates, and any fanaticism, religious or social, claims its victims by the thousands. Death is administered because organized society hates and gets joy in killing the ones it hates.

Those of us who believe that all conduct is the result of law, and that all men are controlled by their heredity and environment, are as anxious as the rest that crime should disappear. We, however, believe that it can be diminished, if not finally obliterated, only by finding the causes and intelligently treating these causes rather than rending and destroying in anger and hate.

The Most Weighty Problem in Spain To-day

In the opinion of John Langdon-Davies, as recorded in an article in *The Century Magazine*,

Catalan separatism is the most weighty problem in Spain to-day.

To understand the Catalan question it is essential to remember that the geography of Spain bears some resemblance to that of Greece. Greek unity was always prevented by the mountainous nature of the country; and in Spain also like physical features have produced and perpetuated like disunity. When the Moors were slowly pushed back from the Pyrenees three new Christian settlements advanced in parallel columns

down the Iberian Peninsula: the westernmost community gave rise to the Portuguese, the center to the Castilians, and the Mediterranean to the Catalans. In course of time Catalonia became united with the kingdom of Aragon, and thence with Castile itself, but dynastic union could not achieve an amalgamation between the very divergent cultures. Catalan nationalism has always been kept alive by a series of armed revolts, and Catalan language and culture remained as distinct from Castilian as did the Portuguese.

During the earlier years of the nineteenth century a renaissance of the Catalan language as a literary medium was the prologue to a tremendous national revival. The peasantry had never learned Castilian and had always remained true to its own national customs: throughout the eastern Pyrenees the traveller to-day still finds the scarlet cap, which on the heads of French Catalans became the cap of liberty and the eternal emblem of France and the Revolution. In these valleys servants and shopkeepers must be addressed in their native tongue, for though Barcelona and the great centers are of course bilingual, there are thousands of men and women to whom the language of Madrid is as foreign as Italian or French. In the villages by tradition and everywhere as part of the conscious nationalist revival, the Sardana is danced in the streets at every *fiesta*, and Catalan folk-songs are on everybody's lips. The Catalan culture is indeed separate and distinctive even in architecture, its genius has worked out new forms for itself; no one who has visited northern Spain can forget such cathedrals as those of Barcelona, Tarragona, and Gerona, and their distinctive central spans, widened until the side aisles have become, as it were, rudimentary.

The writer concludes:—

From every point of view the observer is forced to decide that the future of Spain depends upon the future of the Catalan provinces: the distinction between the energy, the enlightenment, and the wealth of Barcelona as a community, and the apathy and obscurantism of Madrid, is too remarkable to permit a perpetuation of the present state of affairs. At present most of the Catalan leaders are exiled, two of them, Masso Llorens and Nicolau d'Oliver, have presented, fruitlessly of course, the claim of Catalonia before the League of Nations; an active propaganda recalling the Irish propaganda of a few years ago is acquainting the world with the internal affairs of Spain; thousands of young Catalans are migrating across the Pyrenees to escape conscription; many others are drilling in their native mountains; a tremendous public opinion has been aroused. Meanwhile, to the student of politics, the pity is that so fine an attempt at democracy as that instigated by the man comunitat from 1914-24 should have suffered such an eclipse. It is one of the elements which are continuing to drag Europe back to what Georges Duhamel has lately called "a new and odious middle age."

Chinese Education

T. Z. Koo writes in the *International Review of Missions*:—

In the olden days government or state education

as such, hardly existed in China. Education was largely a private undertaking, the Government merely providing a system of imperial examination which was the only road to official appointments. The scholar group has always been the ruling group in China. The aristocracy of China has never been one of rank or wealth, but of learning. The modern system of government education is of comparatively recent growth, going back not more than twenty years. It owes its origin directly to the contact between the Chinese people and the West. At the time when the modern system began we were eager to acquire that training which would enable us to meet with the West on terms of equality: we especially wanted education leading to material equipment for war. The first five modern schools established by the Government indicate this trend of thought very clearly. They were the Imperial Technical College, the Army Training College, the Naval Training College, the Army Medical College and the Pei Yang Engineering College. This list shows with sufficient clearness why the China of those days wanted modern education. Later it was realized that training along these lines was not sufficient, and training along broader lines has gradually developed.

The actual beginning of a modern system of education for China did not come until about 1904 when the old system of imperial examinations was practically abolished. Two decades of work have provided school facilities for about 5,183,400 boys and girls. That is a very small proportion (our hundred million), but we simply have not been able to overtake our educational needs in these twenty years.

Britain's Rivals in the Textile Industries

In his article, entitled "Pros and Cons in our Textile Industries," contributed to the *Financial Review of Reviews*, S. N. Anderson quotes the following passages from the speech delivered by the chairman of the National Provincial Bank at the recent meeting of shareholders of that Institution:—

The fierce competition emanating from the Continent, which this trade (cotton industry) experienced during 1923, has continued, owing to a large extent to depreciated currency, and the lower wages and longer hours worked in many of the continental factories.

"The competition arising from the manufacturers in some countries, which in pre-war days depended to a large extent on Europe for textile fabrics continues to increase. The number of spindles both in India and China is increasing, and the same process is taking place in South America. In Brazil, for instance, it is estimated that over 80 per cent. of the cotton goods consumed there are produced in the country, and the number of spindles compared with 1905 has been more than doubled. Notwithstanding this, however, our share of the cotton goods imported into Brazil has only what increased....."

"Our trade with India has also been considerably better, but here again the native production

compete in all the lower grades. We have in India, as in other parts, to face considerable competition from Japan, for whereas the share which this country had of the imports to India in 1922-23 was 91 per cent., and that of Japan was 7 per cent., in 1923-24 this country's share fell to 89 per cent., while the Japanese proportion rose to 8 per cent.

of the total. Italy also is becoming a serious competitor in this market.

"China has been passing through very disturbed times, and the trade that we are doing with that country in textiles is at present very small. Here, again, the Japanese competition is a disturbing factor."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kaniarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

FREEDOM AND UNITY: THE RUSSEL LECTURE, 1924. DELIVERED AT THE PATNA COLLEGE ON THE 5TH FEBRUARY, 1924: By R. Coupland, M. A., Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford.

This lecture appears to have been delivered in the interests of British Imperialism. Professor Coupland truly says that "for nations, as for men, isolation in this close interlocked modern world of ours is quite impossible". *Sinn Fein*, 'ourselves alone,' is according to him, a delusive battle-cry. He quotes a writer on Nationalism as follows:

"Nationalism has been exalted to the dignity of a universal religion, and in its defence the armies of Europe can boast, on a peace footing, of one and a half million more men than in 1913. The spirit of Nationalism is insatiable; no sooner has it made political boundaries coterminous with those of race than it is driven by a restless fever to absorb alien peoples."

Nationalism being thus put out of court, what is more simple than to fall back on Imperialism as the panacea for all the ills that political humanity suffers from? And of the nations living together in amity and unity, which can approach in perfection the British Commonwealth of self-governing nations, living "in intimate cooperation under one crown, commingled, yet distinct, united, yet free"? And then the politician-professor breaks forth in the following strain, so characteristic of his nation, and yet so full of danger to the peace of the world and the happiness and prosperity of this poor Indian dependency, of whose degraded position in the glorious commonwealth there is not a word of mention, although it alone gives the farflung empire on which the sun never sets all its value and importance:—

"It is a wonderful thing, this great society of yours, embracing a quarter of the world, including a quarter of mankind in all its infinite variety of race and creed and tongue: and we, its [white?] members, may surely be allowed to take a thought-

ful, solemn pride in it; regard it "as a great achievement of the human mind in political science."

Professor Coupland, it may be assumed, did not want to insult his audience, the major portion of which must have been Indians, but all the same for the latter we cannot conceive of a deeper insult than to have to listen to this outburst of racial vanity on the part of a member of the governing nations of the Empire, set to rule over the brown and black peoples who furnish the background of this fascinating picture. We do not know if the colonial gentleman who presides over the destinies of the neighbouring province whose inhabitants have no access to his own country, was among the audience, but if not, we feel that his presence was the only thing wanting to complete the picture and serve as a practical illustration of the theme of the lecture.

THE GROWTH OF INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION: By Professor B. G. Sapre. Poona, 1924.

This is a fairly exhaustive compendium of constitutional administration from the days of the East India Company down to the Government of India Act. It is a closely written book of nearly 500 pages with a small bibliography and an index. As a book of reference it will be found highly useful; and students of political science may profitably use it as a text-book.

POL.

RESTORATION COMEDY: By Bonamy Dobie (Oxford University Press)

One expects much from a book issued by the Oxford University Press. In the first place it is invariably published in an attractive form and the publishers are careful in their choice of subject and author. Mr. Bonamy Dobie's brilliant book fully attains the high standard demanded by the Press, and its get-up is very acceptable. Except for scholars and advanced students of the drama the works of the writers of the Restoration had been largely neglected, until a few years ago when a sudden

recrudescence of interest in them began to arise. Mr. Dobice's book has therefore been published at a very opportune moment at a time when the spirit of enquiry and research is very much abroad. The author gives a general view of comedy in the period from Etherege to Farquhar (1660-1720) and tries to shed new light on certain aspects of the movement. The introduction is most interesting and gives a clue to the criteria the writer adopts in this study. Though he is ready to admit that there are periods in the history of dramatic literature that can be labelled 'tragic' just as there are others that can be labelled no less preponderantly 'comic', he deplores the notion that comedy is the direct antithesis to tragedy; indeed what he describes as great comedy such as Volpone or Le Misanthrope or according to G. B. Shaw Coriolanus is perilously near tragedy. The author divides comedy into three classes-critical comedy, that is to say, comedy in which the manners and foolish practices of the age are held up to ridicule on the stage—Free Comedy, such as the plays of Etherege and Regnard—in which there is no appeal to the critical or moral faculties. There are no rules of conduct, hardly law of nature. It is careless and completely unmoral and lastly there is Great Comedy reference to which has already been made.

The author is much opposed to the view that Restoration comedy does not represent the life of the times. Indeed he is at pains to show that what was depicted on the stage was merely a representation of that which was going on in every-day life amongst the very highest in that land. The author perhaps goes too far in his broad view of the 'impurities' of such comedy. 'It is true that he does not agree with Lamb that 'it is altogether a speculative scene of things which has no reference whatever to the world that is'. He acknowledges that "impurity" was its most important subject." "Restoration comedy expressed not licentiousness but a deep curiosity." One cannot help feeling that it was patronised at the time as much because its 'impurities' and its sex problems tickled the palates of the audience as because it represented a criticism and enquiry with regard to the life of the times we can however feel the force of his argument when he counsels us without associating ourselves with the life of the time to "derive interest and pleasure from the observation and understanding of men whose outlook on life died with their erring bodies some two centuries ago."

In tracing the Descent of Restoration Comedy the author with a wealth of quotation disproves (it seems with great success) the theory that it owes its origin to French influences and shows it to have been a natural development of late Elizabethan work. The rest of the book save from short conclusion is devoted to a description and criticism by the work of the chief writers of the period.

Etherege he describes as a 'creature without much depth but of an extraordinary charm and a marvellous surety of touch'. His three most important plays are 'Love in a Tap'—'She Would if She Could' and 'The Man of Mode'.

There is a fascinating study of Wycherly which is perhaps the most masterly thing in the book. It should be read at length with care and it is impossible to sum up its content in a few words or show how the author comes to declare that

Wycherly would not be subdued to what he worked in and he achieved his result and means of not critical but philosophic laughter. But what a struggle it was to get these.

Mr. Dobice then treats of Dryden and Shadwell in one chapter for the purpose of contrast. Of Congreve he has much to say and from him much to quote. The reader will find from this chapter why Congreve was "too much a poet to accept the surface of life.....too little a poet to find beauty in the bare facts of existence." Chapters on Vanburgh and Farquhar and a short conclusion bring this very interesting and instructive book to a close. It is very valuable contribution to the subject with which it deals by a List of Plays, a brief bibliography and an adequate index.

R. C. B.

GLIMPSES OF DAYANANDA: By Chamupati M. A. of the Dayananda Seva Sadan. Published by Arya Pustakalaya, Anarkali, Lahore. Re. 1. Pp. 158.

The centenary of Swami Dayananda, which the Arya Samaj celebrated recently with due pomp, saw the publication of various treatises dealing with the life-history of that great master-mind. One of them is *Glimpses of Dayananda*, which opens with a neat little Foreword by Mr. Vaswani. The author divides the life of Swami Dayananda into several chapters and deals with the prominent events of his life with a fresh style. About Dayananda's vision of world unity, the author writes—Dayananda wanted to found world-peace on the basis of religious unity. To that end he made his proposal to the religious leaders of the country. They listened to him, but were not prepared for an answer. Those who want to know the life-history of Swami Dayananda would do well to read this interesting volume.

INDIAN EDUCATION IN 1922-23: Calcutta. Government of India Central Publication Branch. 1924. Price Eight Annas.

It gives a brief survey of education in India with statistics for the period April 1st, 1922 to March 31st, 1923. The author truly remarks that during the year 1922-23 there was a marked recovery from the effects of the non-co-operation movement on the attendance at schools and colleges in British India. It deals with the University Education, Secondary Education, Primary Education, Female Education, Professional and Technical Education, and Education of special classes including the Europeans, Musalmans and backward classes. Those who want to study the question of Indian education will find the statistics given in the book very helpful.

PHANINDRA NATH BOSE.

THE MIMANSA SUTRAS OF JAIMINI: Translated by Pandit Mohanlal Sandal, M.A., LL. B. (The Sacred Books of the Hindus, edited by Major B. D. Banerji, M. S., retired, Vol. XXVII. Part 6. July 1924; No. 181) Published by Suahindra Nath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bhawanewari Asram, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. 769-822. Price Re. 1-8 Annas. Subscription Rs. 13.

This part contains Jaimini sutras from X. 6. 4 to X. 8. 7.

It is well edited and translated.

THE EVIDENCE OF THEISM: THE FOUR-FOLD PROOF OF GOD'S EXISTENCE: By Pandit Sitonati, Tattva-bhusan (210-3-2 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta) Pp. 61. Price -4-

A clear and concise exposition of the four-fold proof of God's existence. By the fourfold proof we mean : (i) Cosmological Proof, (ii) Teleological Proof, (iii) Ontological Proof, and (iv) Moral Proof.

It is a useful publication and is recommended to all theological students and especially to B. A. candidates.

THE MESSAGE AND MINISTRATIONS OF DEWAN BHADUR SIR R. VENKATA RATNAM: *Edited with an introductory note by Ramkrishna Rao, Principal, Pillepur Raja's College, Cocanada. Vol. III. Pp. 459. Price Rs. 1-8 or 2s. 6d.*

The book is divided into four parts. The first part contains addresses and articles; the second part, services and sermons; the third part, prayers and meditations and the fourth part, appreciations and reminiscences.

The subjects dealt with are educational, political, social and religious. Dewan Bahadur is a practical reformer and his ideas are very high. The book is worth reading.

KRISHNA: A STUDY IN THE THEORY OF AVATARS: *By Bhagawan Das. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar Madras. Price Re. 1. (Board) and -12- (paper cover).*

It is an attempt at re-interpreting and modernising the orthodox theory of Avatars and also a short study of the life and precepts of Krishna.

THE HOLY LIFE OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR BHAGAWAN SHRI KRISHNA PART II: *By S. N. K. Bijurkar (Coondapoor, S. K.). Pp. 62. Price -12-*

Mythology treated as history.

MAHESH CHANDRA GHOSH.

THE BEDROCK OF EDUCATION: *By G. S. Arundale, with a foreword by James H. Cousins. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar Madras (1924)—Pp. vi + 109. Price Rs. 1-8 cloth, Re 1- board bound.*

In this book the reader will find four essays on education written from the Theosophical point of view and some jottings from an educational Note Book by Dr. Arundale. The author is a well-known educationist of the Theosophical Society. In attempting to answer the question, 'whence has the child come? the author writes of the child seeking admission in his school—"the first knowledge I possess as a Theosophist is that the child before me has been in the world before, probably not so very different from what he is at present. It is liberty, too, that his relations and friends are more or less the same relations and friends he has had before. At least there is a certain tie between him and them. It may also be true that his teachers and school companions are not in reality unknown to him, or he to them. All this that I note of him, I note of everybody else as well. We have all come out of the past, and if the Theosophic investigations are true, we have all come out of the past more or less together. We come to move in sets. This fact should help in removing any element of strangeness between the teacher and his new pupil. Only those who take this view of life will appreciate fully all that the author has written in his essays. Taking his stand on this belief the author says—"the child's task is to find himself well and truly set in the eternal, in the Real, as he lives in time and in the Unreal. While he plays, he must be at work, as the universe is at play while it is at work,

If we are to believe that everything in this world and the world itself are *unreal* then no education can teach the child anything real. All education in this world therefore becomes meaningless and unreal.

J.M.S.

SELECTED MODERN ENGLISH ESSAYS: *No. 280 of the World's Classics Series published by the Oxford University Press, price 2 sh. net.* This is the third anthology of essays in the *World's Classics* and covers writers of the twentieth century. Thirty-three writers of distinction have found place in the book which is quite up to the standard set up by the famous publishers.

A. C.

GHOSTS AND MARVELS—*The World's Classics Series, of the Oxford University Press.*

It is a selection of uncanny tales from Daniel Defoe to Algernon Blackwood made by V. H. Collins with an introduction by Montague R. James. The stories will appeal to the public, but the pedantic comments can be safely omitted without any loss or injury in certain places. But leaving aside this short-coming, the book is highly interesting and some of the incidents narrated in the book set up a strange feeling in the spinal region. Lovers of Ghost Stories will find a treasure in this volume. The get-up leaves nothing to be desired; the price is the same as that of other volumes of this series, 2s.

STORY OF SWAMI RAMA TIRATHA (THE POET-MONK OF THE PUNJAB), *Ganesh and Co. Madras. Rs. 3.*

The Swami Ram Tiratha "was essentially an apostle of the life of the Spirit." He lost his own self in the Lord. Puran Singh, the Swami's disciple gives an impression of the great Swami, with whom he came into contact for the first time in his life in Tokiyo. This life-sketch throws a considerable amount of light on the great personality of the Swamiji. There are several pages in this book on which are recounted the great and pregnant thoughts of the Swami. Several letters of the Swami are also reproduced in this volume.

The name of the Swami is a household word in Northern India, and is gradually becoming so in the South also. He was born of poor Brahmin parents but by sheer iron will and perseverance rose to the highest rung of the ladder in his University career. Indeed, he was a great mathematician, but he left science for the study of the Vedanta. His whole life was spent in preaching the Vedanta and he visited Japan and America to propagate the gospel of the Vedanta. Success, he gained to a considerable extent. He could have done much for the mission of his life, had he not departed from this world, unfortunately for India, at the early age of 33 only.

This book is the most authoritative biography of the great Swami, and is enriched by an original collection of the Swami's letters and poems. A number of illustrations add to the beauty of the biography. The get-up does credit to the Publishers and is in no way inferior to English publications. The price (Rs. 3) is certainly very modest.

OMOO: *By Herman Melville. The World's Classics Series, published by the Oxford University Press.*

The title of the book is taken from the dialect of the Marquess Islands—and the word Omoo means

a person wandering from one island to another. The author relates in a most fascinating way what he has seen. There are reflections here and there, which are quite spontaneous and exhibit deep thinking. The descriptions are picturesque and in many places seem to carry the reader to the spot. The get-up of the book is as good as can be desired, handy and neat, and the price 2 sh is quite within the reach of all readers.

THE MYSTERY OF EDWIN DROOD: By Charles Dickens. Published by the Oxford University Press. World's Classic Series. (2 sh).

The novels of one of the greatest writers of England need no introduction. The present edition of the famous novel is well got up and the modest price of the book should enable every lover of good novels to possess this neat volume.

THE HOUSE OF THE SEVEN GABLES: By Nathaniel Hawthorne. The World's Classics Series of the Oxford University Press. 2 sh.

MISS MACKENZIE: By Anthony Trollope. The World's Classics, published by the Oxford University Press. 2 sh.

The book was written with the intention of producing a novel without any love affairs in it and with that end in view an uncouth old maid was chosen as the heroine of this novel. But the pious desire of the author was not fulfilled and the old maid had to fall in love in the end—and that with an old man whom she could not help marrying. The author makes a strong attack on charity bazars, which has a certain amount of force and may appeal convincingly to some readers.

Book lovers should take advantage of the low price and high quality of the books of the World's Classics Series and should profit by including the series in their home libraries. We have much pleasure in recommending this series to everybody.

H. K. C.

SOCIAL LIFE IN ANCIENT EGYPT: By W. M. Flinders Petrie. F. R. S., F. B. A. Pp. X+210. Constable & Co. Ltd., and Oxford University Press, 1923.

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN ANCIENT EGYPT: By Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie. F. R. S., F. B. A. Pp. X+221. Constable & Co. Ltd., and Oxford University Press, 1924.

The above two books are companion volumes from the pen of the famous Egyptologist and explorer, Sir Flinders Petrie. Although the first named work has been before us some time, it has been considered preferable to review the two together, for the sake of completeness.

The two books are described by the author, in his preface, as popular summaries of parts of the materials gathered in the "Descriptive Sociology of Egypt" which will soon appear in accordance with the will of Herbert Spencer.

The volume on social life begins with a consideration of the economic forces that regulated the growth of names and their interrelation. Next comes a chapter, showing how with the growing complexity of exchange and the greater co-ordination of the smaller village or city-states, came the need of an administrative machinery of an elaborate type, with a monarch at the head, whose power was however limited by the necessarily large number of compromises that had to be made with the different monarchs. Next follows a chapter on rights and wrongs in which the ethical and

legal aspect of the Egyptian's life is considered. This is succeeded by the chapters on private life, supplies and commerce, constructions of defence. These practically comprise all the general details of the Egyptians' life, in private as well as in public in the different periods of the history of that land. A good portion of the work is drawn, naturally, from the author's original work, published, and in some cases apparently, unpublished.

In the volume on religious life the author has attempted to indicate the different strata of Egyptian culture, starting from the gods and their temples. The succeeding chapters on priesthood, the faith in the gods, belief in future life and lastly the two chapters on the modes of disposal of the dead and folk belief, all arise naturally out of the discussion in the first chapter and follow each other in a regular order, filling in the details of the culture picture of Egypt sketched out in the beginning.

Although professedly popular summaries the two volumes take for granted certain amount of general knowledge of Egypt in the reader. The treatment of the data is also not exactly "popular." This will, however, cause no difficulty to the lay reader who will find in the two volumes an excellent introduction to the study of Egyptian society. We can recommend the books alike to the general reader interested in Egypt as well as to the student intending to begin a serious study of the subject later on.

K. P. C.

GUJARATI

YAJNA-RAHASYA: By Mahashankar Indrajit Datta. Pp. 215. Price Re 1-0-0.

HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY: By Narmadashankar Devshankar Mehta. B. A. Pp. 259. Price Re 1-0-0. Sachitra Sharir Vidya: By the late Gangyashankar Manishankar Vaishnav. B. A., B. Sc. Pp. 192. Price Re. 1.

All printed at Ahmedabad, and published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, cloth bound (1924).

The Yajna Rahasya is a translation of Ramendra Sundar Trivedi's Bengali treatise on the subject and is a very informing book. For writing a history of Indian philosophy the Society could not have selected a more qualified person than Mr. Mehta, who is familiar with the subject in all its aspects, the only drawback being the highly technical style. The Sharir Vidya being illustrated with diagrams is likely to prove useful.

THE EXPIRING LIGHT: By Kavakbhail Kothari. Pp. 128. Price Re. 0-6-0.

THE TEARS OF RAJPUTANA: By the same. Pp. 12. Price 0-6-0. Two Plays: By the late "Kant." Pp. 9. Price Re. 1. All printed at Rampur, Kathiawar, paper cover, published by the Saurashtra Sahitya Mandir. (1924).

The tragic life and fate of Bahadur Shah the last of the Moguls, have been vividly pictured by Khaja Hasan Nizami in Urdu. The translation of that book into Hindi is the basis of the first book and the melancholy interest of the story as narrated there never flags. Pathikji's trials and tribulations in Rajputana have been perpetuated in the second book, which the two plays written by the late "Kant" (Munishankar R. Bhatta), Rama Swarajya and Guru Govind Singh, which have

appeared in instalments in periodicals have now been preserved in book form—a great advantage.

SHRI VALLABH CHARITRA : *By the late Lallubhai P. Parekh, printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad, cloth bound, p. 402. Price Rs. 2 (1924).*

This life of Shri Vallabhacharya, a greatly respected religious Guru of a very large number of Gujarati Hindus is the only one of its kind written in Gujarati. The very fact that it has passed through three editions in the course of a few years shows its popularity. Besides a detailed biography of the Acharya, it gives a very well-thought-out sketch of the philosophy of his creed and that makes it the more valuable for the use of enlightenment of the followers. The author's worthy son has brought out the present edition with many additions and emendations.

KAHANAD-DE-PRAVANDH OF PADMANABH : *By Dnyabhai P. Derasari Bar-at-law, printed at the Prajalandam Printing Works, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 114. Price Re. 1-8 (1924).*

When the text of Padmanabh's poem, was published in 1913, we congratulated Mr. Derasani on the extremely useful work he had done by publishing it. He has now added to it by supplying

the defect in that work by translating the original text into Gujarati. The verses in Gujarati are as spirited and stirring as those in the original, and the form in which they are cast transports the reader to the stormy days, about which the poem has been written, so vivid is their glamour and so appropriate has been the selection of words. The map at the end adds to the worth of the book.

THE LATE MR. CHUNILAL SHA : *By Brijratnal J. Akkad, B.A., S.T.C. Printed at the Sunder Printing Press, Surat. Pp. 80. Cloth bound. Price 0-12-0 (1924).*

The late Mr. Chunilal Ghelabhai Shah, the founder of the Sarvajanic educational institutions in Surat furnishes an example of self-sacrifice which calls for nothing but admiration and praise. In this short biography those who knew him will find all the noble traits of his character recorded.

VASANT-VILASINI AND BHARAT-KIRTANA : *By Vallabhji Bhanji Mehta (1922-23).*

We generally notice fresh publications. Therefore, we regret we cannot note this one.

We have also received a periodical, called Vyasodaya from Surat; We do not notice periodicals.

K. M. J.

NOTES

The Hindu Mahasabha

The casual impressions of a mofussil visitor to the eighth session of the Hindu Mahasabha, held in Calcutta on the 11th and 12th April last, may be of interest to some readers of the MODERN REVIEW. The splendid reception organised for the president-elect, Lala Lajpat Rai, on the 10th April, at the Howrah railway station and along the route of his journey to the heart of the city, was a most impressive sight. The arrangements in the pandal itself were certainly not perfect; but this may be due to the inexperience of the Marwari youths who served as volunteers, and other causes beyond the control of the organisers. The huge pandal was packed to its fullest capacity, and delegates and visitors were classified according to the province to which they belonged, much as is done in the case of the Congress. Most of the Marwari visitors were given seats in the Bengal bloc, an indication of the fact that these wealthy and powerful settlers in Bengal were learning to identify themselves with the indigenous people of the province. The tickets, the

names of the different blocs, the programmes, songs, speeches and pamphlets for free distribution on burning questions of the day, such as untouchability, &c., were all printed in Devanagari, and the speakers, with the single exception of Sir P. C. Ray, who read his speech in English, which was however circulated in a Hindi translation, all spoke in Hindi. The President spoke for over an hour without referring to any notes, and his speech was punctuated with frequent and loud applause, showing that it was keenly appreciated. It was indeed an able performance, closely reasoned, moderate yet vigorous, replete with wisdom and far-sighted statesmanship, and full of patriotic ardour and a passionate love of India and of the ancient people inhabiting the land and known as Hindus. It was worthy of the trained veteran, who looked his best in his khaddar achkan and pyjama, and whose claim to lead the Hindus, as Sir P. C. Ray, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, said, was second only to that of Mahatma Gandhi. Indeed, it would not be wrong to say that there are many who would not

even hesitate to give him the first place, having regard to the fact that he is free from the *idée fixe* of the Mahatma. And as to the only other person who could dispute with the Lalaji the leadership of the Hindus, Pandit Malaviya, he is too orthodox in his views to command the allegiance of the advanced section of the Hindu community.

If the selection of Lala Lajpat Rai as president was the happiest that could be made, that of Sir P. C. Ray as Chairman of the Reception Committee was no less happy; for it proved that Hinduism had not lost its adaptability, which had enabled it in the past to tide over many a vicissitude of fortune. Sir P. C. Ray said in his speech that his right to be called a Hindu was challenged in some quarters. That is perhaps unfortunately true; and, but for his participation in popular political propagandism, all his earnest labours in the cause of India in general and the chemical science of the Hindus in particular would not probably have earned him his present position in Hindu society, for nothing but politics counts with the public in these days, however great one's contribution may be in other and higher fields of work. But to leave out men of the stamp of Sir P. C. Roy, who are not only animated by a sincere desire to serve the Hindus, but have the brains and the capacity to do so better than most of those whose title to be called Hindus is undisputed, would be the height of folly, and it is a healthy sign of the times that this is being recognised, as the prominent place accorded to him in such a representative Hindu gathering as the Mahasabha goes to show. The time has gone by when mere tinkering with social reform, slightly to unloose the chains here and express a patronising sympathy there, and with practically nothing done in the result, could command admiration. A diplomatic move of this kind might still win temporary applause at sociopolitical gatherings, but it would not hold the heart in fee or confer on the astute follower of the doctrine of expediency the undisputed leadership of the great Hindu race. We have learnt from experience that, as John Morley has said in his *Compromise*, a small and temporary improvement may really be the worst enemy of a great and permanent improvement, unless the first is on the lines and in the direction of the second and unless it be made with reference to

some large progressive principle and with a view to further extension of its scope.

And it is the glory of the Hindu resurgence that it differs from other communal movements primarily in this, that while others preach orthodoxy, sectarianism, and the unreasoning authority of the scripture, the former is mainly a spiritual movement of emancipation from the trammels of custom, prejudice and ritualistic obsession, and is inspired by a large humanitarianism. The Hindu race is responsive to world-forces; for it is intellectually mobile, it breathes a native air of philosophic freedom, and it is too cultured to move away from the direction of universalism. Any movement which finds favour with the advanced section of the Hindu community, which is the section which is bound to come more and more into prominence, cannot but be a movement of liberation, in this differing essentially from other communalist movements.

This universalistic and liberalising trend of the movement must not however be mistaken for weakness. It is precisely with a view to raising the Hindus from the sad pass at which they have arrived by too close observance of ancient texts and local customs that Lala Lajpat Rai exhorted the Hindus to move with the times, learn to be efficient, and make themselves racially fit for the struggle for existence. Imitate the good, assimilate what you imitate, protect your racial individuality by such assimilation, give up your absurd pride of birth, learn to love your brother man and serve him, be strong and survive, or else die—that seemed to be the sum and substance of his message. It is up to the Hindu race to take his advice to heart, and remember that in union is strength and that the fissiparous tendencies of Hinduism, fed by foolish conceits and prejudices, and vain dreams of isolation and exclusiveness, tend to keep the Hindus, heirs to a mighty culture though they are, eternally disunited and weak; and bereft of an ally in religion among the nations of the earth, this disunion, if continued long in the face of virile creed, among whom the bond of union is strong, is bound to lead to its total disruption, as it has already undermined its numerical strength.

It is true that the present session of the Hindu Mahasabha was not an united organisation of all Hindus; the Marwari element was overwhelmingly predominant, the autochthonous Bengalis were few; nor was there representative of the entire Marwari community

for the strictly orthodox section kept aloof, and the Brahmins of Bengal, unable to bear the dry light of reason that illumined the speeches of men like the Lalaji and Sir P. C. Ray, deserted the sacred banks of the Ganges for the more secluded precincts of Burdwan to develop their 'frog-in-the well' antediluvian theories of exclusiveness. To a Brahmin like the writer, this degeneration of the ancient intellectual leaders of Hindu society, who gave it all its laws and changed or modified them according to necessity, is excruciatingly humiliating. But the enthusiasm displayed by the Marwari community, and the large numbers in which they flocked to the gathering, indicated at any rate that among this rich and powerful section of the Hindus a new spirit had begun to move on the surface of the waters and orthodoxy was on the wane, and that they denied the right of a certain section of the Hindu community to appropriate that name exclusively to themselves, as if they alone had a passport from the ancient Kishis of this sacred land, some of whom were themselves of rather promiscuous origin, to use that honoured name.

The resolutions of the Mahasabha were all couched in a liberal spirit and were in the direction of emancipating the spirit from the incrustations of tradition and soulless custom and blind adherence to scriptural texts, with one exception which, as the Lalaji hinted in his speech, represented, not his own opinion, but a compromise between the advanced and conservative sections of the Hindus. But it seems to us that it is altogether a mistake to suppose that such compromises please any section of the community, or can have any effect on their opinions. It were far better for an august assembly like the Mahasabha to take its stand boldly on Truth, and point the true ideal in unmistakable language, for that is the purpose which these resolutions are really intended to serve. The *imprimatur* of the Mahasabha would not have made truth more true, but by setting its seal of approval it would have made it easier for the mass of the Hindu community to pursue the progressive ideal in the face of the opposition of reactionary obstructionists. The exception referred to is the prohibition of the teaching of the Vedas to the depressed classes and of interdining with them. Now in these days of the printing press and mass education it is too much to expect that the Vedas will remain a sealed book to the "lower" orders of society. If the Vedas contain the highest

wisdom of the Hindu race, it is manifestly unfair to withhold it from those who need it most. If they are revealed scriptures, the revelation must have been meant for the classes as well as the masses. The Koran is for the high and the low alike; its study gives a wonderful solidarity to Mahomedans in every rank of life. The Bible is the great book from which Christians of all classes derive consolation in hours of tribulation. Jesus said, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest." What a wonderful solace passages like these give to the poor and lowly, and what a tremendous influence they have over the minds and hearts of Christians! And yet the stricken soul of the Hindu must forego the comforts of religion as they occur in their most elevated form in the Upanishads, unless he can claim affiliation to one of the higher castes. The great European Renaissance owed its origin to the earnest efforts of men like Erasmus to replace the Vulgate of the Roman Catholic Church by the native translation of the Bible with the object of making the scriptures available to the masses. Instead of shutting out the depressed classes from our sacred books, we should, like the Brahmos, translate them into our mother tongue and use these translations for sacramental and devotional purposes. Hinduism would stultify itself by denying the scriptures to some classes, and lose its hold on numerically the largest section of its followers by thus unnecessarily humiliating their sense of self-respect. Those who in the name of religion preach such pernicious doctrines, cannot with any show of reason claim a democratic equality in their form of government.

To prohibit interdining is an equally unpractical and mischievous measure. One may and does dine with a Christian or a Mussalman now-a-days without necessarily losing his caste. Should his own coreligionists alone be excluded from such social intercourse unless they happen to belong to the higher castes? The argument is often advanced that people may fraternise without dining at the same table. Granted that the possibility of such fraternisation is not absolutely excluded by the hypothesis of isolation at meals, who can deny that such fraternisation becomes infinitely more easy and practicable in the absence of restrictions on interdining? Indeed, exclusiveness of any kind breeds mutual distrust, and hurts the self-respect of the excluded sections of the community. Free intercourse is the only

way to elevate their status, and give them that equality of opportunity without which there can be no real uplift of the masses. Restrictions as to food also create unnecessary difficulties in practical life, and make for national inefficiency. Compliance with absurd customs in such matters undermines our reasoning faculty. Such restrictions prevent the fusion of the Hindus into one united and homogeneous community, and cause avoidable irritation by antagonising the excluded castes and creeds without producing any earthly benefit whatsoever except feeding our empty religious vanity. We therefore deeply deplore the adoption of this resolution by the Hindu Mahasabha, as it is unworthy of the great people whom the Mahasabha represents, and does violence to one of the elementary canons of human brotherhood. If the spirit underlying this resolution prevails among the upper classes of Hindu society, and so long as it prevails, it is idle to hope that the Hindus will form a united community; for with increasing self-consciousness the excluded classes will oppose this attitude with growing resentment and very properly proclaim their birthright to be treated as human beings and not as cats and dogs, which, as domestic pets, are however, often allowed a seat at table with increasing persistence.

The writer was unable to attend the second day's sitting of the Mahasabha, and is not therefore, in a position to comment on the resolutions passed on that day. It is to be hoped that on such important topics as intermarriage, widow-marriage and the like, the Mahasabha was able to give the country the lead it so urgently requires.

A HINDU.

Opium Control and Geneva

The following resolutions have been passed by the 'Representative Board of Persons and Agencies interested in the control of Narcotic Drugs,' London, England:—

1. While we note that the British Delegates at Geneva definitely recognised British responsibility under the Hague International Opium Convention for systematic reduction of the output of Opium in British India, it is deeply to be regretted that British action in this matter was made conditional upon the action of other Powers, specially of China.

It should be a recognised principle, in approaching the subject, that Great Britain, in pursuance of its duty, cannot afford to allow itself to be governed by the course pursued by other Govern-

ments; and it is essential to British credit, currency and interests that this reduction of India's output should be made to commence at a certain and early date.

2. That while welcoming improved methods for restricting the traffic in Dangerous Drugs for Medical and Scientific purposes, as provided by The Hague Opium Convention of 1912; the Committee regrets that no definite period is prescribed for the "effective suppression" of the trade in Smoking-Opium, as contemplated by Chapter II of the Convention and deplors the circumstances which led to the withdrawal from the Geneva Conference of the American and Chinese Delegations.

3. We beg respectfully to point out that the British Government and the House of Commons repeatedly declared that the opium traffic with China was "morally indefensible"; and we affirm our belief that all trade in opium, except for medical and scientific purposes, is equally indefensible; and therefore urge, as the only way of coping with this evil, that the cultivation be suppressed.

In a personal letter sent to me from Geneva by one, who was present at the Conference on the day for receiving petitions from societies and corporate bodies interested in drug control, I learn that great resentment was felt by delegates at the action of Mr. John Campbell in asking that the statement of the Rev. E. J. Dukes, about his (Mr. Campbell's) only representing the Government of India and not the people of India, should be struck out of the minutes of the proceedings. The chairman's action allowing this to be done was criticised, and wonder was expressed at such a curtailment.

It is very greatly to be hoped that Mr. Campbell will not be sent again to Geneva on the Opium Question at the expense of the Indian people, whose views he does not represent.

C. F. A

The Roman Catholic Church and Opium

It is a matter of very great thankfulness and congratulation that the Roman Catholic Church has now thrown the whole weight of its influence throughout the world into the Anti-Opium Campaign. Monseigneur Beaupin came to Geneva specially for that purpose. He represents the Catholic Students' Union and is secretary of the 'Society for Promoting the Welfare of French Subjects who are Resident Abroad'. The English Representative of the 'Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade' who was present at Geneva writes in British Bulletin no. 21, that he had an interview with him during the Conference and found that he had already organised a

Anti-Opium Campaign within the Roman Catholic Church with much detail and that he was prepared to cooperate with all those who were working to the same end. The Roman Catholic Church has such a world-wide range of influence and is the paramount factor in the South American countries where the coca plant, from which cocaine is manufactured, is grown. As the abolition of cocaine and opium (beyond the legitimate medicinal use) hang together it is an immense benefit to have the mind of that international body now openly expressed on this subject.

C. F. A.

The Crusade Against War

The following letter written by Count Leo Tolstoy on December 10, 1910, not long before his death has now been issued for the first time by the 'War Resisters' International':—

"The state of darkness in which mankind is involved would indeed be dreadful were it not that amidst this gloom there are scores of people who comprehend life as it should be, and cannot but be comprehended. Such people do exist, and, notwithstanding threats and punishments of every kind from the authorities, they are anxious to become free and to fulfil not that which is commanded by the senseless authority, but the commands of the Spirit which speak loudly and distinctly to every man.

"Nearing death, as I now am, it is with great joy that I observe a daily increasing number of such men who value life not of the body but of the Spirit and who in response to the demands of the Government authorities that they shall join the ranks of those who kill, quietly refuse and joyfully accept all external bodily suffering that may in consequence be inflicted upon them.

"There are already many such people in Russia, as yet quite young and undergoing the most painful conditions of imprisonment; these men, as they declare in their letters and personally to those who see them, experience the most happy and peaceful state of mind. I have the joy of being intimate with many of them and receiving letters from them."

The War Resisters International has recently published in Holland its Manifesto which is given below. While in 1915 the promoters of this Manifesto were prosecuted, now the Government of Holland has allowed it freely to be published to-day and 100,000 to be circulated:—

"We men and women anti-militarists, see with joy that amongst the so-called conscripts the tendency to form 'peace-groups' is growing and that the number of those who refuse to become soldiers increases slowly but constantly.

"We feel ourselves called to openly side with the conscientious objectors.

"We declare that we are firmly resolved to refuse military 'service' of every description, not only in barrack rooms, trenches, men-of-war, aeroplanes, but also in munition factories, other factories, transports—in short to do no work which is connected with war or the preparation for it.

"We also intend to prevent by this manifesto a possible mobilisation of war forces.

"We invite all who wish to work for peace to immediately co-operate with us, and when war should threaten, to stop it by their action."

C. F. A.

Scandinavia and Military Conscription

It seems almost certain that the two Scandinavian countries of Denmark and Norway will set an example to Europe in the matter of Disarmament and War Resistance. Sweden will probably follow later in the same direction.

In Sweden a law exists providing for alternative civil service instead of conscription. Throughout the country the general attitude is such that if a referendum were taken there would be decidedly a majority in favour of abolition of conscription, which is decidedly unpopular. 'The Free Thinking People's Party' in Parliament are almost entirely against conscription. Yet the fear of Soviet Russia makes the Disarmament Movement and the anti-conscription movement not so entirely popular in Sweden as in Denmark and Norway.

The following account of the opinion in Norway is given by a Norwegian correspondent:—

There is perhaps no country in the world where the workers are so decidedly anti-militarist and anti-conscriptionist as Norway. The legal situation is much like it is in Sweden, yet there is a large and ever-increasing number of war-resisters, not only of those who object against war service from a religious standpoint, but also of political and moral war-resisters. The political war-resisters do not altogether share our absolutist views as regards the use of violence in civil war. Yet their endeavours to organise an effective general strike against military conscription is of great interest for us and deserves special mention. Their propaganda against conscription during the past years has been so effective that public opinion has been entirely changed in favour of the anti-militarists, so much so that a few months ago the law courts did not dare to sentence four war-resisters for refusing military service, but released them altogether. The anti-militarist movement is so strong among the Norwegian youth that next year Norwegian prisons would be too small to hold all the war-resisters, should they be called up and sentenced to prison. It is, however, expected that the military will try to conceal the exact numbers of C. O.'s by not calling them up.

The anti-militarist committees are keeping registers of all the young men liable to recruitment next year in order to extend their propaganda to every one concerned in the matter.

C. F. A.

Denmark and Conscription

Hans Ulrich Wolffel writes thus about Denmark:—

Denmark is the first country ready for total disarmament. It also was the first country to introduce a special law providing civil service for C. O.'s as an alternative to military service. This law was passed as early as 1917 and was applied in 1918. However, a closer examination shows that this achievement was by no means a perfect one. Many disadvantages became evident very soon. It had been settled that he who from conscientious reasons wanted to refuse armed service should be released if he was willing to do civil service instead. But in order to prevent a too frequent application of this law, it was settled that civil service should last twenty months, whereas armed service of all kinds only last six to eight months. This method, which of course is a sort of punishment, naturally exercised a great practical influence. As, moreover, to every recruited soldier is being offered unarmed military service (as officers' servants, clerks, artisans, etc.) instead of being trained as a soldier, the majority of C. O.'s prefer this way out. It further eases their conscience, that it is most unlikely for Denmark to go to war. Further, the law providing civil service is not generally known to the people, as it is not controlled by the military authorities.

Thus it is explained that since the alternative service law has been in force, only a very few young men, altogether about Forty persons, have been doing alternative service. It must, however, be considered that some young men who wanted to do civil service were never called up.

It is generally known that the present Social Democratic Government of Denmark, proposes total disarmament, i. e., transformation of the army and navy into a police force, considerable reduction of the present forces, and abolition of conscription. The bill, which was brought in by the War Minister, Rasmussen himself, is also supported by the left wing of the democrats and is almost certain to pass in the current year.

It is a strange phenomenon today in India that just at the very time that the best minds in the most pacific part of Europe are turning against conscription, every effort is being made to introduce compulsory military conscription into our Indian Universities!

C. F. A.

Aviation in India

The following report on commercial aviation prepared by the official of the United

States is of great interest to those people of India who are anxious to see that their country does not lag behind the civilised nation in any field of human achievement:—

COMMERCIAL AIRLINES CARRIED 62,000
PASSENGERS DURING 1924.

*Survey by Army Service Investigator in Europe
and America of Airways Shows Experimental Stage Passed and Traffic
Expanding Rapidly*

WASHINGTON, Dec. 29—Data regarded as demonstrating that commercial aviation definitely has passed the experimental stage are contained in a report just submitted to the War Department by Lieut. John P. van Zant of the army air service, after a study of its development in Europe involving 6000 miles of travel over commercial airways.

The army officer reaches the conclusion in his report to Dwight F. Davis, Assistant Secretary of War, and Maj. Gen. Mason M. Patrick, chief of the army air service, that "under suitable conditions mail and goods may now be transported by air with equal or greater safety and reliability than by train and with greater saving in time."

TOTAL MILEAGE 20,110,700

Picturing the development of commercial aviation in the period since war, the report gives the aggregate of air transport miles flown in all countries, including the United States, as 20,110,700, up to this year, and estimates that 1924 will add 8,500,000 miles to the total.

The figures represent only regular air transportation services over established routes, carrying passengers, mail, or commodities. During the same period the development of passenger air traffic has increased from 2585 passengers in 1919 to 62,000 passengers in 1924.

AMERICA FIRST IN MAIL TRAFFIC

In the development of air-mail traffic, the United States leads the world, according to the report. In 1922 an aggregate of 1,930,177 pounds of air mail was transported, of which 15,12,197 pounds was United States mail carried over the transcontinental route between New York and San Francisco. Last year 2,466,279 pounds of air mail was carried of which 752,009 was European traffic. Air-freight transportation increased from 269,600 pounds in 1919 to more than 5,000,000 pounds in 1924.

The army investigator said, the men abroad in air transport was shown in the regular consignment of air freight commodities now ranging from automobile parts to perfumery and silks. The fact that insurance rates are actually less by air than by boat and rail for valuable goods sent between England and the Continent is said to have played an important part in convincing business men of the stability of the new form of transport.

The people of India know and many of them have seen that American, British, French, South American and Dutch fliers recently crossed the sub-continent of India during course of their world flights. Recently the

British Air Ministry has decided to connect India with other parts of the British Empire by the most effective and powerful air service in the world, for political and strategic reasons. Does it ever occur to Indian leaders engaged in party-quarrels that there is not one Indian pilot in the British air force? Does it ever occur to Indian leaders, who are loud in denouncing mechanical civilization of the West that with the advent of "Air Service" and Indian backwardness in this science, her people are lagging behind all nations even Afghanistan, Siam, China, Persia and others in the matter of national defense.

Most Indian politicians generally assert that India will allow Britain to control her foreign affairs and national defense, they only want fiscal autonomy and some kind of limited Swaraj, others talk about Dominion Status within the Empire and still others talk about Indian Independence; but mighty few are taking active interest in rousing the Indian people to take steps for training men in the most advanced methods of national defense. National Aviation Corps and officers Training Corps should be organized in connection with every college and technical institution. If the people of India want Swaraj they should be prepared to take full responsibility for national defense and foreign affairs.

Steps for education of Indians who would be able to serve as officers of the Indian national General Staff, Indian National Army, Indian National Navy, Indian National Aviation Corps and Indian National Diplomatic Corps should be taken by the Indian people and the Indian Government. The Indian Government may not take the lead in imparting such education as mentioned above, but there is no earthly reason why there should not be private enterprise by Indians, even by Indian National Congress to further the end.

January 11, 1925.

TARAKNATH DAS.

The Cotton Excise Duty

The removal of excise duty from Indian cotton goods has been demanded for years. The British Government is not interested in aiding Indian industries which may rival British ones, and so there has been no response from the Government regarding the removal of the excise duty, which checks normal growth of the Indian cotton industry.

The Tory Government in England is seeking to introduce protective measures in England and Imperial Preference within the Empire. It is needless to say that India neither requires nor likes Imperial Preference but she needs "protection." It will be of great interest to all in India to note that in spite of great strides made in America in mechanical development, in spite of the fact that America has the richest home market where the purchasing power of an individual is at least 20 times greater than that of the average person in India, the American cotton industry is demanding higher tariff than what is in force now, as the following extract from an American paper will show:—

HIGHER COTTON TARIFF SOUGHT

President of National Association Says 1922 Schedule is Inadequate

New Bedford, Mass., Dec. 29.—With the statement that the cotton mills of this city are dependent on the tariff to maintain their prosperity, as affecting both the investors and employees, Morgan Butler, treasurer of the Butler Mills and president of the National Cotton Manufacturers Association, said the tariff bill of 1922 had proved inadequate for their protection.

It was added that only reduction in the cost of production or an increase in the tariff on fine cotton goods would adequately protect American standards, and that the community must support "every endeavour to make the tariff adequate to protect our textile business."

The statement by Mr. Butler, who is the son of William M. Butler, United States Senator, was made in a summary of the past year of the textile industry here, and an estimate of the prospects for 1925, written for local publication.

SUBJECT TO DEPRESSIONS

"Since the World War the textile industry of the world has been subject to several depressions," Mr. Butler said, "It is just beginning to emerge from the most severe and longest depression in modern times. New Bedford has been less affected than any other textile center in the country because New Bedford's product is different from that of the great majority of mills.

"Its product, however, is subject to the competition of some eastern mills located in states where hours of operation, charges for taxes and other items in the cost of production are more favourable to successful and continuous operation; and for the most part the product of New Bedford mills is in competition with the product of European fine goods mills.

"The cost of production of the European mills is considerably below that of American fine goods mills chiefly on account of the superior standard of living obtaining here which necessitates a higher wage scale. New Bedford is dependent on the tariff, to maintain her prosperity as affecting investors in her industry, and even more dependent on it as affecting the prosperity and wellbeing of the larger number of her people who are employed in the mills.

INADEQUATE FOR PROTECTION

"The tariff bill 1922 has proved to be inadequate for our protection. Since Europe began to recover from the immediate effects of the World War there has been truly appalling increase in the volume of fine goods coming into the country. According to Government statistics, this volume in 1923 was almost equal to the production of all New Bedford's cloth mills at full capacity. It is but little less in 1924. It is approximately equal to 25 per cent., of the total normal full time production of all the mills in the United States equipped to make 'New Bedford goods.'"

"This situation for New Bedford is a serious one and must be met by common business sense and the application of every energy we can exert. It is obvious that New Bedford costs of production can be reduced or that the tariff on fine cotton goods be increased to adequately protect the American standards we have established. The community must grasp the importance of the tariff and support whole-heartedly as a common cause every endeavour to make the tariff adequate to protect our textile business."

If the American cotton industry needs protection the case for "protection" of the Indian industry is clear to all who have India's interest at heart.

We ask not only for "protection" of the industry but we suggest that there should be living wages for Indian workers in cotton mills and other industries. The wealth of the nation is in the health and prosperity of the masses. We advocate protection to revive Indian industries and not for giving a secure chance to Indian industrial magnates to make abnormal profit at the cost of poor Indians. In this connection we wish to note that some of the Indian cotton mills have made enormous profits of more than 100 per cent., in recent years; but they have not done anything extra to improve the condition of the people of India in general. Let us hope that the cotton excise duty will be removed from India and the Indian merchant princes will show enlightened self-interest by furthering Indian interest.

TARAKNATH DAS.

January 11, 1925.

Britain, Afghanistan and Nepal

The British Government allows Afghanistan and Nepal to transport through India all the arms and ammunition she buys from Europe, but denies the Indian people the opportunity of having military training. The Government also refuses to repeal the Arms Act and spends more and more money for British soldiers in India, talking all the while of

possible trouble from the side of the frontiers.

The Singapore Base

The British Government is determined to have a naval base at Singapore, and Britain is willing to make arrangements with other nations for her strength, but she opposes the development of an Indian Merchant Marine or Navy.

A Political Exile's Return

Dr. Bhupendranath Dutta, who left India in 1909 after serving one year's imprisonment as editor of *Yugantar*, and who has obtained the M.A., degree in America and the Ph. D., degree of Berlin University in Anthropology, has arrived in Calcutta.

He has been engaged in public work abroad on behalf of India, in a literary capacity, and during the last few years has devoted himself to the study of Anthropology at Berlin University. Dr. Dutta is now a man of 44, having been born in Calcutta on September 15th, 1880. After returning to India it is his intention to devote himself to scientific teaching and to work in the cooperative movement which he has been studying in Germany during the past year.

We are credibly informed that the British consulate in Berlin in giving him a passport expressly stated that that passport was valid only for the journey from Berlin *via* France to Colombo, and that the British Government wished it to be distinctly understood by him that it was issued without prejudice to any steps to be decided upon by the Indian Government.

We think Dr. Dutta is entitled to be a free man in India. If he committed any offence seventeen years ago, he was punished for it at the time. And from his articles published in this REVIEW and other journals it is clear that he no longer belongs to the *Yugantar* school of politics.

Nevertheless, there is apprehension in some quarters that the Government may arrest him under Regulation III or some other "lawless law," and thus deprive him of an opportunity of defending himself. We hope any such fear will be falsified. But should any steps be taken against him, the least that his countrymen would expect would be an open trial; for he is voluntarily coming home, and, as it were, handing himself over to the British authorities.

We are certain that, if the Government be so foolish as to arrest him, there would be an agitation in the Press to show the injustice of the arrest and to provide him with all the necessary legal help.

In addition to what we have gathered about his present political views from his articles, we learn from a trustworthy source that he has long since abandoned all belief in terrorism and believes in open educational work. He is in no way connected with Moscow or Mr. M. N. Roy or any secret party or organisation.

We have thought it necessary to write what we have done, because Dr. Datta is showing great courage in coming back home in spite of the fate that may await him, and because his self-sacrifice is intended as a test case as to whether political exiles may return home or not. There are dozens of exiles in every country of Europe and in America whose future decision will depend upon Dr. Datta's fate; and it is therefore necessary for the Indian Press and public leaders to use the opportunity to establish once for all the right of the exiles to return home without being prosecuted, even if the Government should be unwilling to declare an amnesty. There are several instances of men who took active part against the British Government during the war having obtained passports either to go home or study abroad.

Re. Indian Mercantile Marine

The recent development of German mercantile marine is remarkable, if not phenomenal. Since the signing of the treaty of Versailles when Germany was stripped of her mercantile marine as well as her navy, through the persistent efforts of German merchants and the Government she has now a mercantile marine larger than that of Japan. History does not know any parallel to this achievement of German industry. In spite of this success the German ship-building interest is seeking "ship-subsidy". India's mercantile marine has been destroyed and at present some serious efforts are being made in India to revive Indian shipping. We believe in a "Greater India," which involves commercial expansion, colonization, entrance in world politics, as well as assertion in the intellectual world.

The following news from Germany, indicating agitation for securing ship-subsidy, will be of interest to all Indians who wish to

secure from the Government of India the necessary aid to develop Indian Mercantile Marine:—

GERMANS ASK SHIP-SUBSIDY

Mercantile Fleet Unable to Cope With Foreign Competition

Berlin, Dec. 15 (Special Correspondence)—The declaration made by Dr. von Schinckel, the chairman of the Hamburg-America Line, at the general meeting of that company recently held at Hamburg to the effect that Germany could no longer compete against her state-subsidized maritime opponents unless the Government granted relief by reducing the high taxes at present imposed on German shipping, may be regarded as the inauguration of a new phase in the development of Germany's mercantile marine.

The constant complaints that have been uttered in recent months in the German shipping press concerning the State subsidies in vogue among Germany's competitors long ago led the observer to surmise that the German shipping companies intended, sooner or later, to bring forward arguments demonstrating the need of their own shipping for some form or other of state aid.

Although Herr von Schinckel, in his search for some effective method of defending the German mercantile fleet against foreign subsidized competition, refrains from advocating in so many words a state subsidy for German shipping it is nevertheless evident as the *Fremdenblatt* points out, that the German shipping companies as a whole now deem that the time has arrived for them to receive some kind of subsidy either direct or indirect if they are to develop the industry.

A SUDDEN CHALLENGE

Herr von Schinckel, in his remarks at the general meeting of the Hapag, has suddenly and challengingly thrown this vital question into the arena of public debate, and in doing so has evidently acted as the spokesman not only of the Hapag but of all the other big German lines as well.

The Hamburg press urges that the German shipping companies can no longer depend on self-help, and says that although in the post-war period the German mercantile fleet has done its best to make its own way by scientific internal organization by strictest economy, by means of a system of fusions and agreements concluded not only with other German companies, but also with foreign shipping lines—e.g., the Hapag-Harriman agreement—the time has come when it can no longer rely altogether on these methods of independent effort in view of the heavy burden of taxation the companies now have to bear.

It is further more pleaded not without a touch of sophistry that the increase of German exports which it is the object of the Dawes Agreement to achieve, will make it doubly necessary for the trans-oceanic German shipping lines to enlarge and develop their parks on a large scale lest a considerable portion of the outward freights should for lack of German tonnage have no choice but to be carried in foreign bottoms. It is contended moreover that as the German shipbuilding yards are now fast coming to the end of the work they have on hand, it will be necessary for them to dismiss large numbers of their men unless they are provided with new orders for German tonnage.

REDUCTION OF TAXES ASKED

In connection with this latter argument, it is interesting to note that not long ago the owners of the big shipbuilding yards brought forward similar arguments when the board of arbitration declared in favor of a rise in the men's wages. The employers accepted the verdict, but pointed out that the yards, in completing the orders they have on the slips, are already doing so at a loss and that a further rise in wages necessarily means an increased loss. The firms urged that to compensate for the rise in wages the Government should without delay reduce the heavy taxes now levied on the yards.

In commenting upon Herr von Schinckel's suggestion, the Hamburg press expresses the opinion that it might be advantageous for the various nations interested in shipping to arrange an international compact with regard to the question of subsidies. The case of the sugar premiums and the Brussels Convention of 1902 is quoted as a somewhat analogous situation, the embarrassments of which were regulated by an international agreement.

If, however, no such international agreement should prove possible in the case of state subsidies, Germany, says the *Fremdenblatt*, would then have to have recourse to some system of national aid, "either in the form of greatly reduced taxation or by the grant of special Government loans to the shipbuilding industry or by means of a direct subsidy to the shipping lines."

It need hardly be pointed out that this question is not a purely German affair, but that it has intricate and important international aspects in connection with the reparations policy of the Entente.

T. D.

Jan. 11, 1925.

Ireland to Develop a Merchant Marine

Plans of the Irish Republic to develop its own merchant marine were announced by Howard S. Harrington, an attorney, of Dunlow Castle, Killarney, yesterday when he arrived from Southampton on the *Leviathan*. Mr. Harrington, formerly an admiralty lawyer in New York city, is practising now in Ireland.

With William Butler Yeats, the Irish poet, Mr. Harrington was delegated to represent Ireland at the dedication of a monument to Thomas D'Arcy McGee at Ottawa. The poet could not come, so Mr. Harrington will be the sole representative at the dedication.

"Ireland aspires to have a merchant marine of her own," said Mr. Harrington, "and a movement is on foot in the chief Irish ports to establish a line of merchant and freight ships flying the Irish flag, because of possession rather than by courtesy of other nations."

Let us hope that all political parties of India should support Mr. Neogy's Bill on National Merchant Marine. Prof. Radhakumud Mukherjee in his work on Indian Shipping has shown that India had a large merchant marine and it was systematically

destroyed. If India is to hold her own economically and commercially she must have her own merchant marine.

March 21, 1915.

T. D.

Romain Rolland on 'Open Sesame' to the Doors of Nature

The following letter from Romain Rolland is published by Chicago Tribune. The eminent author being asked what book he would rather have written than any other, replied:--

"I have a great fondness for great books but I have not the slightest desire to have written them. They are written. I have them. I have them much more than those which I have myself written, for each of my works, as soon as it is written, leaves me. I deliver myself in it of part of my being which from that moment detaches itself from me for ever. I am not envious of other artists. I know their enjoyment. Rather would I envy certain scientists and the joys of their discoveries. I should like to have tasted that of Sir Jagadish Chunder Bose, in the hour of the genious experiences which he has described in his famous book, *Response in the Living and Nonliving*, his 'open sesame' to the doors of nature."

A German Indianist: The 75th Anniversary of Hermann Jacobi

On February 11th, the pensioned professor of Indian Philology at the University of Bonn, Privy Councillor Hermann Georg Jacobi celebrated his 75th birthday. Having from Cologne, Jacobi studied in Bonn and Berlin, worked thereupon one year in London and then undertook a scientific journey to India. In 1875 he settled at Bonn, became in the following year assistant professor at Muenster and in 1885 professor in ordinary at Kiel, in 1889 at Bonn. During the winter from 1913 to '14 he lectured at Calcutta University and travelled once more through the country of his studies.

The venerable gentleman, who has just celebrated his jubilee, has developed an extraordinarily productive activity and promoted science on different lines, his numerous essays published nearly all in journals, devoted to his line, and as separate Academy Reports, deal principally with the history of Indian philosophy and literature. He deserves, first of all, great credit for having thrown light on the Religion of the Jains. He was the first who found that the Jainas are not, as everybody believed before, a Buddhist sect, but the followers of a doctrine of faith, quite

independently established prior to Buddhism, a long time ago, and representing a third religion of ancient India, which stands independent of Hinduism and Buddhism and is in the same rank with both. Through his translations of Jaina Texts and by his investigations, devoted to their system, Professor Jacobi has laid the ground for our present knowledge of this line, so little cultivated as yet. His endeavours met with the deserved consideration and appreciation even from the Jainas in India. To do him honour, there was held, on December 23rd. of 1913, a large Jaina Meeting at Benares, in which he was solemnly presented with the diploma of his appointment to a "Jaina Darshana-Divakara" (Sum of Jaina Philosophy).

Prof. Jacobi is a member of numerous Academies and of scientific societies at home and abroad. In order to celebrate his jubilee, his friends and pupils have prepared a festive publication, showing by the number of its articles the high appreciation, which all colleagues pay to the senior of the German Indianists. The unusual vigour of the gentleman who has now come to age, and has published even last year important articles, gives us the hope that he may be allowed to work a long time still to the benefit of German science.

G.

The British Cabinet and Mr. Das's "Gesture"

It has been made abundantly clear in the British Parliament that the British Government in London will not carry on any direct negotiations with Mr. C. R. Das in spite of the latter's "friendly" "gesture." Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the British Cabinet will not treat with Mr. Das *because* of his latest pronouncements.

In spite of Mr. Das's "Victories" in the Bengal Council, we have not been able to resist the impression that his latest manifestoes, etc., are a confession of failure and defeat;—he has not been able to force the hands of the Government, and that is why he has held out the olive branch.

The British Cabinet seem also to have tacitly put a similar construction on his latest pronouncements, though they are too diplomatic to say so in so many words. They have, therefore, said in effect that Mr. C. R. Das must give further proofs of a sincere desire to co-operate with, *i. e.*, subordinate himself to the policy of, the British Government and that his future "gestures"

must receive the approbation of the Bengal and Indian Governments before they are conveyed across the seas to the arbiters of India's destiny in London:

"He Won't Be Happy Without It"

Sir Robert Horne has said that the British rulers of India have no desire to leave India, unless they are beaten to their knees. Considering that there is no example in history of foreign rule being permanent in any country, it would have been both wise and graceful for Sir Robert's countrymen to prepare for a speedy and gradual withdrawal from India before being forced by circumstances to do so.

But tastes and aspirations differ.

If Sir Robert's countrymen will not be happy unless they are bundled out of India, a kind Providence which has met the wishes of "the lords of human kind" in so many things will no doubt grant this latest desire of theirs also in due time;—whether the instruments chosen for the fulfilment of this desire of the Britishers will be principally Indians, or some independent Eastern or Western powers, does not matter much.

"Tagore and the West."

Dean Inge has contributed to the *London Morning Post* an article under the above caption. It is a sort of commentary on Rabindranath Tagore's lectures on "Nationalism." Says the Dean:—

Tagore is unquestionably one of the greatest men of our time; as a poet and thinker his position is unique; and he has never delivered his soul with more force and passion than in these lectures.

Tagore here shows himself a proud and fervid patriot, who is wounded in his most sensitive feelings by what he calls the insults of Europeans to Asiatics. The soul of India, he says, has been humiliated by the English occupation. At the same time he must not be classed with the seditious plotters who are giving our Government so much trouble. He knows that India could not stand alone, and that our withdrawal would leave the country a prey not only to civil war, but to some other Western conqueror. He also likes and admires the English character. "I have a great love and respect for the British race. I know that these people love justice and freedom and hate lies. They are clean in their minds, frank in their manners, true in their friendships; in their behaviour they are honest and reliable."

Perhaps the poet himself will feel inclined to be "classed with the seditious plotters" rather than with the Dean and his ilk who

would patronisingly give him a certificate of political respectability. It is true that if England were to withdraw today from India suddenly, our country may fall a prey to civil war and to invasion by some Western or Eastern nation. But there are many independent countries which also would have a similar fate if their existing Governmental machinery and personnel were suddenly withdrawn from them. Hence what Dean Inge writes of India is not a weakness or point of inferiority peculiar to India. In fact what the Dean says is a terrible indictment of British rule. For today, indigenous India—India standing alone—is far less able to adjust her affairs or to meet foreign invaders than she was before England established her supremacy on the corpse of Indian virility. What England ought to have done after the establishment of British supremacy is to prepare India to stand alone. But this she has never yet done and is not doing even now.

What Tagore has written regarding the English character is his sincere belief. Our belief is, however, different. But as we have mixed with the British people to a far less extent than the poet, we cannot dogmatically say that he is wrong and we are right. At the same time we must say that what we have read in history of Englishmen's dealings with the princes and people of India has produced in our minds *exactly the opposite* impression of the English character to that conveyed by the poet's words. By this we do not mean to say that there are not any or many Englishmen answering to the poet's description:—there certainly are such Englishmen. Our impression is about the generality of those of them who have had anything to do with India either in India or in England or in other countries.

Dean Inge proceeds to observe:—

We may therefore consider this Asiatic philosophy in history without any animus against the writer. His thoughts are those of an Eastern prophet surveying the good and the evil of Western civilisation. Tagore is not a Christian; but his attitude reminds us that there was a time when Christianity was an Asiatic creed—it was the time of the original Gospel. Again and again he seems to be more Christian than the Christians.

Here the Dean betrays that conscious or unconscious spiritual arrogance of Christians which leads them to dub everything good as Christian. There was, has been, is and will be much, however, which is very good and very invaluable, but which is also quite independent of Christianity.

In the following passage the writer pays a somewhat left-handed compliment to Indians and other "sheep races of Asia":—

Men and nations may choose a course (but the nations, at least, have not much choice!) which for a time is successful, but which ends in a death-trap. History has provided several instances and we may trace the same law in the animal world. The sheep has the last word against the wolf. Predatory animals and races of men are at last destroyed because they are a nuisance, and it is nobody's interest to save them from their enemies. The sheep, on the other hand, though they cannot protect themselves, are useful and indispensable; they pay their way and something more. The sheep-races of Asia, in the same way, may outlive all their oppressors; they have a survival-value. This is not quite Tagore's argument; he appeals to the eternal laws of right and justice; but I think he has science on his side.

The passage quoted below is on the whole an accurate reading and interpretation of one aspect of Indian history.

Europe has had acute national rivalries but no race-problems like India. The fact that races ethnologically different are in close contact is the great problem of India. India has tried to solve it by the social regulation of differences on the one hand, and by the spiritual recognition of unity on the other. She has made grave blunders by setting up the boundary walls too rigidly between race: she has crippled the minds and narrowed the life of whole classes in trying to fit them into her social forms. But behind all this she has fostered a lofty spiritual idealism which sets at naught all human distinctions. The history of India has been only superficially a history of the rise and fall of kingdoms; the real history has been that of social life and of spiritual ideals.

The paragraph quoted above also shows wherein lies India's weakness, and of what achievement she can really feel proud.

The Dean continues:—

Upon this congeries of races which has never been a nation descended a real nation, organised through and through for self-defence, conquest, and exploitation. This was for India a very different conquest from the inroads of other Asiatics, with their elephants and kettledrums, mosques, palace, and tombs. This was the invasion of a scientific machine driven by the law of its being to increase its power and wealth with an impersonal ruthlessness a dehumanised efficiency. "We had to deal this time not with kings, not with human races, but with a Nation—we who are no nation ourselves."

The Nation, Tagore says, is the organised self-interest of a whole people where it is least human and least spiritual. "Our only intimate experience with the Nation is with the British Nation, and there are reasons to believe that it is one of the best." But, he adds, "we have felt its iron grip at the root of our life, and for the sake of humanity we must stand up and give warning to all that this nationalism is a cruel epidemic of evil that is sweeping over the human world of the present age, and eating into its moral vitality." "It is like a hydraulic press, whose pressure is impersonal and on that account completely effective."

So he charges us with choking and stifling the mental and moral life of India, although he admits that the spirit of the English people loves liberty. "We must acknowledge this paradox, that while the spirit of the West marches under the banner of freedom, the Nation of the West forges its iron chains of organisation, which are the most relentless and unbreakable that have ever been manufactured in the whole history of man." This is an Indian view of the British Raj, which we picture to ourselves as foolishly lax and lenient, a weak and easy-going government resting on the acquiescence of the governed!

Indian patriots who are striving to win self-government may feel aggrieved at Tagore's declaration that we are not a nation, because that is exactly one of the grounds on which British imperialists would deny us the birthright of self-rule. But if patriotic Indians take note of the poet's definition of a "Nation" and also remember his own untheatrical spirit of independence, undemonstrative fearlessness, and unquestionable love of perfect freedom, they will have nothing to complain of against his declaration.

So far as Nationhood goes, it may be true, as Tagore says, that the British Nation is one of the best. But when we consider the definition and character which the poet has given to the organised entity called the 'nation', we cannot consider it much of an eulogium. It is very much like saying that so and so is one of the best scoundrels in existence—though, of course, the poet himself does not say so or suggest any such explanation of his words.

What has been spoken of as a paradox is seen on a little reflection to be no paradox. Wolves, tigers and lions all march under the banner of freedom; but the freedom which they appreciate is freedom for themselves—the liberty to do what *they* like. Freedom for their prey they would not in the least appreciate.

The writer then dwells on the poet's characterisation of the last big war as a war of retribution.

And now, he thinks, our sins have found us out. "Europe's wealth is bursting into smoke, and her humanity is shattered into bits on her battle-fields." "You ask in amazement, what she has done to deserve this? The answer is that the West has been systematically petrifying her moral nature in order to lay a solid foundation for her gigantic abstractions of efficiency. The war of nations is a war of retribution. Europe must know in her own person the terrible absurdity of the thing called the Nation. The West stands face to face with her own creation, to which she had offered her soul." Disillusionment and repentance will come and then Asia will thank God that she was made to wait in silence through the night of despair, holding fast

through all to her trust in God and the truth of the human soul.

The poet's views on the "nationification" (if we may say so) and "modernisation" of Japan are thus summarised:—

Our prophet goes to Japan, and finds its people preparing to pass its children through the fire to the same Moloch. He warns them that true modernism is freedom of mind, not slavery of taste. Modernism is not in the dress of the Europeans, or in the hideous structures where their children are interned when they take their lessons, or in the square houses with flat straight wall-surfaces, pierced with parallel lines of windows, where they are caged; certainly not in their ladies' bonnets, carrying on them loads of incongruities. Alas! when Tagore was in London, he looked like a benignant mystic, with his head in the clouds; but the chiel was taking notes, and faith! he's printed them!

We do not know how many men there still are who think, as Dean Inge confesses to have thought once upon a time, that Rabindranath Tagore is a harmless dreamer, neither observant nor cute, nor possessing an eye to reality. If there still be any such, they have our sympathy, as has the Dean in his disillusionment regarding Tagore's mysticism.

To the Americans the poet says:—

Beauty and her twin-brother truth require leisure and self-control for their growth. But the greed of gain has no limit to its capaciousness. Its one object is to produce and consume. It has pity neither for beautiful nature nor for beautiful human beings. It is ruthlessly ready to crush beauty and life out of them, moulding them into money. It is trampling into distortion the humanity upon which it stands. Man is deriding his human sentiments because they stand in the way of his machines.

The writer concludes by observing:—

The glowing eloquence of the great prophet carries one away. But Tagore is partially Westernised after all. His national pride and outraged patriotism owe not a little to the European invader. We have nourished India on the literature of revolt till our light chains begin to gall those who have never known freedom. We have not interfered either with the caste system or with the spiritual idealism of India—the two things which, he says, contain the real history of the country. If the Indians care so little about political institutions that they allow a few thousand white men to govern 320 millions of their own race, have we robbed them of much after all, as the price of secure peace, law and order and sanitation? If they want nationhood—the accursed thing in Tagore's philosophy—they can have it.

Still, there is a terrible truth in his indictment. The nation is an inhuman machine, and we are in its grip. We look wistfully at a higher ideal, whether it comes to us from the Galilean lake or from the banks of the Ganges. But our environment has turned us Europeans into wolf-packs, surrounded by other packs as fierce as ourselves. "Who shall deliver us from the body of this death?"

Dean Inge appears to derive great consolation from the thought that "Tagore is partially westernised after all". Englishmen seem to think that in their mental constitution they are hundred per cent English. But the fact is they are a blend of Greek, Italian, French, German, and even Indian, too. There is nothing unusual, surprising or wrong in one people being influenced by other peoples. It is only fossils and stocks and stones which do not imbibe extraneous influence or adapt themselves to their environment.

The Dean seems to have the ignorant conceit that it is only Europeans who rebel or have rebelled under the impelling motive of the spirit of freedom. But the fact is that there have been wars of independence in all continents throughout the ages. In India itself there have been such wars. To give one example of the working of the spirit of freedom and revolt, when Sivaji unfurled the banner of Maratha independence, he did so not because he had read any English literature or because he was a disappointed "failed" or passed B. A., but because the spirit of freedom is inherent in man. It was his *guru* Ramadasa who declared in his *Dasa-bodha*, I. 10.25, that man is free and cannot be subjected by force (*Naradeha ha svadhin, sahasa na hva paradhin*). Even after the country had come under the British flag, there was the great rebellion of 1857, which was not the work of men who had any knowledge of any European literature of any description. Chains are chains and, as such, galling to all men in their unsophisticated condition, whether they be nourished or not nourished on any literature of revolt. Chains are chains, whether they be light or heavy, gilded or plain. Dean Inge has not to bear the yoke of the stranger, and may therefore be pardoned for considering the British yoke, borne by Indians light.

That even an educated Britisher like the Dean should say that Indians "have never known freedom" is not surprising. With a very small number of exceptions, Britishers are woefully ignorant of the past history and present condition of India. They ought really to be pitied for the darkness in which they dwell.

It may be true, speaking generally, that the caste system and the spiritual idealism of India contain the real history of India in one of its aspects; but that does not mean that Indians have never cared for politics in the past or do not care for politics today. Nor can we say whether Dean Inge has

correctly summarised Tagore's views in this matter. Our opinion is somewhat different. The rise and fall of sects, dynasties, tribes and peoples and the many revolts for freedom in the past show that Indians have been political, and not merely other-worldly and spiritual. The excessive emphasis laid on India's spirituality has produced the wrong belief that the Hindus have been a peculiar people. But the truth is that they have had quite as much to do with worldly affairs as any other people. It would, in fact, be difficult to find in the ancient and medieval history of any country any form or machinery of government which did not exist in some part or other of India during some period or other of her history.

It is a curious argument which the Dean uses when he asks:

"If the Indians care so little about political institutions that they *allow* a few thousand white men to govern 320 millions of their own race, have we robbed them of much after all, as the price of secure peace, law and order and sanitation?"

From the rebellion of 1857 and the speechifying, "resolving," and petitioning of the Moderates, to the non-co-operating of the Gandhites and to the terrorism of the bombthrowers and the rebellion of the Morlahs, there has been every variety of protest against British dominance in India. It cannot, therefore, be correctly said that the Indians passively *allow* Britishers to domineer over them in the sense of silently and passively acquiescing in their despotism. But perhaps to the Dean, as to most other Englishmen, nothing can be a convincing argument to prove our non-acceptance of British dominance except a successful knock-down blow. That, however, is a kind of argument which we do not stock in our journalistic shop. The Dean and his compatriots will have to enquire elsewhere for it. Sir Robert Horne also wanted to be beaten to his knees, before leaving India to her fate. If a demand of this description becomes general in Britain, those alone who deal in such goods can say whether there will ever be an adequate supply; *we* are unable to say, our line of business being different.

From the fact that Indians have not yet thrown off the British yoke, Dean Inge concludes that the British people have not "robbed" Indians of much after all. Following this line of argument, all usurpers, so long as they are not overthrown or expelled, may claim that they have not robbed their victims of much after all. The Dean and

other Britishers of his way of thinking ought to be able to perceive that it is a dangerous line of argument,—it is an incitement to rebellion, passive or active.

Dean Inge prates of secure peace, law and order, and sanitation. Peace implies that there is not as much loss of life and property as in times of war. But it is a fact that famines and epidemics have killed in India during British rule more men than all the wars in Europe during the same period. There has also been consequent loss of wealth. Moreover, *pax Britannica* is in India a peace of lifelessness and emasculation, which greatly discounts its value.

In spite of "secure peace," dacoities and outrages on women are of frequent occurrence in many parts of the country.

As to "law and order," there is much of it, except when the myrmidons of law and order themselves become lawless and disorderly, or secretly instigate others to commit breaches of law and order, or connive at their doing so. Let Kohatalone bear witness; other witnesses need not be called to give evidence. It cannot be admitted that the prevention of non-official breaches of law and order alone, when such are not desired or connived at by the powers that be, is equivalent to the maintenance of law and order. The existence of official hooliganism and of non-official hooliganism under the direct or indirect protection of officials, must be held to disprove the maintenance of law and order.

As to sanitation, the less said the better. The death-rate in India is more than double that of England. The average duration of life in India is only 23 years, about half of what it is in England. Coming to an oriental country we find that in Japan the average age of mortality of Japanese is 43·97 years for men and 44·85 for women. Having taken charge of the welfare of India, Britain was bound to remove whatever insanitary conditions existed in the country previous to the British occupation, and, in addition, to remove the insanitation arising out of the British administration *cum* exploitation of India. It cannot be claimed that, judged by this standard, British sanitary achievement has been in any way remarkable. On the contrary, Western industrialism has increased infant mortality in industrialised centres, railways have produced or increased malaria in various parts of the country, and in the pre-British period of Indian history, there is no evidence of plague having devast-

ated the country for thirty years at a stretch, or of influenza carrying off millions during a single year.

It would be charitable, therefore, to assume that Englishmen can think of present-day India without their self-complacence being disturbed, only because of their ignorance and thoughtlessness,—though there is the other hypothesis that Englishmen hold the record for pecksniffian hypocrisy.

Dean Inge declares that if Indians "want nationhood—the accursed thing in Tagore's philosophy—they can have it". But we do not know of even half a dozen Englishmen who would allow India to assert her independent nationhood unopposed.

We are very thankful to the Dean for his condescension in conceding to us the right to nationhood. But it seems that he would much rather that we did not strive to be a nation; for nationhood is an accursed thing! It is not our intention to discuss whether Dean Inge accepts the poet's definition of a nation and his conclusion that nationalism (in his acceptance of the word) is an evil. But assuming that the Dean is a sincere convert to the poet's views, why does he not try to persuade his countrymen to give up the fruits of organised greed and robbery?

If a dacoit professed belief in other-worldliness and the evils of riches and for that reason pursued his calling of depriving others of their property in order that their souls might not be damned by the possession of riches, his profession and practice would produce the same mingled feelings as a comfortable English imperialist's characterisation of nationalism as an accursed thing.

It is probable that Dean Inge is not such an imperialist. But his reference to the "plotters" who "trouble" "our Government" makes one suspicious. In any case, there is hope for him, judging from the last few lines of his article quoted above.

P. S. In what we have written above with reference to the study of the literature of revolt making the light chain of British rule galling to educated Indians, we did not mean to say that English education has not had anything to do with rousing in us the feeling of patriotism and the spirit of freedom;—it certainly has produced that effect to some extent. What we contend is that the spirit of freedom is innate in all men, and that, even if we had not read any European literature, the desire for liberty would have been awakened in us somehow or other by

our deplorable economic and political condition.

India and the League of Nations

In a series of articles published in the press some time ago, the writer exposed the real position of India in the League of Nations. These articles were based, not on hearsay, but on a careful study of the situation on the spot at Geneva. The numerous comments on the humiliating position of India in the League that have appeared in the press since then, bear ample testimony to the interest and attention that the discussion has aroused. Our main complaints, for the present, are that India's contributions to the League are quite out of proportion to her comparative ability to pay, and that of all the contributors to the League exchequer, she receives the least benefit from that organisation. In view of the importance of the question and of the recent interpellations in the Indian Legislative Assembly, it seems desirable once again to review the main facts.

Until 1924, India was the third contributor to the League's funds. Of all the Great Powers, only two—Great Britain and France—paid contributions larger than India. She paid four units more than Japan or Italy, and only thirteen units less than France, and 23 units less than Great Britain. Her contribution was 25 units in excess of that of Spain, and thirty units in excess of that of Brazil. These figures in themselves seem sufficient to demonstrate that India's contribution is unjustifiably high. A good indication of capacity to pay is the net revenue of the various member-states of the League. The pre-war net revenues per head of population of seven countries, who were now members of the League, were in the following proportion: France 23, United Kingdom 18, Australia 15, Italy 14, Canada 14, Japan 6, and India 1; and of these, all but the first two were paying substantially lower contributions than India.

As a result of Lord Hardinge's representation at the head of the Indian Delegation last year, India's contribution has been reduced by 5 units for 1925. The reduction might easily have been 15 units like China but for the fact that, at the time the claims for reduction were being considered, while the Chinese delegate ably argued his case in person, according to newspaper reports, the

delegate appointed to represent India by the British Government, practically the India Office, did not put in an appearance at all. Now, therefore, India ranks fifth among the heaviest contributors to the League, Italy and Japan taking precedence over her in this respect. But the position even now can hardly be acquiesced in by India; any system of allocation, under which, for example, countries like Australia with an annual per capita income of £90, and Canada with about £100, have to pay less than India, whose national income per head per year could not by any calculation exceed Rs 100, which amounts to less than £8,—stands self-condemned. The statistical dilettantism of the League of Nations will have to be succeeded by a more careful and comprehensive study of economic data, if the aim is to arrive at results which the world will not deem *prima facie* ridiculously absurd. As Lord Hardinge points out in his memorandum, reproduced in the Gazette of India, dated the 27th December, 1924, India does not appear before the League as a suppliant for relief from the burden of an excessive contribution on the ground that she is unable to obtain the necessary funds to meet that demand. India has invariably recognised and met all her international obligations, however great the sacrifice which they may have entailed. Her claim is based solely on the ground of equity, and the fair name of the League in the eyes of her people—about a fifth of the total population of the world—depends on the manner in which it solves this vexed problem.

From the question of payments to the League, we pass by a not unnatural transition to the correlative of the benefits India receives or ought to receive. Certain members of the Indian Legislative Assembly interpellated the Government of India on the representation of India on the Council and the Secretariat of the League; and the answers they elicited, as seen from the records of the Assembly debates of the 22nd Jan. last, make very distressing reading. It is permissible to doubt whether Mr. Graham, Secretary to the Government of India in the Legislative Department, who referred the Members to the official journal of the League, had ever cast his eye over those pages himself. The information given there is of a most confusing character, and is likely to lead the unwary reader astray, as salaries, nationalities and posts are not shown in any corresponding sequence and order. Even the

information is now withheld from the public, for the 1924 Journals do not give any details of the staff of the various League organisations at all; and judging from the analysis of the 1921 and 1923 staff lists which the writer referred to above has so carefully compiled, the League, it appears, has best consulted its interests in suppressing information likely to reflect so much discredit on its sense of equitable treatment of the various nationals. It has been shown how about three-fifths of the entire staff are composed of English, French and Swiss nationals, and how, in the limited sphere not yet appropriated by them, the other countries struggle with varying degrees of success to obtain some sort of representation.

An India, what about her? The country which till the commencement of this year paid one-fourteenth of the entire expenses of an organisation which counts among its members 54 States, had to be content with a single national of hers in the Palace of Nations in 1923, and 1921. And what was his position, what his salary? The widely known Antwerp journal "ECHO du Soir" in its issue of the 18th February last, published an article by the well-known English writer, Mr. Hilaire Belloc, who says that the personnel of the League consists of types "the most suspicious and the most contemptible", "who enjoy salaries out of all proportion to their worth or their work", "that the salary-bill runs up into ridiculously high figures paid by the various taxpayers without having a voice in the administration of the League", and that "the sole topic of discussion is that such an intriguer managed to secure such and such a post". In an atmosphere where, according to Mr. Belloc, nepotism and intrigue are the only gateways to lucrative and influential positions, it can well be understood that our solitary representative at Geneva found himself out of his natural element. The position, as it is, is too humiliating for words.

India, certainly, has a right to obtain adequate representation in the Secretariat, and to insist that these representatives are adequately remunerated; and we would be failing in our duty to ourselves and to our countrymen in these trying situations abroad, if we do not press that right to speedy recognition. Our demands are reasonable; we do not want shorthand typists from India to be appointed Financial Controllers in the League or jobberies of like nature to be perpetrated. The selection of unsuitable candi-

dates can only result in inefficiency in the office, and in bringing India and Indians a bad name abroad. Mr. Joseph Baptista, in his interview to the Press on his return from the International Labour Conference last year, is reported to have said that he did not want a large number of Indians at Geneva, but he would insist that they should be of our best and that the treatment and salary they got at Geneva were well in keeping with their attainments and efficiency. Indian labour, intellectual or manual, should not be allowed to be sweated. We would point out to the Secretary-General of the League that India is not wanting in men of high educational attainments and administrative experience who could fill with honour and distinction any post in the League and its affiliated offices.

Mr. Graham ostentatiously dissociates himself in the Legislative-Assembly from the view that India derives less benefit from the League than other members; and in so doing, he somewhat out-Herods Herod. For the League itself has perforce had to admit the justice of the complaint. The Allocation Committee of the League definitely sought to make the degree of benefits accruing to the various States from the League a factor to be taken into consideration in fixing the amount of contributions. Is it possible that Mr. Graham, who is so prolific in his references to the League's official journal, has forgotten his own official journal, the Gazette of India, which reproduces the Hardinge memorandum already referred to? Lord Hardinge there quotes the opinion of the Allocation Committee, the substance of which has been set out above, and continues to observe as follows:—

"It is obvious that while the benefits which European countries derive from the League are not only remote and contingent, but also immediate and direct, the benefits which India obtains from the League's activities fall almost exclusively into the former category. If this question we examined in somewhat greater detail, it will be found that India is not represented on the Council of the League although her contribution is 65 units as against 88, 78, 61, 61, 40, 35, 18, 15, 7, for the countries represented on the council. India has no permanent representative on the Court of International Justice, although the leading exponents of Hindu and Mahomedan Law are Indian nationals; and both these systems of law govern the civil and personal relations of well over a hundred million individuals each.... Lastly in considering this question of benefits received, it may be noted that India is represented by two of her nationals only in the combined staff of the Secretariat, the Labour Bureau and the International Court of Justice. One nation paying 23 units more than India is represented by over 200 of her nationals: another paying 13 units

more than India is represented by 145 of her nationals; a third paying 50 units less than India is represented by about 130 of her nationals. Comparisons of this nature could be extended almost indefinitely".

In replying to a question asking for information as to what representations had been made to the League about India's inadequate representation at Geneva, Mr. Graham referred the Assembly to the League's official journal. We have perused and reperused the pages cited by Mr. Graham; but there is not a word anywhere there about the efforts, if any, made in this behalf. Official replies, like the League's official journal in this respect, divulge no more information than could be helped.

India is asked to pay through the nose and she must insist on getting her fair share in the game. In demanding that her rights in this respect are properly recognised she is only following the example of other countries. We will quote the latest instance. Germany, who is a member of the International Labour Organisation of the League, had fallen into arrears in regard to her contributions. When asked for payment, she wanted to know what steps were being taken to give her nationals adequate representation in that Office. The German newspaper, *Koelnische Zeitung*, in its issues of the 26th March and the 3rd and the 4th April last, has powerfully attacked the Organisation in this matter, and puts part of the blame for the unsatisfactory situation on their own delegates. Following our German contemporary, we might well ask our delegates, what have they done in this matter? As it is now understood that the Indian Delegation are to address themselves seriously to this question in the next Assembly of the League, we need say no more about it, except to add that we shall be carefully watching their activities in Geneva next September.

S.

The Real Meaning of Steel Protection

The *Industrial and Trade Review for India* of Berlin dated 1st March, 1925 contains an article on the Indian Steel Protection in which we find a new point of view. We are quoting portions from it:

The principle adopted by the Tariff Board in recommending protection for this industry was that the need for protection was to be measured by the difference between two prices: (a) "the price at which steel is likely to be imported into India from abroad and (b) the price at which the Indian manufacturer can sell at a reasonable profit".

We are further informed that the prices at which steel is likely to enter India without duty have been found to be as follows:

	Per ton
	Rs.
Bars ...	140
Structural shapes ...	145
Rails, 30 lbs & over ...	140
Plates, ordinary ...	150
Sheets, black ...	200
Sheets, galvanised ...	300

and that the average price which gives the Indian manufacturer a fair return on his capital has been found to be Rs. 180 a ton".

We see therefore that the protective duties imposed as well as the bounties paid to the Tata Co., out of Indian revenues are aimed solely at assuring a "reasonable" profit to the manufacturer, and no mention whatsoever is made of the wages and general conditions of the workers in this connection, nor of the effect on the agriculturist. The workers are not in the least likely to receive higher payment or even an infinitesimal fraction on the "bounty" extracted from them and the peasants to feed their social oppressors. And the peasant will be forced to pay higher prices for his implements and demand higher prices for his produce. It is the vast masses of the people, therefore, that will have to bear the burdens of protection for several years, enabling the handful of capitalists to live meanwhile in luxury in palaces on Malabar Hill.

If the intention of the Protection Act is to facilitate the Swadeshi struggle against Great Britain, it can easily be shown that it is a failure. It is true that British makers will suffer some loss on black and galvanised steel plates, on beams girders, beamwork, and to some extent on structural steel, but this loss will be easily compensated for by increased British exports of fabricated steel such as bridge work and parts of steel buildings. Even the British Report says that "there does not seem to be any ground for immediate alarm" and adds, what we all know, that "the Government of India are not likely to sanction any extreme measure of protection". Moreover, all the chief technicians of the Tata Company are Englishmen and all machinery is purchased in England. And as Indian public works are based on British standards, all the plant machinery and stores will continue to be of British origin, and, as the British Report points out, "renewals and spare parts must be purchased from the original suppliers". Nor indeed is there any difficulty in supposing that British steel capital will follow the same course as Manchester cotton capital, for according to the recommendations of the Fiscal Commission, there are to be "no obstacles to the free inflow of foreign capital" into India, and Government monopolies or concessions are to be "granted only to companies incorporated and registered in India with rupee capital," such companies being required to have a "responsible" proportion of Indian directors. In other words, a cooperation between British and Indian capital in the exploitation of India will probably result and it will be found that protection for Indian steel is no protection against the British capitalist.

It may be said that the ability of a group of capitalists to exploit labour for any

considerable length of time is a doubtful thing. When the millionaires of Malabar Hill commence their period of bounty-fed existence they may be at an advantage over those who supply the sinews of the bounty; but after some time the workers are bound to organise themselves into a powerful enough position to secure their just claims. Bounty or no bounty, protection or no protection, capitalists will practically in every case try to keep wages as low as is compatible with keeping the workers normally fit for work. This is nothing new. The labourers in the protected industries like all other labourers shall have to obtain higher wages by increasing their own efficiency and bargaining power. That working-men will have to struggle in order to get justice is a question which is distinct from those of Free Trade or Protection. It is no doubt in keeping with Social Ethics that the interests of the workers and the poor should receive proper attention; but their interests receive proper attention nowhere; so why should we expect things to be different in the case of granting protection to industries?

That British Capital will not stand and suffer to see India prosper is a thing much too wellknown here. We never had any illusions in this field. The British Capitalist has always had a free entrance into India on the strength of political control of India. He is in no way in a weaker position to-day. So what is there to make him a foolishly virtuous person?

We next find that Britain perhaps wants to develop India industrially in order to prepare for an Eastern War. We are not sure that Britain is manœuvring for such a War. But if she is, an industrially advanced India will be a great asset in view of the increasing efficiency of submarine crafts. The article in the Berlin paper says in support of its suspicions:

It is obvious that a far-seeing nation like the British, with a highly consistent foreign policy, is not likely to sanction any measures in India that may ultimately damage its commercial interests or its world position. And we may take it that in granting protection for Indian steel there are other more serious motives at work than the development of the steel industry in India for the sake of India. In the summary of the Tariff Board's conclusions relating to iron and steel, the very first paragraph states not only that "the steel industry satisfies the three conditions which the Fiscal Commission considered should be satisfied in ordinary cases by all industries before a claim to protection is entertained", but that it is "also an essential industry for purposes of self-defence and of great importance on national

grounds. It might therefore claim protection even if the ordinary conditions were not fully satisfied." Further light on the motives of the Government is thrown by an article contributed by an Englishman to the important English economic journal *Capital*, of Calcutta, in its issue of the 28th January. He points out the urgent necessity of saving the Tata Co., at all costs and he calls upon the Government of India and the great Indian financiers to co-operate in averting the disaster of a liquidation. With regard to the bounty of 50 lakhs that was then being discussed by the Legislative Assembly and which has since been sanctioned, he expresses the hope that "it will be decided to pay this bounty for three years in recognition of the service given by the Company to the Government and the country during the world war." He then makes the very significant statement that "if the Arcana of the Munitions Board could be revealed for public study, all doubt of the immense debt the State owes to the Tata's would be dispelled."

In these words we have the real secret of this new protective legislation. Tata's steel supplied munitions for the Government during the War and Tata's rails helped, among other things, in the building of railways in Mesopotamia to strengthen Britain's economic and political grip on that country. And we cannot help thinking that Indian steel is intended to play a similar role in the war that is inevitable in Eastern Asia in the space of a few years. Whereas at the present moment the total consumption of steel in India is estimated at 627,000 tons, of which no less than 481,000 tons are imported and only 46,000 tons are produced in India, the effect of the protective tariff will be, after a slight decline in the total consumption during the next two years, to revert in 1926-27 to the present figure of 627,000 tons, of which, however, only a little more than half, i. e., 363,000 tons will be imported and as much as 264,000 tons will be produced in India. The importance of this steel production in India in the event of an Asiatic War cannot be underrated and the new measure must therefore be interpreted in conjunction with the Singapore Naval Base and England's air preparations. And when the war is over, we shall again have to refer to "the Arcana of the Munitions Board" to understand how Britain's imperial policy has been made to coincide with the interests of the Indian capitalist class.

A. C.

Production in India

Prof. Rajanikanta Das, M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., who is at present attached to the Visvabharati is an economist of distinction. During his prolonged stay in the U. S. A., he had served as lecturer to the New York University; to the North-Western University, Chicago and to the College of the city of New York; and as special agent to the Department of Labour, U. S. Government. His book "Production in India" published by the Visvabharati Bookshop, 10 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, is quite worthy of its distinguished author. In this book Prof. Das makes a study of India's

Productivity and works out his thesis that "national prosperity depended more upon the industrial efficiency of the people than the natural resources of the country". He makes a comparative study of the productive resources of India in order to arrive at a proper understanding of India's economic position and of the weak points in her industrial life. He takes a comprehensive account of India's Land, Labour and Capital; but he remembers that minus the human element, natural resources, however abundant are of no use. In the introduction Prof. Das says:

Labor is the creative principle in the productive process. It is labor which conquers nature, discovers laws, invents machinery, devises arts, co-ordinates land and capital and organises industrial systems. Labour is the dynamic factor and is ever unfolding itself in both intensity and extensity. It now produces a thing in a day which formerly took a year to finish and makes the wastage of yesterday the resources of to-day. The growth of its efficiency is the most important cause of increase in productivity.

When we come to analyse the value of what we call useful articles we find that of the usefulness of most things by far the largest portion is composed of labour. The more specialised complicated and manufactured a thing is the more labour value we find in it. In the modern world, of the things which compose 'Wealth' the majority are such as contain a high percentage of labour value. That is why a skilful labourer is such an asset to a country. In fact want of skill and efficiency in the population may keep a country hopelessly poor in spite of all its abundant natural resources. Wealth is mainly potential in nature; it is labour that gives it life. So Prof. Das is on the right track. In the proper economic sense of idleness, a nation is idle in proportion to its dependence upon natural wealth. Whatever may be the resources of a country it always has an endless storehouse of wealth in the work-power, skill and intelligence of its people. In India the human element is proverbially useless. And any economic advancement must move along the line suggested by Prof. Rajanikanta Das. In his opinion our "low productivity could not be a result of the scarcity of land. The major part of the resources is wasted at present or remains unexploited for productive purposes." Lack of capital is partly responsible for our poverty but as capital is but the result of past prosperity we cannot place it as the cause of economic progress. Hence "the lack of capital could not be regarded

as the fundamental cause of insufficient production in India". This is more true in view of the inefficiency we have displayed in the field of banking and mobilisation of national capital.

He concludes--

"Insufficient production is the result of inefficient labor, i. e., lack of capacity on the part of the people to mobilise the physical, intellectual and moral forces of the country and to organise land and capital effectively for national production. The fundamental cause of India's poverty, is, therefore, her industrial inefficiency."

There are some interesting facts and figures in the book such as the following:

"Out of a total potential arable area of 930 million acres, only 296 million acres or 31% were utilised for productive purposes and 664 million acres or 69% were wasted. Viewed from the standpoint of efficiency, this wastage becomes still larger. India's yield being only 85 per cent of the average yield of the principal countries of the world, the area utilised for cropping becomes 26% instead of 31% as above and wastage 74%."

"It might be safely said that one half of the forest land is wasted in India."

"70% of the fisheries must be regarded as an annual waste."

"India possesses water resources of 27 million horse-power, of which only one half of one per cent has been utilised for production up to the present time. Thus 99.5% of the water power resources are annually lost to India. Through inefficient mining, a large part of coal, mica and other minerals is also wasted."

Prof. Das gives us other and numerous instances of waste which we are unable to reproduce here through lack of space. The book is a notable contribution to Indian economic literature and deserves the attention of all students, teachers and social workers.

A. C.

"Lungs" for Cities

In the *Welfare* of April, 1925 Mr. St. Nihal Singh describes how the London County Council provides health for its citizens. He opens his well-illustrated article as follows:

Some wise forefather of ours ages ago created the tradition that he who plants trees smooths for himself the way to heaven. We Indians of this generation look upon such a heritage as superstition and ignore it.

People in the West are, however, finding out to their cost that the health of the community deteriorates as trees are cut down, fields and waste areas are cleared and houses are permitted to crowd against one another. Earlier generations, in their ignorance and greed, converted God's open country into city slums. Absence of light and air and overcrowding resulted in filth, disease and crime, which

overflowed the bounds of the "poor quarter" and attacked the rich, who dwelt in spacious surroundings near by. Municipal corporations have therefore been condemning property in towns in every part of Europe and America during recent years, and spending money upon providing parks and playgrounds—or "lungs" as they are significantly called.

London, the largest city in the world, is fairly well served in this respect. Large and small parks, common and open spaces, enclosed islets of green and playgrounds are spread all over the metropolitan area. In whatever neighbourhood one lives, therefore, it is easy to obtain a whiff of "fresh air" and to take exercise in one form or another, according to inclination or to the mood of the weather.

How They Drug Themselves

Mr. C. F. Andrews' Memorandum on opium in the *Welfare* of April contains the following figures.

Figures showing consumption of opium in various places.

Place	consumes	144	seers	per	10,000
Calcutta		144			
Rangoon	"	108	"	"	"
Perozepore	"	60	"	"	"
Ludhiana	"	49	"	"	"
Lahore	"	40	"	"	"
Amritsar	"	28	"	"	"
Cawnpore	"	29	"	"	"
Ahmedabad	"	42	"	"	"
Bombay	"	43	"	"	"
Broach	"	51	"	"	"
Sholapur	"	35	"	"	"
Karachi	"	46	"	"	"
Hyderabad	"	52	"	"	"
(Sind)					
Madras	"	26	"	"	"
Cuttack	"	25	"	"	"
Balasore	"	56	"	"	"

Mr. Andrews says:

It is not difficult to see that on the whole the mass of the Indian village population remains remarkably free from excess in opium consumption (except in Assam and Burma). But the town population, where the religious sanctions of the village life have broken down, has begun to succumb to the insidious opium habit and the danger is very great indeed of still further increase of vicious consumption of opium. I have already mentioned the daily doping of babies. This leads to chronic constipation and children who are thus habitually coped suffer from debility and intestinal weakness for the rest of their lives. We are in danger of producing a weakly and debilitated industrial population, which will be a terrible drag on the prosperity of India in the future.

A. C.

British Income Tax Refunds

We have received the following communication from Mr. Wilfred Fry of 13 Buckingham Palace Gardens, London S. W. 1.

It will be found interesting to those who derive incomes from investments.

For the benefit of any Indian gentlemen who may be unaware that they are entitled to recover a considerable sum of money should they derive any income from English registered companies, may I be permitted to point out the following salient facts:—

(1) Every Indian gentleman of British nationality is now entitled to recover either the whole or a proportion of any British Income Tax deducted at source from his dividends.

(2) This includes dividends which are stated to be paid "free of tax", or even when no deduction for tax is shown on the dividend voucher in the case of a British registered company.

(3) No liability on income not derived from Great Britain can be incurred by putting in these claims.

(4) The amount recoverable varies from a small amount to hundreds of pounds, depending upon the amount and source of the income.

(5) These claims can be made in respect of income received from 5th April 1920 to date.

Those who desire further information regarding such claims should communicate with Mr. Fry.

A. C.

A Students' Home for Calcutta

The Ramkrishna Mission have been well known for their charitable endeavours and the new Students' Home which they are organising deserves public sympathy. For some time they have been running a hostel for the benefit of poor students who desire to carry on their education in Calcutta. Here the students do all their own work and lead a life of quiet Brahmacharya. We have had occasion to visit the hostel which impressed us by its contrast to the average run of students' messes in Calcutta. Here everything was orderly, methodical and well in hand. The organisers are trying to open a larger hostel in the suburbs where they intend to give the students a chance to earn their own living by work of one kind or another. Those desirous of learning more of the scheme should write to Swami Shivananda, Belur Math, Dt. Howrah.

A. C.

The Economic History of Ancient India

We are indebted to Prof. Santoshkumar Das M. A., of Tribhuban Chandra College, Nepal, for a splendid and compact little book on the Economic History of Ancient India. India's economic life was fairly complex even as early as the Rig-Vedic age. This

fact is not acknowledged by some people who have written on the ancient history of India. Very little is also known of the economic life in ancient India even among the highly educated people in our country. We expect that this book will be welcomed by all who desire to acquire knowledge of this important subject. Prof. Das covers the Economic History of India from the earliest times down to the age of Harsha in about 300 pages. This is concise enough considering the amount of information we get in the book. The price, Rs. 3, is not high. The book is published by the author from 5-2 Ananda Dutt Lane, Howrah.

A. C.

Gandhi's Moral Greatness

Mr. John Haynes Holmes, Minister of the Community Church in New York City, recently delivered an address from his pulpit in which he considered the question as to whether Mahatma Gandhi had failed in his great adventure, namely, "to restore his nation to its ancient freedom and native culture by disciplining its people to the technique of non-violent coercion." In the course of the address Mr. Holmes dwelt on the Mahatma's moral greatness in the following words:—

If "he that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city," then Gandhi is indeed the greatest man of our time. During the last three years, he has endured punishment at the hands of his enemies; he has met humiliation and defeat at the hands of his friends. He has seen his movement disrupted and its forces scattered. He has seen his followers refuse to follow. But he has not faltered in patience, nor swerved in courage. He has lost neither hope nor faith. Best of all he has kept sweet his soul from all anger, vindictiveness and hate, and, in his darkest hour, has held all men as his friends. "If I have equal love in me," he cries, "for No-Changers, *Swarajists*, Liberals, Home Rulers, Independents, and for that matter Englishmen, I know that it is well for me and well also for the cause."

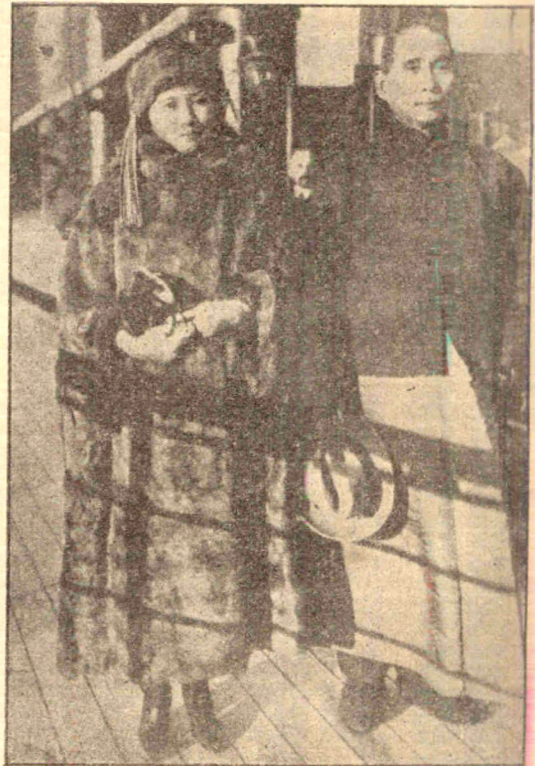
The Secret of Sun Yat-sen's Influence

In the opinion of the *Japan Weekly Chronicle*:

The devotion that Dr. Sun Yat-sen was always able to command was largely due to his refraining from the pursuit of wealth. High office has so long been regarded in China as a means to amass riches on behalf of one's family that the testing has been very severe for those who have risen to power since the revolution, and all but a few have

forgotten their grand ideals when they found the spoils of office within reach. When Sun's cause seemed hopeless after his expulsion from Canton, his followers still stood staunch. Some would answer all criticisms with the plea, "He has not grown rich. He is still a poor man."..... Few people doubted that he maintained his personal integrity. His published will, declaring that he has no wealth to leave and that his house, clothes and books are to go to his wife, while his children are old enough to fend for themselves, seems convincing.

In a leading article the same paper observes that "few people will withhold admiration from a man of such concentration of purpose and such self-devotion." An article in *Asia* enables us to form an estimate of his personality.



Sun Yat-sen and His Wife

A guard of two officials and twelve soldiers, the story goes, once surprised Sun Yat-sen in the Canton room where he was secretly living, with a price on his head. They could kill him and claim as large a reward for him dead as alive—al tho the Chinese Government was said to be anxious to get him alive, so that he could be tortured, in accordance with the customs of the times, before being executed. Sun, reports Dr. Cantlie, one of his biographers, "took up a volume of the classics dealing with the ethics of Government, and began to

read aloud. His captors listened and then asked questions. Discussion began, and Sun reasoned with them. After two hours the officials and their guard departed. They had been convinced." China might never have been a republic if they had not been convinced, for they held in their hands that day the life of the future creator of the new China.

His best achievements, his highest aspirations, have frequently resulted in benefits for others, in trouble for himself. More than to any other Chinese, credit goes to him for the formation of the Republic called "one of Asia's three great moderns," head of the anti-foreign movement in China, as Gandhi is in India and Mustafa Kemal in Turkey, he brought Western civilization to China, but he opposed the domination of the agents of that civilization, "foreigners" all, and foreign influences helped to take away his power.

Sun Yat Sen no less than the other two is entitled to his place in the triumvirate that may truly be said to have fired with new spirit, the aged soul of the East. Indeed, he was the first of the three, and made the task of the other two easier.

Dr. Sun Yat Sen became a factor in history, we are reminded, while still performing major operations in Macao. There he became affiliated with a group of young men discontented with the inefficient, corrupt and yet autocratic rule of the Manchus, the alien conquerors of China. These young men were pledged to work for reform, not revolution, but reform in the spirit of the times.

He organized a branch of what could already be called the "Young China" party and entered on the career he has never abandoned.

The work of the mission he had chosen is best illustrated by the fact that of the eighteen men originally banded together in Canton, Dr. Sun Yat Sen alone survived the first few years. The others were all discovered, caught and put to death. Such were the penalties of Progressivism in China then. No compromise was possible. Those who began with petitions and hoped for reform took to direct action and aimed at revolution. They had no choice.

China's ignominious defeat by Japan in 1894—1895, a defeat caused largely by corruption in the imperial entourage, fanned popular resentment against the dynasty, and the time was thought propitious to strike a blow. A coup was planned. Canton, the richest provincial capital in the South, was to be seized and declared independent. Arms and munitions were stored; men loyal to the cause were organized; an hour was set for the attack. At the last minute, when rebel bands were started on the march, the details of the plot were revealed to the provincial officials by a traitor, who turned over to them papers incriminating the leaders. Such of the latter as could not make their escape were caught, tortured with exquisite cruelty, and beheaded.

Among the few who evaded capture was Sun Yat Sen. In disguise he got over the city wall at night under the noses of the soldiers, who were searching for him. Hiding in native huts, canal-boats and the fields on the canal-banks, he made his way to Macao. Next he went to Hongkong, to Japan, to Honolulu, to America, and later to England. Thus began fifteen years of high adventure, thrills and romance unparalleled outside yellow-back fiction. Back and forth across the earth he journeyed, appearing in now this and now that

Chinese settlement. He was the living link that bound Cantonese emigrants in all quarters of the globe—bound them to one another and to their native land. He united them into a world-wide band of revolutionaries, whose part was to supply funds and maintain lines of communication while others kindled enthusiasm and recruited man-power for the final struggle within China.

"With a price on his head amounting sometimes to hundreds of thousands, hunted as an arch-criminal and dogged by spies", relates Mr. Peffer, Sun would turn up in China suddenly, garbed as coolie, fisherman or travelling peddler, and go from town to town, preaching revolution, organizing, raising funds. In the dead of night in some abandoned temple—

A group of men would steal in singly, coming in response to a summons spread no one knew how. Then the one time doctor would appear, talk three or four hours in semi-darkness and disappear, while his audience scattered in tense silence. Death by the most fiendish of tortures would have been the portion of each of them, had they been discovered. Over Sun Yat Sen it hovered always all but closing upon him again and again.

It was in 1896, after his first flight from Canton, that he was kidnapped in London. Spies having notified the Chinese Legation in London that he had come there from the United States, two Chinese were sent out to inveigle him into the Legation. They did so, and he was immediately put under lock and key. His arrest was kept secret. He was allowed to see no one. It was intended to smuggle him on board a steamer sailing for China and there deliver him to the authorities for punishment. Of this Sun was himself apprized by one of those who had trapped him. With doom hanging over him, he tried desperately to get word to his friends. He entrusted notes to servants, who promptly turned them over to his captors. He threw notes, weighed with two-shilling coins, out of the barred window in his room. They fell into the courtyard. Finally he persuaded a man-servant to take a message to Dr. James Cantlie, his former teacher in Hongkong, and his intimate friend. Dr. Cantlie set to work feverishly, knowing that minutes counted; for the ship on which Sun was to be sent was in port, loading. He went to Scotland Yard, to the newspapers, to the Foreign Office. The story was so bizarre that it did not gain credence, but investigations were made. The officials of the Legation denied all knowledge of Sun's whereabouts. When denial was no longer possible, they maintained that Sun had come to the Legation voluntarily and that since it was "Chinese soil" and he was a refugee from justice, in China, they had a right to make him prisoner. The Foreign Office was stern in its demands, however, and the London press took up the issue, Dr. Sun was released after twelve days' confinement.

There are numerous stories of similar escapes in the years when he was being hunted. At one time a man came aboard a small boat in which Sun was hiding, and informed him that he had been offered \$5,000 reward for him. Sun reasoned with his captor, and the man, after listening a while, fell on his knees, so it is said, and implored Sun's pardon. On yet another occasion, on the island of Hainan, also off the southern coast the military authorities became suspicious that Sun was hiding in a certain compound. They posted a guard about it, and for six months Sun did not stir. Then one

day he challenged fate, walked out in disguise, went on board a small boat and got away.

The Last Big War and European Prestige

We read in the *Japan Weekly Chronicle*:

Europeans in Asia have long enjoyed a standing which was taken for granted. Perhaps it was less willingly accorded in China than in any other country, because the Chinese had always a good deal of contempt for everything foreign. However, it had been enforced, and was becoming a habit. But one of the results of the war is the complete disappearance of any idea among the Chinese that the European has any sort of superiority. There can be no doubt that this is chiefly owing to the behaviour of Europeans themselves, and the exhibition that they have given to the Chinese of the fact that, though desiring respect, they are quite willing that fellow Europeans whom they do not like should be treated with contempt and contumely. Africa has learned the same lesson. Where at one time a mere display of force was sufficient, the spirit of this age demands aeroplanes and live bombs. These violent measures, when adopted, not only arrive nowhere, but bring peaceful intercourse to an end from which it has no resurrection. Moreover the very violence of the measures precludes their employment except where the operations can be conducted beyond the reach of criticism. The disappearance of any happy mean between bombs and impotence may make the maintenance of a privileged position for foreigners in China a very difficult matter. Superficially things are much the same, but beneath the surface the changes have been profound. The Great War was lost in Asia by all the belligerents, and nowhere more completely than in China.

"Love Thy Neighbour as Thyself"

In the course of his presidential address at the Surma Valley Students' Conference, Mr. C. F. Andrews said:—

When I was quite young, I was told by my mother the Golden Rule of life to 'love my God with all my heart and soul and to love my neighbour as myself.' She used to impress upon me that this was the whole duty of man and that all the years of my own life would not be too long to seek to fulfil it. When I grew older, I used to puzzle over the last part of the Golden Rule, and I had never fully understood it until I came out to India. For I used to ask myself: "How can one love another person only just in the same way that one loves one's own self?" I used to take the phrase 'as myself' to mean to love other people like myself; and taking the world in that sense, I could not feel that this was quite strong enough. For instance, my own mother loved me evidently more than she loved herself. Was that extravagant love of my mother for me, her child, wrong? Was it a breach of the Golden Rule? Ought she to draw a line somewhere in the extravagance of her love? Somehow, this idea of limited love used to vex me, and I had an unquiet feeling about this quantitative stand-point of love. But when I came out to India the truth was suddenly revealed to me

through the Upanishads, that I did not know truly the meaning of the original passage in my own scriptures. The true meaning was this: That I should love my neighbour as myself, because he truly was myself. There was, therefore, no mere limited measure of love, no mere likeness between him and me, but identity.

I heard only recently a very beautiful story about the saint Ramkrishna Paramahansa, how when he had realised this supreme truth of the Advaitam, and wished to carry it out in action he used to go out at night-time and do the sweepers' work in the neighbouring places, removing the very filthiest things and the most repulsive, in order that he might truly identify himself with the sweeper and not merely talk about unity.

Stoning to Death for Apostasy or Heresy

Khwaja Kamal-ud-din has written to the *Moslem Outlook* to say,

(1) That the Quran prescribes no punishment for apostasy.

(2) That "stoning to death" is not among the provisions of the Quran.

(3) That though many cases of apostasy did occur in the days of the Holy Prophet, yet no one was punished solely for it.

The Quran admittedly allows freedom of conscience. It respects personal judgment in religion. "No compulsion in religion" is the golden rule promulgated exclusively by the Quran. Apostasy after all is a change of opinion in religion. If it is punished, it is compulsion in religion, and, therefore contrary to the Quran.

We hope the Khwaja is right in his summing up of the attitude of the Quran towards apostasy and in the matter of freedom of conscience. But even if any scripture enjoined the stoning to death of heretic or apostates, such an injunction would deserve only to be rejected.

We do not think that it is the Quran alone which teaches "no compulsion in religion."

Unopposed Election of Mitra and Roy

It is the Government which prevented Babus Satyendrachandra Mitra, M. L. C., and Anil Baran Ray, M. L. C., from attending the meetings of the Bengal Legislative Council by depriving them of their liberty without any trial. And yet it is the same Government which declared their seats vacant because of their absence from duty for more than two months. This declaration was made too, months after the period of two months had elapsed.

Nothing is known to the public as to the offence committed by these two gentlemen, who represented Noakhali and Bankura in

the Bengal Legislative Council. As they have not been brought to trial, the public would be justified in considering them quite innocent of any offence even against any bureaucracy-made law. The public would be justified also in holding that they were deprived of their liberties and then unseated because they had proved obnoxious to the Government. It is a curious sort of progressive responsible government which allows the executive to remove by such tricks legislators who are not in their good graces.

As these gentlemen had been removed from their office of membership quite arbitrarily and deliberately, the electors of Noakhali and Bankura owed it to themselves to return them again unopposed. This we are glad they have done.

If the Government persists in not setting them free, and again declares their seats vacant two months hence, it is to be hoped Bankura and Noakhali will return them again unopposed. And so on and so forth to the end of the chapter.

Modernism

Living Religions: A Plea for the Larger Modernism, by Victor Branford, published by Williams and Norgate, makes stimulating reading. We are told in the preface:—

"Modernism has to be conceived not merely, nor even mainly, as a movement of critical scholarship. There is an underlying issue of pervasive readaptation between old and new. Viewed in this wider way Modernism is by no means confined to the Catholic religion. Kindred endeavours toward readjustment have long been stirring in Hetrism, Hinduism, Mohammedanism, and other venerable religions. All these movements are infused by a common purpose. It is to renew, in the light of current knowledge, yet also of contemporary aspiration, the eternal verities enshrined in ancient faiths. So--viewed, Modernism in religion comes into relation with Modernism in science. The latter is concerned with endeavours, now widely beginning, towards putting our whole body of verified knowledge to better use and finer purpose than hitherto. The aim is no less than to unify, spiritualise, and thus consecrate, our sciences at present too isolated, and often profaned by their outcome in practice. These two movements which seek, one of them to modernise the religious, and the other to consecrate the sciences by integrating them in the service of life, will be the more fruitful the closer their union. That idea informs this volume in plan and detail."

"A General View of Hinduism"

In the general view of Hinduism which Mr. Branford gives in his book, he tells the reader:—

"As befits the mother-religion of the Great East, and therefore giver of Faiths to more than a third of mankind, Hinduism is compact of heavenly qualities; *Yet it also shows corresponding defects.* The noble and *the rude*, wisdom and *folly*, the magnanimous and *the trivial*—all seem to intermingle in its writings, teachings, practices. It exhibits too, with exceptional clearness, the phases of rise and decline, of reascent, yet fall, of renewals also, which each religion of aspiration to Universality is seemingly fated to undergo in the passage of time. The pageant of Hindu Religion shows a royal line of initiators, continuators, re-initiators, moving in stately procession through aeons of fluctuating development. It shows an incomparable array of bardic sages, with life-giving chants and creative myths. *Yet also not without strange superstitions and touches of dark magic.* They are followed by the measured tramp of an interminable priesthood, rich in melting litany and ennobling ritual, *yet also fertile in formularies of fixation that cage, and even wither the soul.* There are saints, sages, pilgrims, missionaries, in countless thousands. Prophets and epic poets file past. You see the pomp and pride of sacerdotal jurists, immaculate in aim, turbid in effect. In the wake of this priestly company of law-givers go bands of scholars and grammarians, often profound, seemingly always erudite, yet *surely sometimes wooden!*" [The italics are ours.]

As the author is not a carping critic of Hinduism, but is rather an appreciator, the defects referred to by him should receive the attention of us Hindus. For it is always good for individuals as well as communities to pay greater attention to the faults pointed out by friends than to their words of praise.

"A Synthetic University."

Of Rabindranath Tagore's University at Santiniketan, Mr. Branford speaks thus:—

"Between these extremes of Brahminist and Buddhist orthodoxy the North and South Poles of the Hindu mind come modernising movements, of which Rabindranath Tagore's new University at Santiniketan in Bengal may be taken as the cutting edge. It is perhaps to be viewed as the foremost development of an order endeavour, at once religious and educational, which, a generation or two ago, obtained wide vogue under the title of Brahmo-Samaj. But new qualities and aims of a very distinct kind distinguish Tagore's foundation. Thoroughly Indian, in spirit and tradition it is yet world-wide in outlook; and without neglect of specialisms, its face is resolutely set towards synthesis."

Coming to details, the author writes:—

"Attached to this University are various ancillary institutions, amongst which a School of Art, a College of Rural Reconstruction, and a Boys' School, exhibit notable instances of initiative. For impression of the School, picture the boys at their first exercise, repeated twice in the course of the day. You see them in the early morning sun, in

their park and playground, robed in white linen, sitting Buddha-fashion, silent and absorbed, each under his own tree. So they remain, in unbroken meditation, for some twenty minutes. It is a point of honour not to let their thoughts wander to trivial, base, or selfish, topics. Some may find the Buddha's "noble path" to inner peace, serene yet militant. Others may fail. Yet all doubtless are the better for this systematic exercise in spiritual adventure. The complementary exercises, of external adaptation to nature's modes, are also practised. Nature-study, and Boy-scouting, have taken firm hold in Tagore's School."

Communist Propaganda in India

Reuter has cabled to India a piece of news showing that the communists in Russia intend to help Indian revolutionaries in various ways to establish a republic in India. Communistic propaganda in India cannot do us good. But this item of news has lessons both for the people of India and the British Government. The British Government ought to have concluded the understanding with Soviet Russia negotiating for which had been carried on by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's government; Bolshevist propaganda in India could thereby have been stopped, at least minimised. But now affairs have come to such a pass that Anglo-Indian (old style) militarists will take advantage of the Bolshevist bogey to increase wasteful military expenditure in the North-west frontier, as their predecessors did by taking advantage of the bogey of Czarist Russia. The greater the military expenditure the less would be the sums available for economic, sanitary and educational progress. Thus will the cause of the people suffer, there will be growing discontent and the Government will be unpopular. Bolshevist agents will not then be wanting to fish in the resulting troubled waters.

The "upper" classes of Hindu society ought long ago to have done justice to and fraternised with the masses, including the so-called depressed and untouchable classes. It is to be regretted that they have not done so. These classes have now become self-conscious. If Bolshevist propaganda reaches them, and there be any social or political revolution, or both, the fate of the Indian "upper" classes may not be dissimilar to that of the Russian bourgeoisie and aristocracy after the revolution. It would be wise for us therefore to put our house in order betimes. There is still time, but soon it may be too late.

Self-Government and a Stable Empire

Mr. Harold Spender, of *Westminster Gazette* fame, writes thus in *The Contemporary Review* :—

After all, it is nothing else, this extending grant of freedom to our children across the seas, but the repetition, on a larger scale, of the process which has made the citizens of these British islands a loyal and obedient people. "Is it not the same virtue which does everything for us here in England?" If we keep that beacon light shining clearly in view, we cannot go very far astray. Each extension of the franchise in Great Britain has been heralded with prophecies of woe. Each grant of British Self-Government was going to be the end of all things. On the contrary, with each enlargement of these powers, England has grown more steady, prudent and conservative. Even from Ireland the rumour now comes that the hereditary grant of complete Self-Rule, made in 1923, has already miraculously changed the temper of Irish feeling towards England. If Ireland, then what of the other Dominions?

What of India, which is not a Dominion?

We are not Britain's "children across the seas", nor want to be. And it has been said in the bible that the children's bread ought not to be given to the dogs.

Lord Olivier on the Anglo-Indian Community.

Lord Olivier has contributed to *The Contemporary Review* an article on the Memorandum which the Anglo-Indian (new style) community prepared for members of Parliament. The Anglo-Indians claim therein to be treated with special favour on the ground that "The British Nation has called them into being." If Britishers consider this claim valid, they ought to show the Anglo-Indians the special favour asked for, at their own expense,—not at ours. That is what Lord Olivier also says in his article.

Surely, if "the British Nation" is responsible for these people, and they require special emolument and privileges, it should discharge that responsibility itself, and not rivet it as a special relief charge upon the Indian community.

For this just observation, Lord Olivier has come in for a bitter attack at the hands of the *Chowringhee Statesman*.

Afghan Amir Declines Allowance from State Funds

Simla, Apr. 20.—It appears from *Itihad I-Musliri* that funds in Afghanistan are ample, and that the Amir's Council of State, signifying approval of

the new Budget, pointed out to the Amir that no provision had been made for the personal allowance of the Amir and the Royal Family, and requested the Amir to sanction some suitable allotment for his personal household use.

His Majesty, however, while thanking the Senate for the kindly thought, pointed out that his private income from his estates was ample for the simple life he leads, and refused to draw upon national funds.—(Special cable to *Ceylon Daily News*.)

Good. But please do not stone people to death for their religious opinions.

The Turks and the Kurds

Polés, Germans, Russians, Austrians, etc., are all Christians. But as they are distinct nationalities, it has been always held by lovers of liberty that the partition and subjection of Poland was wrong and its emancipation during the late war was right. Similarly the freeing of Ireland from British dominance must be welcome to freedom-loving persons.

Following the same line of thought, we think that Arabs should not be under Turkish rule, nor should the Kurds be enslaved by the Turks, though all these peoples are Musalmans.

It is, therefore, greatly to be regretted that, though the Turks have won freedom for themselves, they would not allow the Kurds to be free. They have crushed their "rebellion", which was really a war of independence, and are going to hang their leader, Sheikh Said.

Whatever their religion, the powerful think that freedom is meant for themselves alone, and that what is sauce for the gander is not sauce for the goose.

"The Review of Reviews" on Lord Curzon

In writing a note on the late Lord Curzon, the London *Review of Reviews* does not make even a passing reference to his work in India. This is a characteristically British imperialist achievement—to ignore the country but for whose possession Britain would not be what she is.

Resolutions of the Hindu Mahasabha

At its Calcutta sittings,

The Hindu Mahasabha adopted resolutions urging the checking of the conversion of Hindus to other faiths by means of religious propaganda, the formation of Sangathans and the amelioration of the condition of the Untouchables. The Mahasabha favoured the admission of boys of the Untouchables in all public institutions.

The Mahasabha viewed with regret the conversion of lakhs of Hindus, particularly in Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Guzerat and the Frontier Provinces to other faiths and in order to counter this the Sabha suggested the formation of a Hindu Protection League.

The Mahasabha condemned communal representation and believed in the establishment of peace and tranquillity and Swaraj. Common nationality was of vital importance. It pointed out that communal representation in the past had proved dangerous to the nation. The Mahasabha was not opposed to any agreement reached with the other religionists in order to work harmoniously for the attainment of the political goal.

Further resolutions adopted by the Hindu Mahasabha included an appeal to the branch Sabhas for the establishment of orphanages and asylums for unprotected orphans, widows and urging the Government for the release of persons convicted in connection with the Katarpur Riots as was done in the case of those convicted in Malabar.

The Mahasabha concluded its session after adopting a resolution for raising five lakhs of rupees, out of which one lakh would be devoted to Sangathans and four lakhs for the uplift of the depressed classes and for the relief of Kohat Hindus.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya referred to the pitiable condition of the Kohat sufferers.

Promises of nearly Rs. 1,75,000 were made on the spot and a large sum was collected. Mr. Jugal Kishore Birla promised a donation of Rs. 10,000, Mr. T. C. Goswami, M. L. A., Rs. 5,000, and Pandit Ramkumar Jha, Rs. 10,000.

Resolutions were also passed urging the prohibition of cow slaughter and the circulation of the "Gita" throughout the country.

PROF. JADUNATH SARKAR (Moradpur P.O.), Patna, is prepared to train two young M. A.'s in research for two years, by giving them free board and lodging in his house, provided they are hardworking, prepared to lead a simple liberal Hindu style of life, and not under the necessity to earn money during the period. Must learn Persian or Marathi or both. References as to character necessary.



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ARTIST—SRIMATI SUKUMARI DEBI

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GETTING AND NOT-GETTING

(Translated by the Author from paragraphs written by him while on his voyage
to the West.)

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE practical man takes to pieces the hundred-petalled lotus, and as he piles up its fragments, one by one, he says: *I have it.* The sceptic pulls out the petals, cuts them up, lets them wither, and says: *I have it not.* The simple man of wisdom gazes on the blossom, wonder-stricken. The meaning of his wonder is, that he is at the same time conscious both of having and not having. The lover says in the poem of Vidyapati: *For innumerable ages I have held you in my arms, yet my heart remains unappeased.* That is to say, he has crowded into a moment ages of getting, and yet the age-long not-getting clings to him still. The relativity of time has always been asserted in the language of feeling, it has only to-day been at last acknowledged in the diction of science.

I remember how, when I was a boy, the world would be born afresh for me, every morning, from the womb of the darkness of the night. The familiarity which breeds indifference, if not contempt, because it gives rise to a delusion that we know, was not dense enough at that time to be able to hide from me the fact that the knowledge of a truth merely illumines the surface of a mystery. In those days of my childhood I had just set out on life's journey, and my quest was not of any goal at its end. At every step I looked for some fulfilment of my travel, and felt that something might suddenly be revealed out of the obscure, a communication of an eternal secret by the road itself.

I had heaped up some garden mould in the corner of our verandah, and planted in it a custard apple seed. I waited for the miracle of the sprouting of a plant out of a seed—an evident fact and yet an inexplicable truth. At that time I had the wisdom to be able to wonder at the commonplace world, somehow knowing that it was a pilgrimage-place of truth where known and unknown meet in a perpetual confluence.

He who looks towards Truth and says, *I know* loses it as much as he who says, *I know not*, thus taught our Rishis. He who avers that he knows, foolishly lets slip his treasure, as he greedily knots fast the wrap; and he who avows that he does not, loses his wrap as well. That is what I understand the Ishopanishad to mean. When knowing and not-knowing come before us tied together in hallowed union, then does the mind feel that reality has been reached, completed by the surrounding atmosphere of the infinite. There is no losing so absolute as his who is certain of fully having.

That is how England has come to lose India more hopelessly than any other Western nation. The mystery of truth in the heart of India has eluded the Englishman. For India he has no feeling of wonder; his indifference is expressed in his vanity of possession. Triumphantly he fancies that India has totally been comprehended in the thing which he has made fast in the tightened grip of an organised force. Owing to gross feeling of

satiety India occupies less space in his thoughts and studies than in those of some other great countries of Europe.

The only reason for this is, that for England her *need* of India is overwhelmingly predominant. The satisfaction of need, like the gorging of food, has the one-sided vision of *getting*, with no immensity of not-getting for its perspective. So it cannot be a true vision; and because it is not true, there is no joy in it, no wonder, no respect. Because the relation of need fails to inspire one with a disinterested spirit of sacrifice, Englishmen show such an amazing lack of personal generosity towards India. I am not making a complaint of this, but only noting its inevitableness. The India which has been captured by England's greed has been lost by England's soul. And so, while out of it the Englishman makes profit and in it feels pride, India remains for him a burden heavy with regret.

Therefore is it so difficult for individual Englishmen to make any offering for the sake of giving India help, education and freedom, and so easy for them to flare up in the wrath which calls for dealing punishment to her. The British Capitalist whose callous profit, thriving upon the utter ignorance and poverty of the people, does not allow the least fragment out of its multiplying prolific percentage to go out to their help in reducing the ravages of famine, flood and pestilence—it is he, seated on his swelling money-bags, who is the first, when red-eyed authority adopts vengeful measures of repression, to applaud it as a return to sanity.

I do not wish to speak as a partisan. I admit that for all government, law and order is a necessity. Even where relation of affectionate kinship holds undisputed sway, chastisement has its place. When popular excitement is in excess, the ordinary law may perhaps be excused for becoming extraordinarily lawless.

But to judge a government truly, the system has to be considered as a whole. And if we find that the interest of law and order is crowding out all other interests, devouring the revenue till very little of it is left for assuaging the thirst that tortures, or preventing the disease that decimates; if we find that the store of generosity is nearly exhausted in the decorations, the comforts, the largesses of these guardians of peace; when, be they on the Civil or the Military side, not the least of their importunities goes unattended to; and yet when the children

of the soil are in extremity, the only help they get is to be reminded of the maxim that God helps them who help themselves; then does this disproportion, in its enormity, give to these favoured watchdogs the aspect of emissaries of some malignant planet of acquisitiveness presiding over India's destiny.

The palatial edifice in which friends, relations and helpers are inordinately outnumbered by guards and warders, is in vulgar language called a gaol. We know that people think it proper to fence round a garden with thorns; but why should the gardener fail to see the point if we lack in enthusiasm for a magnificent enclosure which mounts guard over a tragic barrenness of flowers and fruits? So, if our rulers ask us whether we do not want *Law and Order* in the land, our reply is we do; but we object to *Life and Mind* being bled white for their sake.

There is nothing wrong in piling tons of weight on one of the scales, provided that we have a sufficient interest in the goods which are being weighed in the other. But when we discover that the arrangement is meant not for enhancing the value of the country for those who live in it, but for ensuring permanent possession for those who live away from it; that our portion consists mostly of a growing load of brickbats, while a great part of the valuables is reserved for the opposite side, we cannot look on this beam of the scale set up by armed force as anything but a rod of punishment. Our complaint is not against the police but against the extravagant indulgence which they enjoy. We do not object to the fire being kept up, but to the absence of any cooking pot over it. And when the cost of the blaze becomes so exorbitant as to leave nothing over to fill the pot, then, if in answer to our tears which spring from the gnawing emptiness within, the question is thundered against us, "Are we not then to light up your hearth?" We have to falter back: "Yes, yes, no doubt, but not for our cremation, please!"

The evil to which I am referring is one which has spread over all the world,—everywhere has the profiteer's bushel hidden the light of the truth of the man. Thus has politics, which represents the worldliness of the people, usurped the highest place in the activities of the West, and it has become so easy for man to cheat and be cruel to man. In other words, man's starved heart is being ridden to death by his corpulent pocket racing over a path of profit that has no

terminus. Never in the history of the world has all-devouring avarice organised such a universal orgy for its own repletion.

The passions which are the enemies of the soul work their purpose by hiding from view the wholeness of man. Lust makes us look on the flesh to the exclusion of the soul. Greed draws our attention to possessions to the exclusion of the owners. Pride causes the self to ignore all others. There is one more of these enemies which is negative, in its aspect. This is feebleness of vision.

The mist does not destroy the landscape, but wipes out its sky, shutting the Infinite out of sight. The delusion born of habit or of physical possession is a mist of the mind, which beclouds the faculty of wonder and screens off the ineffable. It smudges the face of truth with the coarse touch of a constantly dusty use, and prevents the mind from entertaining it with due regard; for wonder is the respect paid to Truth.

Nature keeps life active by contact with ever new accidents. Even if any accident should cause pain, it only provokes a more vigorous response of vitality. The accidental is the messenger of that which is beyond the bounds; it comes with a message from the

unusual and frees our consciousness from the encroachment of inertia.

In our country a pilgrimage is one of the most important of religious functions. When the divinity is lost to sight behind the screen of custom it is the screen which appropriates our worship. Those who are utilitarian by temperament have more regard for the material results even in their religion;—it is they who worship the screen to the exclusion of the divinity. In making a pilgrimage the mind thrusts away the screen. Then the limited objects of every-day knowledge appear on their background of the unlimited unknown, the simple finds its place on the bosom of the sublime.

So this time, as I set out on my pilgrimage I again looked about me on both sides of the road. It was my hope that the Eternal Stranger who, though before us, eludes our vision in the world of habit, might be revealed to me, somehow, somewhere, bedecked with some garland of unknown flowers, under the light of some unknown star. Habit cries: "It is naught, it is nowhere." The deep beyond replies: "Of course, it is; you do not see, because you think you have seen."

MEMOIRS OF OLD DELHI

By C. F. ANDREWS

CHAPTER VII.

POLITICAL IDEAS

DURING the closing years of his life, Munshi Zaka Ullah became one of the most deeply respected figures in society in the city of Delhi. He served faithfully and regularly on many committees and took his place on every occasion in public when the leading citizens in Delhi were represented. He was deeply honoured and respected by the Hindus and Musalmans alike. Any doubts which had been held by the latter concerning his religious beliefs in earlier days had for the most part passed away, and he was regarded with natural pride by Delhi Musalmans as an ornament of the faith he professed.

Until the time of his last long illness, he

could be seen every afternoon in the Public Library in the Queen's Gardens reading the latest books and reviews. It was there, as I have mentioned earlier in this book, that I first came to know him as a friend; and therefore that reading room will always to me be associated with his memory. He used to occupy a favourite chair near a sunny window during the cold weather, and during the hot weather he would come after sunset and sit on the roof of the Library in the cool of the day, and there we would hold our discussions.

It would have been difficult to find in the North of India a more distinguished intellectual circle than those elderly men who used to gather round him each evening in the Library. There were members of all creeds

present, and as long as that circle remained intact it was always possible if any religious controversy arose or any outbreak of mob violence was feared, to reach a kindly understanding on points of difference of dispute.

What attracted me, first of all, and drew me into the circle was the extraordinary kindness and cordiality of Munshi Zaka Ullah himself. He seemed to be able to reveal to me the heart of India and to express the greatness of the traditions of the past in his own person. It was not merely an attraction towards the dignity and greatness of Islam that I felt, though his presence helped me much in that direction also. But it was rather a respect and reverence for India as a whole,—its majestic history, its poetry and romance, its colour and atmosphere so different from the West. The West indeed was appreciated by him, and here was our original point of contact. He, on his side, never despised or underrated the culture and the spirituality of the West; but at the same time he gave me in his own person an understanding, and a true appreciation, of the culture and spirituality of the East.

In Calcutta, and in other Indian cities, I have found the same cultured atmosphere again and again; but I have never felt the old world of India blending with the new so impressively as I have done when talking with my old Musalman friend in Delhi. Later on, when the national movement in India, with which I was in whole-hearted sympathy, began to develop in the North, it became my custom to write in English for the different magazines and reviews. Munshi Zaka Ullah, as I have related, was an omnivorous reader and on account of our friendship with each other he would make a point of reading any article of mine with special care whenever it appeared. He would wait for me in the Library eager to discuss the subject with me. Usually he was both critical and conservative at the same time: and he would warn me against impetuous haste in reaching conclusions. Then he would suggest and sketch out for me new subjects, on which I might possibly write, and give me an outline of the direction he would wish me to take.

Munshi Zaka Ullah's mind was wonderfully alert right up to the end of his long life. I was continually impressed by the wide range of his information and the breadth of his point of view on all religious and social questions which we discussed. Curiously enough our English politics interested him very great-

ly indeed; and many of our talks together were about my own country and its more recent historical developments. This was partly due to the fact, that he had been called upon to write text-books, in Urdu, on English and Indian History. The study he had made of the Nineteenth Century in England had absorbed him. Queen Victoria was his ideal monarch, and Mr. Gladstone his model Statesman. For Mr. Gladstone as a man, he had an unbounded admiration. On one occasion; which I remember very well, he said to me:—"When you get a deep and sincere religious nature combined with a strong intellect and a high sense of moral justice, and the man who possesses these great gifts rises to become Prime Minister of a country it is the highest gift that God can bestow on any nation. Politics divorced from religion is altogether evil."

He found it very difficult to fathom the ideas underlying Socialism, and he very often asked me questions about it. But whenever I tried to explain them he would shake his head and tell me that he could not understand them at all. Every country, he would agree, needed a king or ruler. No country could rule itself for any length of time merely by a system, however complete that system might be in theory. The personal ruler was always the chief need far more than the correct system. When the true personal ruler was found and the people were ready to obey his personal will, then good government was to be found. Without strong personal rule good government was, he thought, impossible. Socialism he regarded as eliminating this profound personal element in life and inculcating a mere system in its place. This point of view was interesting, but I felt that fundamentally he could not grasp the subject, because his mind was so entirely wrapped up with loyalty to a king.

The rise of the Labour Party interested him most of all during the closing years of his life, and he was never tired of speaking about it. He knew that I had been very closely attached to the Labour Party in England and this added to his interest. "You are an extraordinary people", he would say to me, "you take those who are in the dust and set them among princes. Of course, if you can ensure the right people coming into power by this method, you will have proved the wisdom of your politics. Our Emperors used to do much the same thing in the past, when they chose their Grand Viziers from the lowest ranks of society and

even from among slaves. But then they could depose them at a single word. What will you do when the Labour Party comes into power and oppresses those who are noble by intellect and birth? You cannot then depose them at a glance as our Emperors could, and they may do infinite mischief."

I used to explain to him, as far as I could, that nowadays, since education was compulsory and universal, times were changed. It was very often found by experience that much of the most brilliant intellect and much of the truest nobility of birth came from the bottom ranks of society out of homes that would never have had a chance of rising in the olden days. I also tried to prove to him the strong moral trend which the Labour Party had already given to politics. He listened to all that I had to say, but he had grave fears about the future. What struck me so much was this, that he felt for the destiny of my country as if it had been his own.

In Indian political affairs, he was strongly and instinctively conservative. Indeed, conservatism was his inheritance, while his intellect made him progressive. Not only was his own nature drawing him to a conservative attitude, but his own tragic experience of the Mutiny drew him also in the same direction. He had seen with his own eyes that most terrible upheaval, of the Nineteenth Century. He had witnessed the wild passions let loose on either side, and therefore his mind was steadily set against change when it endangered the public peace.

The national movement interested him very deeply indeed; for he was a true lover of his country. But he drew back in horror when he saw anything approaching to violence; and he spoke with anguish concerning certain acts of assassination. "Can such people," he cried, "believe in God? Have they forgotten God?"

It was to education, first and last, that he looked for all political and social advance. On this theme he never grew tired. It was always uppermost in his mind. The backwardness in education of his own Muhammadan community was a great distress to him. "Without true learning," he would say to me, "there can be no foundation. You may build and build, but your building will all tumble into ruins. Some new superstition will arise; some new popular clamour will spring up, and then all the edifice which you have been slowly building will come toppling

down to the ground." Once he said to me suddenly and very earnestly: "Remember in my young days, I had to pass through the Mutiny. Would the Mutiny ever have taken place at all, if there had been universal education? What was it that the mutineers fed themselves with and fed the common people with also,—both Hindu and Musalman alike? Superstition! Blind superstition! A little knowledge might have dispelled it: but the knowledge was not there. I do not think that a single one of the students of the old Delhi College was found, who sided with the mutineers. They realised the madness of it all, and the misery in which everyone would be involved."

Munshi Zaka Ullah's opinions on one point were very strong indeed. He objected strongly to Musalmans, whose forefathers had been in India for many generations regarding themselves as foreigners or making a separation between their own interests as Musalmans and the interests of India itself. "India", he said to me with impassioned accents, that I can still recall:—"India is our own mother country, the country which gave us birth. We have made our homes here, married here, begotten children here; and on this soil of India, we have buried our sacred dead. India, therefore, must needs be dearer to us than any other country upon earth. We should love the very soil which is mingled with the dust of our ancestors. For a thousand years, our own religion of Islam has been intimately bound up with India and in India Islam has won some of the greatest triumphs of its own peculiar form of civilisation. We should love its history and government, which have been shaped by Akbar the Great, and his successors. I cannot bear to hear Indian Musalmans speaking without reverence and affection for India, the land of their birth! It is a new fashion now springing up, which did not exist in my younger days. The fashion is a bad one and should not be encouraged. By all means, let us love our Musalman brethren in other countries and feel their joys and sorrows; but let us love with all our hearts our own country and have nothing to do with the encouragement of those who tell us that we, Musalmans, must always be looking outside India for our religious hopes and ideals and their fulfilment."

There were few subjects on which Munshi Zaka Ullah in his old age became more eloquent than this, and he never wavered for a moment on this point throughout the

whole of his long life. His heart was bound up with India, and it was India's history which he studied with the devotion of a lover. His nature was rooted like a tree in Indian soil, and no storm or tempest from outside could shake it.

His son, Enayat Ullah, told me once that he had gone to his father and had asked his permission to study the history of Spain in order to learn about the greatness of Islamic rule in that country. His father had replied to him: "Why should you begin to study the history of Spain, before you have mastered the history of your own country? Is not the Islamic civilisation in India great enough for you to study? Was there ever, in the history of the world, a greater Mahamadan Empire than that of the great Moghuls? Study that first and learn to love your country truly and thoughtfully. Only then will you be able to appreciate the greatness of others."

Indian history, Indian poetry, Indian art, Indian music, were all precious in his eyes and he made no line of distinction between what was Hindu in it and what came from Islam. He was proud of every part of it and cherished as his own.

I come now to the point where my own views tended to diverge from his own. I will state it as simply as I possibly can. He had ardent hopes that owing to the spread of education and the growing enlightenment of the common people, the relations between Hindus and Musalmans would be greatly improved. At the same time, he could look forward to no period (and here I differed from him) when the mediating influence of a third and neutral factor, such as the English, would be rendered unnecessary. He therefore regarded the place of the English in India as permanent and not temporary.

He never for one moment swerved from this position; for he somehow regarded it as an inevitable inference from all his reading of Indian History. "Believe me" he would say to me, with very great earnestness, when I used to argue that British rule was temporary only, "Believe me, I know India from my babyhood in a way you can never know it; for I was born here and I have always lived here. As you are aware, I love India with the love of a son for his own mother, I know also my own people. I know my Musalman community. At the same time, I have close friends among the Hindus and I respect them as my fellow countrymen. But I am sure of one thing, and have become

surer of it the longer I have lived. The difference between Hindu and Mussalman is too great for any permanent union, and we shall always have the need of a neutral balancing power."

"But suppose", I said, "that education should be universal and compulsory, and both communities were taught at the same schools and read the same books, would not the present ignorance and superstition with regard to religious differences vanish, as it has practically vanished between Roman Catholic and Protestant in England? We have no intervening power in our own country. Does not the presence of an intervening power in India only stir up greater strife? Have not the two communities got to learn to settle their own differences without the interference of an outside party?"

The old man would shake his head and say to me: "You younger men may dream dreams. Perhaps we dreamt dreams ourselves, also, when we were young. But experience is a school-master, that teaches us hard lessons that cannot be forgotten and my own experience has shown me that there is a permanent place for the English in India just in the same way as there is a permanent place for the Musalman and the Hindu. You have one destiny to fulfil in India: we, Musalmans have another destiny to fulfil: and Hindus have a different destiny of their own. India is large enough and great enough for all of us: we are all three here and all three are needed."

"What destiny do you mean?" I would ask.

"Our functions are not the same," he would answer, "the country can only have peace by utilising all three. Look at Indian History, which you know has been my special study. First of all, in India, there was the Hindu only: and for a time there was great peace and civilisation. But then at last followed dissolution and decay: Next God sent the Musalman. First of all, there was bloodshed and fighting. Then followed another era of great peace and civilisation. Then in turn came the dissolution and decay. After that God sent the English. Once more there was bloodshed and fighting. And now in turn there has come great peace and civilisation. It may be that your power, in turn, will decay and dissolve. But even then your work in India, will remain. For just as we Musalmans have grown to be a part of India, so also may you. It

is all within the Will of God. He does as He pleases."

"What are the dangers," I asked, "to the present peace and civilisation?"

"First of all," he replied, "you who are English may cease to make your own interests coincide with those of India. You may try to use India entirely for selfish ends. You may say in your hearts: 'I can do wickedness, but God will not see it.' But if ever you cease to be humble before Him, believe me your fall will be greatest of all. Then the second danger is that the Musalman should say in his heart: 'India belongs to us. We will make the Hindu again obey us, as in the past.' The third and last danger is that the Hindu should say: 'We have numbers, wealth, knowledge. We are more in number than the sands of the sea. Let us drive out the Musalman and the

Christian alike and keep the country to ourselves.' All these voices are the boastings of pride. They do not recognise the Will of God working out His divine purpose in the world."

I have tried as nearly as I possibly could to reproduce these conversations. They made a deep impression on me at the time: but the impression was due more to the spirit of intense earnestness with which he spoke than to any newness of the thoughts that he uttered.

When I asked him one day, what he regarded as the one thing of greatest importance in India at the present time he replied without any hesitation, "Religious Neutrality". The answer was unexpected and it struck me very much fully indeed. I had fully expected him to say "Education", but his answer was more striking than that.

(To be continued)

WILLIAM JAMES—THE MAN AND THE AUTHOR

By A. K. SIDDHANTA, M.A.

THE life of William James may be divided into three periods:

I. The Preparatory Period (1842-72).

II. The Psychology Period (1872-93).

III. The Philosophy Period (1893-1910).

In the first period we see James in his boyhood and youth: when invalidated for about four years (1869-72) he 'read much, thought much' and so prepared himself for his active life of later years.

In the second period, James is first seen in the chair of Anatomy and Physiology at Harvard: after his marriage in 1878, he writes his two books on Psychology; is appointed as a professor of Psychology: publishes various psychological articles and becomes a promoter of Psychic research.

In the third period, James is seen turning to Philosophy: he is now afraid of being called a 'Psychologist' and gets back his title of Professor of Philosophy: delivers his Gifford Lecture at Edinburgh: publishes most of his precious books in this period and dies in peace on Aug. 26, 1910.

All students of contemporary Philosophy know Harvard (Mass.) through its three

jewels, William James, Josiah Royce and Hugo Munsterberg. How James helped his two associates, Royce and Munsterberg, may be noted with interest in the course of this essay.

In America all the ancestors of James were Protestants: they were all people of education and character: William James the senior, James' paternal grandfather was the last ancestor who went to U. S. A. in 1789 from Ireland. Henry James, the father of our James the Pragmatist was the second son of William: Henry's mother was a most democratic person by temperament and she managed her husband's household very creditably. Henry's wife, Mary Walsh, lived entirely for her husband and children, who were all devoted to her in return. Her first son, our William James, was born in New York on Jan. 11, 1842. The son resembled the father in many striking ways: the character, manners and beliefs of his father influenced him. Henry, though a man of wandering habits, lived entirely with his books, his pen, his family and his friends. He was so sociable, so independent and lively a talker that wherever he went he entered into hearty relations with interesting personages:

Thackeray, Carlyle and Emerson may be named among his friends and visitors.

After spending more than a year with his brother Henry at a school in Bonlogne, William entered the Academy in Geneva in 1859 and during the next two years he studied painting under W. M. Hunt in Newport. He then joined Lawrence Scientific School and studied chemistry and comparative Anatomy there for two years. President Eliot of the school wrote of James,—"I received a distinct impression that he possessed unusual mental powers, remarkable spirituality and great personal charm."

After joining the classes in the Harvard Medical School for a year or so James accompanied Louis Agassiz (see "Memoirs and Studies" p. 1-16) and party as an assistant on their expedition to Brazil: they sailed from New York on April 1, 1865. He saw Brazil with the eye of an adventurer and a lover of landscape rather than that of a geologist or collector: and in one letter to his brother Henry from Brazil he wrote, "when I get home I am going to study philosophy all my days".

Returning from Brazil he resumed his studies in Harvard Medical School but owing to ill health he was compelled to interrupt his course. He started for Germany both for a change and for studying Physiology in German laboratories. After spending the summer in Dresden and Bolivia he found his health getting worse instead of better. This illness which began in 1867 and which limited James' activities and occupations for several years, had another important effect. He was then a youngman of twenty-five: the illness defeated the plans of his youth and it clearly developed and deepened the bed in which the streams of his philosophic life was to flow.

Though he attended some Berlin lectures in the Autumn of 1867, his ill health prevented him from working in the laboratories. The water cure at Teplitz was a failure and in the spring of 1868 he repaired to Heidelberg to hear Helmholtz lecture. Thence he went to Divonne in Savoy where he handed a writing by Charles Renouvier, that French philosopher who influenced James' thinking in later years. James was greatly impressed by Renouvier's vigor of style and compression: In his "Problems of Philosophy" (page 165 footnote) James speaks of him as "one of the greatest philosophic character." When in the Harvard chair, James discussed Renouvier's writings with his students; in

his turn, Renouvier paid James his tribute by publishing the translations of the latter's various papers in the "Critique Philosophique." after a fortnight's stay at Paris he embarked on November 7, for America "disappointed in the chief hopes with which he had landed in Europe eighteen months before, but much matured in character and thought, and resolved to seek his health and career at home." ("Letters.")

After his return to Cambridge, Mass. in November 1868, he spent four outwardly uneventful years: he was for the most part of the time an invalid. In 1869, he obtained his M. D. During this period he read much on Neurology, Physiology of the Nervous System and on Psychology. In this 'preparatory period' he read portions from Kant, Schiller, Goethe, Jacobi, Schelling, Herder, Humboldt and a number of other authors. Whenever possible he wrote summaries of his readings and made marginal notes. Prof. Perry lists seven book-reviews of James' in this period (1868-72).

James was then a youngman—still in his twenties. But he was suffering so constantly. He was tormented by misgivings which almost paralyzed his naturally buoyant spirit. He was almost plunged into a state of morbid depression. He had even an experience of that kind of melancholy which takes the form of panic.

When James wrote the chapter on the "sick soul"* twenty years later (1902) he put into it an account of this experience. On page 160 of "Varieties," James writes as if a French correspondent is giving him the report. Mr. Henry James states that subsequently his father admitted to M. Abanzit that the passage was really the story of his own case.

The first six years of the second period in the life of William James, may aptly be termed the 'first years of teaching.' During these few years he acted as Instructor in Anatomy and Physiology (1873-76) and began to give instruction in Psychology as well.

In August 1872 at the proposal of President Eliot, James was appointed Instructor of Physiology at Harvard College. Dr. Thomas Dwight was given charge of Anatomy. When these two posts were combined into one in 1873, James was re-elected and was offered the combined chair. He was very popular

* See lecture VI, VII, of "Varieties of Religious Experience."

amongst his students;—all of them were elated with their luck in having him. Before actually accepting the post he sailed for Europe in October, 1873. In a letter from Rome (December 17, 1873) to his sister Alice, we find that James totally abstained from spirituous liquors. Eight years later, when delivering a lecture on "Temperance" before Harvard students he showed evidences from Physiology and general experience in support of total abstinence.

After his return to U. S. A., his college duties proved both absorbing and stimulating. He was then in charge of both comparative anatomy and the physiology of the vertebrates: to this he added a course of physiological psychology in 1876. It was James who founded instruction in experimental psychology in Harvard in 1876 or thereabouts. About fifteen years later, in 1890, he raised several thousand dollars, fitted up Dane Hall and introduced laboratory exercises as a regular part of the undergraduate psychology course.

In 1874 he published an article* in the "Nation" wherein he criticised the speculative scientists for using the authority of science when dealing with speculative problems. Specimens of his contributions of the years following may be found in "Collected Essays" (1921). And when in 1876, Dr. Stanley Hall, the celebrated author of "Adolescence" and "Senescence" (1921) wrote an open letter to the "Nation" complaining of the inadequacy in teaching of philosophy by the best American institutions of the day, it was James who strongly supported him with the remark, 'If a minister of the gospel takes charge of a philosophical class it is natural that *safeness* becomes the main characteristic of a tuition.'

Early in 1876, James had been introduced to Miss Alice H. Gibbens and the next day he wrote to his brother Wilky that he had met "The future Mrs. W. J.". On July 10, 1878, after a short engagement, James and Miss Gibbens were married in Boston. Marriage brought a happy change in James; during the twenty one years that followed his marriage, James did much in the way of teaching and writing, all of which was due to his wife's constant care and watch. Mrs. James was really an ideal wife. She managed her household and looked after the physical and intellectual comforts of her husband.

Josiah Royce (1856-1916) was then a

young man from the "intellectual barrens of California". Royce writes of James

"He found me at once.....accepted me with all my imperfections.....used his influence no to win me as a follower but to give me my chance. It was upon his responsibility that I was later led to get my first opportunities at Harvard!"

The opportunities did not come before 1882-3 however. Though antagonistic in philosophical principles James and Royce were perfect friends. In his letters to Royce, James addressed him as 'My dear Royce', 'Beloved Royce', 'Beloved Josiah'.

James loved Nature; his sylvan home at Chocornor was his most favourite resort. Two years before his death (in 1908) he wrote to Henri Bergson,

"Why should life be short? I wish you and I, and Strong† and Flournoy McDougall and Ward§ could live on some mountain top for a month together talking on philosophy and then feasting on the scenery."

In 1880, he was appointed as an Asst. Professor of Philosophy. Two years later, he took a year's leave of absence from college and sailed for Europe—for taking 'rest' and for meeting European fellow investigators there. He saw his brother in London and in Prague. He met with the mighty Ewald Hering (Lecturer of Physiology) and Prof. Ernst Mach (of Physics) came to his hotel and spent four hours with James. Wundt received him very kindly after his lecture in his laboratory. Wundt's agreeable voice and ready, tooth-showing smile and his able lecture made an impression on James. Before sailing back home in March, 1883; James remained in London for some time and among others he met there S. Hodgson, Leslie Stephen, Carveth Read and Francis Galton.

Prof. Perry records in his precious little book—the "Bibliography"—the names of at least twenty eight contributions of James' to the various papers during the years 1878-82. Of these seven have been reprinted in *Collected Essays* (p. 43-243). Of his 1881 writings a most interesting one was on "Temperance" therein he pleaded for total abstinence.

After forty years of struggle and preparation James was now clear about his aims and abilities. His scenario of "Psychology" was

* Quoted from Harvard Graduates Magazine (June, 1910.)

† Author of "Origin of Consciousness"; "Why the mind has a body"?

§ James Ward author of "Naturalism and Agnosticism"; "Realm of Ends"; "Psychological Principles" etc.

* "The Mood of Science and the Mood of Faith."

now,—after years of hard work,—complete and he had begun to fill up the details: materials he got from his European friends and from his own students. He proceeded slowly with his task because he had, to use his own words, to—"forge every sentence in the teeth of irreducible and stubborn facts: it is like walking through the densest brush-wood."

The English society for Psychical Research was founded in 1882 and in 1884, James, who was in deep sympathy with the announced intention of the society, became a corresponding member: and in the same year he organised an American Society of the same name in Boston. When at last the American branch was finally amalgamated with the English society (in 1890) James became a vice-president of the latter. He continued in this honorary office until his death. In 1889 he undertook the task of conducting the "Census of Hallucinations"* in America.

The three lectures on "Some Omissions of Introspective Psychology" delivered in concord, near Boston, together with many of his 1886 and 1887 contributions (they were mostly Psychological in nature) were later incorporated in his "Principles of Psychology". It was the year 1885 when James got the full professorship of Harvard: that very year he wrote an introduction to his father's "Literary Remains" and favorably reviewed Royce's book on "The Religious Aspect of Philosophy" in the *Atlantic Monthly*. When in 1886 James read Bradley's *Logic*—three years after its publication—he spoke of it as "surely epoch-making in English Philosophy".

In Oct. 1888 he wrote to Editor Robertson "I am teaching Ethics and Philosophy of Religion for the first time, with that dear old duffer Martineau's works as a text.....". The next year he proceeded to Paris to join the Physiological Psychologists' Congress there as a U. S. A. delegate; he was very well received there and was impressed with the proceedings.

In the spring of 1890 James finished the remaining chapters of his *Psychology*; this book won him reputation both in the scientific world and beyond the scientific circles as well, the two volumes were remarkable for their style, their colloquial directness, the

humor and the moral depth and appeal. James was himself conscious of the popularity of his book and when he wrote to the publishers his language was, "The larger books seems to be a decided success..... I begin to look down upon Mark Twain."

But as the size of this book (two vols. 689+704 pages) was an obstacle to its universal use James spent the summer of 1891 in making an abridgement which appeared in autumn under the title "The Briefer Course". Prof. Howison,* when informed of this abridged volume, protested against the irreverent irony with which the author treated the Hegelian dialectics in the bigger book (Vol. 1 p. 369—footnote. So Howison had expressed a hope that such passages would be omitted from the "Briefer Course". In a letter to Prof. Howison whom he addressed as 'My poor dear Darling Howison,' he assured him that the smaller volume which was 'boiled down to possibly 400 pages' will be "free from all polemics and history, from all metaphysical subtleties and digression, all quotation etc...."

The greatness of James is shown by his attitude towards his opponents: he advised the young Psychologist, Hugo Munsterberg, not to mind Muller's unjustifiable review of himself; further, in 1909 when James and Munsterberg (1863-1916) were terribly attacked by their Psychological opponents he persuaded the 'Young-Psychologist' to withdraw his protest. He declared that Harvard people should cultivate rough hides and should not seem 'touchy'.

James was then fifty. By the year 1892, the inclination of his mind was more and more strongly toward philosophy, and the experimental psychology laboratory was becoming a burden to him. He wanted some one to take charge of the laboratory as its director. The Harvard laboratory was by that time on such a solid basis that an able experimenter could be invited to its sole charge. Much impressed by the originality and promise in Munsterberg's experimental works at Freiburg (Germany), James recommended the latter's appointment for three years. Munsterberg was then only 28. The same year, James persuaded an American millionaire, who had founded a new chair on "psychology applied to education" to accept Royce as the right man. Royce was then 37.

After Munsterberg's appointment James

* Interested readers may read (1) "What Psychical Research has accomplished" (in "Will to Believe etc. p. 229-327. (2) "Final Impressions of a Psychical Researcher" in "Memoirs and Studies" p. 173-206.

* Author of "Limits of Evolution" etc.

saw it easier to take a long leave of absence from college duties. He sailed for Europe with family and spent his vacation successively in Switzerland, Florence and near Lake Geneva. From Florence he was very glad to hear that Royce had obtained the professorship and that Munsterberg was an immense success. That Hugo in his turn was grateful to James and that he loved the Harvard people is evidenced by the fact that in later years he declined two important posts of Germany,—the philosophy chair at Königsberg and the 'American Civilization' professorship at Berlin. While at Florence, he met (in Dec. 1892) Mark Twain in a villa outside the town and a few weeks later invited him to a small dinner party.

James and his wife were back in U. S. A. in Sept. 1893 and one afternoon after their return the great Helmholtz and his wife took tea with them; perhaps, Helmholtz was then in U. S. A. for the Chicago Psychic Congress.

James was getting aged! And with age he turned to philosophy. Really speaking, the centre of his interest had always been religious and philosophical. The psychological laboratory was no longer in his charge; he now called psychology a 'nasty little subject' and he tried to avoid the Harvard meeting, where he was to get an honorary degree under the fear that President Eliot would perhaps name him there as "psychologist, psychical researcher, will-to-believer, religious experimenter".

In 1896 James offered a course on the philosophy of Kant for the first time; and the next year he was again called 'Prof. of Philosophy' after passing as Prof. of Psychology for eight years (1889-97). In 1898, he delivered a philosophical address in California. This year he displeased his medical colleagues by appearing at the State House (Boston) to plead for the spiritualists and Christian Scientists. He opposed the State bills which included clauses attempting to abolish the faith curers by requiring them to become Doctors of Medicine; he wanted them to continue their experiments on that line; why should the State kill them through examinations? Eleven years later (in Sept. 1909) when Trendelenburg, the Psycho-analyst was reported to have condemned the American Religious Therapy as very 'dangerous' because it was so unscientific, James exclaimed, "Bah!" The James of 1909 was the same man who supported and defended the logical position of the mind curers in 1898.

The next four years were mainly occupied by James for the preparation and delivery of the first and second series of Gifford Lectures at Edinburgh; during this period he retired from active duty at Harvard and suffered from illness for about two years. For this constant illness he could not begin his lectures in time; he resigned but the Gifford Committee refused to accept his resignation. In James's own words, "I have word from Seth* that the Senate will be sure to grant James any delay he might ask for". He delivered the Tenth Lecture (1st series) on June 17, 1901. All his lectures were attended by a record number of keen audience.

James returned to U. S. A. in early September and by the end of winter he finished writing the last half of his Gifford Lectures. When his lectures were successfully delivered he was offered honorary degrees at Edinburgh, Durham and Oxford. His Gifford Lectures appeared in book form in 1902 and its immediate popularity was very great.

The last eight years of James's life may be roughly divided into three periods:—(1902-05): (1905-07): (1907-10).

In the first period the chief incidents were his forced acceptance of an honorary LL. D. at Harvard and the statement of his own religious beliefs in a letter to F. C. C. Pillow. He states,

"My philosophy is a radical empiricism, pluralism. It is theistic, but not essentially so. I reject the doctrine of the Absolute. It is a Finitist....."

Prof. J. S. Pratt† of Williams College sent James about ten big questions. We select two or three of these...(James' answers are in Italics.)

1. What do you mean by God? (*A combination of Ideality and (final) efficacy.*)
2. Do you believe in God? Is it from argument? (*Emphatically, no.*)
3. Do you believe in Personal Immortality? (*Never keenly; but more strongly as I grow older.*)

In September 1904 Dr. Pierre Janet of Paris, Prof. C. Lloyd Morgan of Bristol and Prof. Harold Höffding of Copenhagen visited James; they had all come to U. S. A. to attend the International Congress.

The chief incidents in the years following

* Andrew Seth (Pringle Pattison) author of, "Kant to Hegel" "Hegelianism and Personality" "Idea of God" etc., etc.

† Author of "The Religious Consciousness" (1920); "What is Pragmatism?"; "India and its Faith" "Critical Realism" (3rd Essay).....etc.

(1905-07) were his visits to Italy, Greece and to Sanford University.

While he was at Italy, a Philosophical Congress was being held at Rome. Though invited he had previously declined to join but was subsequently involved in its proceedings; he had to fill the vacuum left by Flournoy (Geneva) and Sully (England) who could not come.

In January 1906 he accepted an invitation from Sanford University to give a course of lectures there. His lectures were however interrupted by the famous earthquake* of San Francisco; the materials of these lectures were later utilised in the last Harvard class. On May 6, 1906 James wrote a letter to W. Lutoslawski† in which he says that W. L. was wrong in giving excessive value to *Yoga discipline*. In supporting his own opinions, James mentions his three interviews,——the first, with a Yogi who spoke of its 'power' and the other two were with an Indian Christian with scientific training and with a Brahmo Samaj professor——both of whom said that Yoga was less and less frequently used by the more intellectual.

In January 1907 his book on "Pragmatism" was published and in the next month he sent his final resignation to Harvard Corporation. His undergraduate students presented him with a silver loving-cup and the Graduates and Assistants with an inkwell. It is a pity, no record has been kept of his final parting speeches.

* For fuller account See "Memoirs and Studies" (pp. 207-226—foot note).

† Author of "Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic".

The most important engagement during the last three years of his life was his consent to deliver the Hibbert Lecture at Oxford. In spite of failing health he went straight to Oxford and delivered eight lectures there. This very year (1908) appeared the "Essays Philosophical and Psychological in honor of W. James"—an appreciation by nineteen members of Columbia University.

In Sept. 1909, he went to a little International Congress at Clark University where Stanley Hall was acting as President. James met Freud (Vienna) and Jung (Zurich) there; they made a pleasant impression on James.

It was for two main reasons that James left for Europe in the early spring of 1910. He wanted to cure his heart troubles: besides, his brother Henry was then lying ill in London. Mrs. James accompanied him. James consulted Parisian specialists, visited places like Nanheim, Lucerne and Geneva but these changes produced no good effect on his health. He was fast declining. So with wife and brother he turned homewards. Landing at Quebec they went straight to Chocorua, their sylvan home and reached it on Aug. 19 in the afternoon. James had been clinging to life only to get home!

Death without pain occurred in the early afternoon of Aug. 26. His body was taken to Cambridge (Mass.). After the funeral service in college chapel he was cremated; his ashes were placed beside the graves of his parents in the Cambridge cemetery.

Thus ended the life of a man who is truly the pioneer of many modern thought-movements.

THE OCCIDENT AND THE ORIENT.*

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS, M. A, PH.D.

THE most important problem facing the world to-day is the future relations between the East and the West. Prof. Herbert Adams Gibbons of Princeton University, a world recognised

authority on International Politics writes in the *New York Times* to the following effect:—

"The world-wide supremacy of the White Race achieved during the nineteenth century, is the result of the use of force. Titles may have been staked out by explorers and enterprising pioneers and missionaries, but they were made valid and have been maintained by violent means. Of course, we have justified to ourselves treating the peoples of non-European origin in a way that we could

* *The Occident and the Orient* by Sir Valentine Chirol.

The Chicago University Press. 1924. Price \$ 2.00.

not have endured being treated ourselves, on the ground that our occidental civilization has been beneficial to these peoples. The problem before us in 1925 is a simple one the choice between repression by force, or allowing Africans and Asiatics to begin to enjoy the right of self-determination and the right of sharing the privileges the white races have hitherto arrogated to themselves of emigration and developing for their own profit world-markets.....Behind the movements that threaten the white man's supremacy in Asia and Africa and the Pacific stands Japan, already partially successful in checking European overlordship in the Far East and far more powerful than most Americans and Europeans imagine. *It is an open secret that Great Britain now fears Japan more in India than she ever feared Russia there.*"*

Mr. Frazier Hunt, the far-sighted American journalist who recently visited the Orient and studied conditions there, writes:—

"The white man's domination of a billion men of the East by force must cease. If there is 'a white man's burden', it must in the future be borne on other shoulders than those that carry bayonets.

"Everywhere throughout the East there are danger signals flashing their warning to the conquering West. The ruling, the domineering, the looting must cease. If the West were wise it would shift its course now while there is still time. If it blindly stumble on, ignoring these danger signals, the day will soon come when the work and the profits of four hundred years will be swept away."†

The Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald thinks that that the question of the position of the Indians within the British Empire is merely an aspect of the greater problem of the future relation between the East and the West. He says:—

"The whole question, however, broadens itself out into a conflict between the Asiatic and the European races and the champion on the Asiatic side will be Japan and not India—the actual problem will be the Chinaman and not the Hindu. Into what proportions it will develop, who can say? Regarding the conflict which it is to raise, who can prophecy? This, however, no one who knows the facts can doubt. Asia will not submit to exclusion from the North American Continent and the islands of the Pacific Seas, and therefore exclusion is as shortsighted as it is unjust. It is accumulating a weight of resentment which will one day be let loose and perhaps be the signal for the greatest conflict which the world has ever known."‡

During the last few years important British statesmen such as the Rt. Hon. Lloyd George, Lord Robert Cecil, Sir Edward Grigg, the Hon. Lionel Curtis, the Hon. Philip Kerr, and such eminent journalists as Sir Philip Gibbs and the Hon. P. W. Wilson and others have visited the United States and preached the doctrine of Anglo-

American co-operation to solve world problems. The activities of these statesmen can be regarded as the continuation of the work started by Cecil Rhodes, Andrew Carnegie, John Hay, Joseph Chamberlain, Joseph Choate, Whitelaw Reid, Lord Balfour, Lord Bryce, Earl Grey, Walter Hines Page and other distinguished Britishers and Americans. Lord Sydenham of Coombe has of late struck a new note to the effect that *for her own safety America must aid the British* in holding their present imperial possessions in Asia, particularly India. Sir Valentine Chirol has for active service the group of ardent British leaders working for formal or informal Anglo-American Alliance or co-operation to solve the problems facing the world, particularly the problem between the East and the West.

Sir Valentine Chirol is a very well-known British Imperialist. He has travelled extensively in the Orient and studied conditions with great intelligence. He is a recognised authority on World Politics as influenced by the Orient; and the British Government used his expert services during the Peace Conference at Paris. During the summer of 1924 he was invited by the University of Chicago to deliver a course of lectures in connection with the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation. These lectures are embodied in a handy volume "The Occident and the Orient," in which the author has discussed the present-day problems of North Africa, the Near East (territory which used to be the Asiatic realm of the Ottoman Empire), Persia Afghanistan and India.

He has tried to show that Great Britain's relations with the Orient are a part of the wider relation between the Occident and the Orient. During recent years, due to the awakening of the spirit of nationalism in the Orient such new conditions have arisen as make it impossible to ignore the aspirations of the peoples of the East. He points out that the peculiar position of France and Morocco and the British position in Egypt is due to Anglo-French co-operation. Britain lately conferred "independence" on Egypt as a matter of experiment, and with reservations sufficient to safeguard British Imperial interest. He strongly supports the policy of establishing mandates in Palestine, Syria, Arabia, Iraq and the territories lost by Turkey. But to him the key to the future relation between the East and the West is centred in what happens in India. He says:—

"Upon the success or failure of an experiment conducted on a vast scale involving the future of a sub-continent inhabited by nearly a fifth of the human race depends more than anything else in the Orient the peaceful adjustment of its relation with the Occident."

According to the author India's subjection is due more to the inherent weakness of the people than to British force. He says:—"There are only 120,000 Englishmen in India, including the British garrisons—the merest handful among a population of 320,000,000—and it is certainly not by the sword alone that they can hold the fort for the western civilization, not in India alone but throughout the Orient." The real history of the British conquest of India is not well known to the world, even to the Indian public. We are glad to say that Major B. D. Basu of the Panini Office, Allahabad, India has done a very valuable service to the people of India and the world at large by publishing his recent work on "Rise of the Christian Power in India" in five volumes. Dr. Bose's work discloses that intrigue treachery and violation of treaties by

* Prof. Herbert Adams Gibbons: New York Times, December 28, 1924.

† Hunt, Frazier: The Rising Temper of the East. Indianapolis. The Bobbs-Mamerrall Co. 1922.

‡—Macdonald, J. Ramsay: The Government of India. New York. B. W. Huebsch Co. (1920) pp. 218-219.

the British on the one hand, and on the other hand disunity and lack of real patriotism on the part of the Indian ruling class brought about the subjection of India by Great Britain.

Sir Valentine Chirol is quite explicit about the weakness of the people of India; and he says:—"Nothing can be more undemocratic than the Hindu caste-system, which still holds a great part of India in its grip, and Mohammedanism has never risen beyond the conception of brotherhood in the faith within the Mohammedan world—a brotherhood that has constantly broken down in practice—and of the whole non-Mohammedan world as an irreconcilable world of war. According to the author the relations between the Hindus and Mohammedans of India are more strained than ever before; and this condition has been produced by the aftermath of Khalifatism, and his remarks on this point supply food for thought to all who are anxious to see Hindu-Moslem unity in India for the political progress of the people. He says:—"Gandhi, without stopping to probe the merits of the case bestowed his blessings on the Khalifate movement as a great demonstration of religious faith on the part of his Mohammedan fellow countrymen. He, of course, did not fail to preach to them the duty of non-violence. But he had reckoned without the militant spirit of Islam, and the Khalifate movement was responsible for more outbreaks of violence than Gandhi's own Hindu revivalist campaign." It is true that Gandhi supported the Khalifate movement to help Turkey in her struggle for preserving territorial integrity. But it is also true that the Khalifate movement has made the Moslems of India more Islam-conscious than India-conscious. It cannot be denied that it has given new impetus to the Pan-Islamism of Indian Moslems and has dragged religion into Indian politics, more than ever before.

Sir Valentine Chirol in the past belonged to the Carzon School in matters of Near Eastern problems and always opposed any increase of Russian or German influence in the regions of the Persian Gulf on the avowed reason of defense of India. He is not favorable to the present Soviet policy in Asia. He condemns the Bolshevik propaganda in Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and India, because it is against the interest of both the Occidental and Oriental civilizations. He says: "Bolshevism itself is neither of the Occident nor of the Orient, for while it seeks to undermine the foundations of our Western civilization, it has no affinity with any of those types of Oriental civilization, upon whose antagonism to the West I have dwelt in some of my preceding lectures. It has so far merely been a destructive force and in Europe it has only triumphed in Russia." In the past Soviet Russia extended support to Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan to assert their independence, and this was due to Russian self-interest of rousing the Orient against the Western European nations, particularly Great Britain, which were opposing her in Europe. If Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan were allied with Great Britain and France in overthrowing the Soviet regime in Russia, it would have been far more difficult for the Bolsheviks to hold their own against that combination. However the situation has changed and Sir Valentine Chirol thinks that Russia is bound to clash with the Central Asian States, particularly Turkey, because of conflicting interests. As it is now clear that the foreign policy of the British Labor Party has been nothing less than

British Labor Imperialism, so it is not impossible that ultimately Soviet Russia's foreign policy towards Asia may take the form of Soviet Russian Imperialism. It is worth while to take note of what Sir Valentine Chirol has to say about Russo-Turkish relations. He says:—

"So long as a state of war existed between Turkey and the Western powers it was easy for Moscow and Angora to parade their friendship in solemn treaties of amity and alliance. But both of them have separate ambitions which tend to drive them asunder. Nationalism, often of the most extravagant type, has been the great driving force in Modern Turkey since the revolution of 1908, and Soviet Russia herself has been rapidly reverting to the Czarist policy of expansion in Asia, and not least in those regions which have long been a battleground between Turkey and Russia, or must eventually become so, if the Pan-Turanian dream of Turkish nationalists are ever to be fulfilled.

"Already at Lausanne there was a slight rift within the lute. The representative of Moscow and of Angora did not at all see eye to eye on the questions of the Straits and the Black Sea, and though in this case it was Moscow that had to yield, its last word has assuredly not yet been said. For there is little to distinguish between the militarism and imperialism of Soviet Russia of today from the Czarist Russia of yesterday."

Regarding the policy of Soviet Russia in the Caucasus, and Central Asia, the author writes:—"As in the Caucasus, the various nationalities of Central Asia were encouraged to constitute themselves into Soviet republics, e. g. the Soviet republic of Khorezm, once the Khanate of Khiva; the Soviet republic of Turkestan, with Tashkend as its capital; the Soviet republic of Bokhara, also formerly a Khanate. Moscow allowed them for a time to enjoy the illusion of independence, but very soon Soviet Russia reverted to the old tradition of Czarist Russia, which it had originally repudiated with its mission of world liberation. The old Russian agencies as well as the political exiles were employed to preach close affiliation with the Russian union of Soviet republics. They were speedily reinforced by commissars from Moscow accompanied or followed by Red Armies and sooner or later treaties, so-called, of alliance, imposed upon the new Sovietised republics, brought them once more under the domination of Soviet Russia which was no less effective and far more tyrannical than that of Czarist Russia had ever been. Risings followed which were ruthlessly crushed, and devastating famines and wholesale ruin ... In the Soviet republic of Tashkend, Kokand, the charming, a city of over 80,000 inhabitants which had become under Czarist rule the flourishing centre of the great cotton-growing area of Ferghana, was taken, pillaged and burned by the Reds, and 10,000 Mohammedans were massacred, not of course as Mohammedans but as counter-revolutionists. Repeated and sanguinary rebellions and repressions ravaged the large State of Bokhara, and the Ameer, whom Czarist Russia had always recognised as a semi-independent feudatory, had to take refuge in Afghanistan. Before death carried him off, the famous Enver Pasha flitted across the blood-stained stage, first as an ally of the Bolsheviks and then as the leader of a Mohammedan revolt against them. The history of Central Asia during the last five years is a confused and still largely obscured record of des-

truction and anarchy, with Bolshevism, however, still triumphantly riding the whirlwind."

Sir Valentine Chirol pleads that western powers should not weaken themselves by fighting as rivals in the Orient. He points out that Turkey has really come out victorious after the world war not because of her own strength, but because the western powers could not agree on a common policy against her. It is interesting to note that he emphasises that the future of the western civilization which is common both to America and to Europe "is threatened by the awakening or the revolt of the Orient. In the Orient to-day vast changes have come to pass and they have profoundly transformed the former relationships between the Occident and the Orient based upon the claim of the Occidental civilization to inherent and indefeasible superiority over the civilizations of the Orient, and they already threaten to raise a still more dangerous issue of racial conflict between the white man and the coloured peoples who constitute the vast majority of mankind." He appeals to America not to be unconcerned with what is happening in the Orient, but to co-operate with the West in solving the problems on the basis of the superiority of the civilization of white men. He says:—

"In this country you have the color problem in your midst. You have it again at your doors in the shape of Asiatic immigration. We in Europe are confronted with it, as I have tried to show you, along the great borderland of the Occident and Orient extending through Northern Africa and across Western and Central Asia, from the North-Western Atlantic to the shores of the Indian Ocean, even beyond. Its solution bristles with difficulties, but for my own part, I refuse to dismiss it as insoluble. I will say this, at any rate, that the *more firmly we ourselves believe in the superiority of a civilization which, so far it has been the privilege of the white man to build up in his occidental homelands, the more we are bound, by its principles and the principles of common Christianity, which are its one sure foundation, to do all in our power to temper bitterness of racial discord which, if it spreads and deepens, may threaten the future of the whole human race.*"

To Sir Valentine Chirol the solution of the present strained relation between the East and the West largely depends upon the ability of the people of the East to adjust themselves to new conditions and ideals. But he is not very hopeful of the future of the Orient, because he asserts without reservation that the people of the Orient in general lack character. He says:—

"The fundamental issue is whether the Orient can be brought to adapt itself to that democratic type of human society which the most progressive nations of the Occident have gradually evolved as affording the largest opportunities for individual and collective responsibility. If one seeks to define what the Orient chiefly lacks, and has always lacked, it is the practice of freedom with the sense of responsibility, or, in one word character. Almost the only forms of Government it has ever known have been theocracy and autocracy with alternating periods of license and anarchy."

It is somewhat amusing to us that men like Sir Valentine Chirol, Prof. Ramsay Muir and other British historians are at this late hour trying to strengthen the absolutely false notion that the very idea of "law and order", "liberty and justice",

etc., was foreign to the people of the Orient until the advent of the conquering European nations had spread their sway there. It is sufficient to say that lately much has been published about the political institutions of various oriental countries to refute the sweeping statement of Sir Valentine Chirol and others of his type.

Some of the western historians with their peculiar prejudice often forget that India alone is as large as the whole of Europe except Russia and the population of India is equal to that of all of Europe except Russia. If we compare any historical period of Europe with the same period of India or China, we find that Europe had more bloody wars and legalised anarchy and disorder than India or China. In the past Europe had not been free from invasions as Asia is subject to European invasions. In this connection it may be said that the World War, due to pure greed and rivalry among European nations, is the best example of a form of civilised barbarism of the twentieth century. It may not be out of place to point out that the democratic form of government and the modern conception of nationalism of which the western nations are so proud are of very recent origin; they did not even exist before the days of the French and American Revolutions. In this connection it may be asserted that if India has failed to develop democratic institutions, the fault for that lies not only with the people but possibly lies more with the British rulers who even today are determined to perpetuate a most autocratic form of government in India to carry out their scheme of subjection and exploitation.

Sir Valentine Chirol is an apostle of "white superiority." He sees the menace of "conflict of color" and like Lothrop Stoddard and others advocates "white solidarity" to maintain their superior position. But there are many people who will disagree with him and confirm the opinion of Prof. Jesse H. Holmes that "as a matter of fact the 'race problem' is the problem of a mean-spirited and un-Christian prejudice on the part of the whites." If the white men stay away from the lands of the black, brown and yellow and do not attempt to enslave them, then there will be no color problem which the author emphasizes so much. But in this age it is not possible, and if it is possible it is not desirable, that peoples of the world should try to lead the exclusive tribal life of the ancient times. There is not the least doubt that the Western nations are now more powerful than the people of the East. It is also true that the Orient has much to learn from the Occident in the field of science. But the people that have given Confucius, Buddha, Jesus and Mohammed to the world and have a past history of brilliant achievements are not potentially inferior to the people of the Occident. However, it is evident that unless the people of Asia can assert themselves in a way as Japan has done, they will never be recognized by the Occident as civilized. It is needless to add that Japan before her victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War was regarded as a semi-civilized nation and treated with utter contempt. Thus we are convinced that when the subjugated Orient asserts its independence and proves the inherent strength latent in the people, then there will be better understanding between the East and the West on the basis of equality. To Sir Valentine Chirol and others the problem of the East and the West means preservation of white superiority on the status quo

basis but to the people of the East the problem has the supreme meaning of recovery of national sovereignty through many-sided activities as a

stepping-stone towards establishment of human brotherhood. "Above all nations is humanity".

AJUNTA—AN APPRECIATION

By MISS G. M. COLES

THE first general impression of Ajunta, stronghold of India's ancient religion and art, is that of a curved sweep of grey-green granite cliff, a pool of limpid waters at its base dividing it from the delicately tree-studded hillside 'en face'. Over all, the blue, blue sky, the golden sun and around a 'peace that passeth understanding'.

Now in December two paths are available, one to the right by a series of steep modern steps leading more directly to the Cliff Temples; the other through the river-bed just now a rivulet. This, the old old path of 2,000 years ago, strewn with green-slashed, grey, cream, and bronze stones, continues up the cliff face, by the old, renewed old path, until, halfway between earth and the cliffs' sharply defined ridge, the ledge leading right and left, to the temples on either hand is reached. From this central spot the eye rapidly focuses a series of seemingly austere pillared entrances; then, as information or inclination directs, proceed! Of all the caves, is there one uninteresting? Finished, unfinished, damaged (and all are damaged) with a crowded record of the masters' handiwork or with none, with little or much remaining, all in lesser or greater degree stimulate and invigorate the imagination. In some, the why and wherefore, where nothing remains, or has never been. In others "what has been, what was, what is", but never alas! a joyous anticipation of 'what will be': and where more complete frescoes still reign in the later caves, their wealth of living, loving, vital life, sway before us in all the superb abounding arrogance of life, lived each day to its fullest capacity.

The earlier frescoes (Cave 9, Cave 10), some centuries nearer the Buddha's teaching, depict again and again on pillared aisle and temple wall the Buddha in pilgrim robe.

Whether with foot charmingly poised on the blue lotus, form completely framed in green haloed background; or in black and white, and white and black, line-drawing only, here is the Buddha, simple serene portrayed by the Buddhist devotee, as distinguished from his less single-minded followers who executed the later paintings.

Some centuries have passed before (in the later caves) the full wealth of sculptured Buddha, Bodhisattwa, Gandharva, and other known and unknown hesitant graceful forms, singly and in groups, begin their gorgeous assemblage. The enormous carved Buddha, with appropriate attendants, generally in the inner shrine of shrines: himself and his teachings relegated as it were to a definite place. Then the riot of pictorial pageantry on temple wall processions, floral and fantastic figured device on roofs, begins, as if the bounding pulsating life these artists knew had to find a more comprehensible interpretation than "lifeless timeless, peace". Woven in and around the Jatakas, tales of the Buddha's former incarnations, the wealth of glowing living life depicted, holds the spectator spell-bound. Of all the wonders of these artists—the hands, the lines, the curves, the graceful turn of limb, the revelation of mind,—predominant are the laughter-loving eyes. So often, too often only the eyes remain, and yet the dainty madames glide before us resplendent in their bursting vitality. Imperious, joyful, these women. None of the often tiring humility of the Moghul damsel, or the melancholy musing of the Christian maiden. Never sensual, always sensuous—that ugly word for a beautiful mentality. The lovely unthinking joy of life lived each day to the full. Its radiancy revitalising the onlooker of to-day, so forcefully is its joyous creed declaimed. "Is love and life enough?" the Buddha asked. To this his

later followers have given their answer with sure and certain affirmation.

M. Foucher, with a devotion, and untiring zeal, for which we can never be sufficiently grateful, has discovered to us many of the otherwise unintelligible frescoes. The enormous character of this task can only be fully appreciated by those who have seen their vast damaged areas, and experienced the chill of disappointment at the hopeless inability to connect satisfactorily the seemingly meaningless surviving lines. Like the Hebrew Leader of old, M. Foucher with his keen intelligence and patient persistence has struck the all but lifeless rock and forthwith caused to spring and greet the observer scenes of intensely vivid splendour.

To separate from their surrounding context any group or groups and give them greater acclamation, can be only a matter of individual temperament. Some are more favoured by the majority than others, as in the well-known Adoration. Here the wondering gaze of Mother and Child before the Buddha displays no sentimental subordination of itself; insistent is the individuality even in the Presence. The Naga King's announcement to his wives, of his intended submission to the monastic order, reveals consternation not despondency and the genial bonhomie with which his cheerful ladies surround his departure suggests a sunny-tempered womanhood, delightfully refreshing. Even the "Dying Princess" might be the half-sleeping beauty of our childhood's days, and almost irreverent is the curious peeping gaze of the young minxes usually described as "Women Worshipping Buddha". "Worshipping" would seem more applicable to the struggling adoration of the male figure, kneeling, with hands outstretched, breathless, tense to attain understanding in "The Buddha Preaching Scene". Most wonderful, she who kneels to receive the executioner's blow, vibrant as is her figure with surrender compelled but proud. So realistic is the famous "Temptation Scene" that the feminine mind feels a momentary annoyance with the impassive Buddha! Truth compels: the little ladies themselves appear anything but discomposed at their chilling reception, nay, lack of reception. Joyful lovers abound, the apotheosis of artistic handling; they love, they live not unduly concentrating on their amour, but giving it its well-appointed place in the harmonious whole of life.

So "veil after veil will lift" before the

observer, as the glorious frescoes reveal themselves, until the mind is permeated and the body glows as if bathed in an unknown elixir. Little wonder, the oriental mind ascribed these paintings to divine agency, if the prosaic European senses an unknown magic.

Curiously persistent through the centuries has been the ill luck attending these frescoes and sculptures. What bat, and bird, and creeping thing could not effectively damage, the Sadhu with his cooking fires hastened, mediaeval Mohammedan maliciousness magnified exceedingly, and Christian mistaken artistic zeal perpetuated. Followers of the three alien religions seem each in turn to have been an unconscious or conscious agency impelled to destroy, if human agency could destroy, the wonders on these walls. Possibly it is left for the modern tourist to concentrate the vandalism of all three creeds by his irrespressible desire to impress an indifferent world with his adventurous spirit.

Can we moderns, who subconsciously appraise achievement by rapidity of execution, ever sufficiently appreciate those first Ajunta artists of all, who—facing the towering cliffs, and seeing with wonderful foresight the supreme asset of the long path of sunlight from sunrise to sunset—conceived these peerless galleries of Art, whose minds in imagination pierced the mass of living granite, modelled the dim cool halls, carved the magnificent sculptures, and decorated wall and roof with the final triumph of the painters' brush. These, the very first Ajunta Artists, with an abiding faith in the ability of their descendants finally to execute worthily, what they could only prepare and plan, with no hope in their lifetime of seeing even an approximate fulfilment of their marvellous conception; the very human desire of rapid achievement subordinated, in order that the final attainment centuries later should be supreme. Must not these colour-artists too have longed to experiment and demonstrate from the colour store in and around the river-bed, the sculptors also to execute even trifling masterpieces from the boulders lying around him! True artists indeed, denying themselves the joy of expression, content to labour lovingly at the first crude essentials. Should they too not share the encomiums lavished to-day on the finished production?

Rarely does a mass of glowing colour

leap to welcome the observer. The eye has to pierce the sickly brown of kitchen chair varnish so liberally applied and thus compel to life many, too many, of the all but obscured frescoes. What a triumph of supreme artistry is then revealed. Masters of line-drawing so pregnant with vitality that almost the living vein itself might be there, cousing with the rich red wine of life. Petty questions of superiority, or inferiority, over other frescoes seem utterly alien at Ajunta. The magnificent tributes of Professor Lorenzo Cecconi and others competent to distinguish and decide, suffice the amateur

mind. Whether Ajunta will be found in Europe, China, Japan : or Europe, China, Japan at Ajunta, cannot add to or detract from the appreciation of those who find in the Ajunta frescoes a subject which compels not mere liking but loving admiration.

Casual reading since seeing Ajunta suggests, too often has the European held the Pilgrim Robe before him and then seen the paintings. Leave the Robe in the inner shrine, as the later artists (if they heeded it at all) undoubtedly did, and thus divested, partake of the delectable fare provided.

ROLLAND ON TOLSTOY

(A LETTER.)

By DILIP KUMAR ROY

[I wrote a letter to Rolland on 11th March, 1922 from Berlin in which I had expressed my admiration for Tolstoy's "Confessions". The problems which this great book has raised rendered my previous doubts on this same subject all the more poignant. Thus I asked Rolland if one must needs renounce art for service, since artists often become prone to have a contempt for those who do not understand their art. They are often found to become egoists, caring for little else than their so-called high mission to humanity through art, which however renders them callous to the latter's sufferings and eternal aspirations. Must one therefore (I asked) forego the comparative exclusiveness of artistic ecstasy in order to live a life of daily sacrifice for the suffering humanity? It was possible (I suggested) that an artist might do comparatively little lasting work in walks of life other than that of art for which he may be said to have been cut out: But does it matter after all? Is a life to be valued for and measured by the amount of the so-called lasting contribution it has made for the pleasure, of a handful,—or is it to be valued for one's being true to one's convictions, no matter if the conditions lead the artist to a life of comparative barrenness? In brief, what, I asked, is to be preferred—a life of productivity in art or a life of service, trying to the best of one's poor ability to alleviate the widespread miseries of mankind?

Rolland replied to these questions with his characteristic kindness illuminated by a touching responsiveness which reminds one of a remark of his worthy biographer when he writes apropos Tolstoy's long reply to Rolland when the latter was yet a mere stripling: "Rarely has history produced a more beautiful example of the truth of the principle of conservation of energy in the moral as much as in the physical world. The

hours that Tolstoy devoted to answer an unknown correspondent have been revived in a thousand letters which Rolland has written to so many people unknown to him. An infinite quantity of seed has thus been scattered throughout the world to-day by the sowing of this single grain of kindness by Tolstoy.*

That this is not an exaggeration will be shown by the following translation of the letter Rolland took so much pains to pen for the benefit of an insignificant student like me.]

Monday, 20th March, 1922.

Dear Mr. D. K. Roy,

Your generous letter has touched me. I hasten to reply thereto, though not at as great a length as I would have wished, since I am hard pressed for time just now.

I understand your difficulties very well. I was myself troubled with them once. It is a similar torment which made me write to Tolstoy when I was a young man. To-day my troubles have quieted down. A life of trials and tribulations, of solitude and

* Selten hat die Geschichte schoener als an diesem Beispiel bezeugt, dass in der moralischen Welt wie in der irdischen nie ein Atom an Kraft verloren geht. Die Stunde, die Tolstoi Wegwarf an einen Unbekannten ist auferstanden in tausend Beiefen Rollands an tausend Unbekannte, unendliche Saat weht heute durch die welt von diesen einzelnen hingestreuten der Guete."

—from "Romain Rolland, Der Mann und das Werk" by Stephan Zweig.

hard fights has enabled me—especially of late years—to elucidate the enigmas which once seemed to me insoluble.

The confessions of Tolstoy are admirable. His anguishes *vis-a-vis* the miseries of the world are poignant. But it must be said that Tolstoy is a bad guide. In the midst of his torments his genius was always incapable of finding a practical way out. His great, fraternal pity goaded him to condemn among the privileges of the élite, even things like art and science without which however he would never have the strength to renounce either art or other privileges less essential to a country-gentleman. He could only suffer from this antinomy. One ought to try to know what one wants. And what one wants, one ought to do.

It was not his circumstances alone—his wife and family—which were the the root-causes of Tolstoy's indecision, although he made them out to be responsible for it. The real cause was in himself. He obstinately desired to claim as the whole truth what his instinct in his heart of hearts refused to acquiesce in. And his instinct was not at fault; for this truth was insufficient, incomplete.

The grave mistake of Tolstoy (and of so many others) is to want to simplify human nature too much—to try to make it uniform. Every human being is, in reality, composed of several beings, or rather every human being moves on different planes simultaneously. He is a polyphony. The arguing reason which has become a sort of tyrannic mania with the civilized man would have it that we transmuted our rich complexity to a simple, clear, neat and abstract formula like a syllogism. This is possible only with the mediocre who, possessing little life-force suffer little from this dwarfing of the spirit. But the men who are really living cannot lend themselves to this mutilation, without grave detriment to their whole organism. Such a procedure is termed 'repression' (refoulement) in the language of psycho-analysis. The person is then unhappy, ill-at-ease, perpetually dissatisfied,—a prey to the aberrations and despondencies.

One must not only not mutilate any of the great healthy impulses of one's nature, but one should on the contrary stimulate their development. And first of all to learn to acquaint oneself with the essential elements of one's nature, one must place above all:

(1) The social man,—the man in society,

with his duties towards them and his moral needs.

(2) The individual man,—with his private needs and spiritual duties.

None of the two is less essential than the other. It is an aberration of mind which prompts the sacrifice of the one at the altar of the other. It is simply a question of giving to each the place which is its due.

Be sure that your artistic gifts cannot but impose on you corresponding duties which are not less imperious than those of charity and brotherly service. For one has duties to do not only by one's contemporaries, one's neighbours, but also by the Man Sempiternal, who, emerged out of the lower depths of animality, has ascended resolutely for centuries towards the light. And the price of this Eternal Man is his conquest of the spirit. All the efforts of the savant, the thinker, and the artist have joined hands in this heroic campaign ("campaign" in the sense of combat.—R.R.). Whoever eludes this responsibility, be it for a motive however noble, is a traitor to his essential duty.

This is not to say that *pari passu* with this duty there cannot be any others. Far from it. His special task accomplished, man should every day find the time and the force for acquitting himself of his universal human duty. He should serve the spirit (that is, art, science and thought) and humanity parallel. I say parallel, and not on the same plane: for the two activities are best ranged on two different planes. When the spirit is in quest of beauty or truth no practical consideration should thrust itself in the former's free and disinterested research;—and when humanity has been served, the self must be forgotten. Then beauty and truth should then find their place to the thirst for goodness. Why set one against the other? Each has its own duty to perform. Each should endeavour to be true to its own duty.

Thus the problem is finding the proper harmony, where the two activities find their place.

It is perhaps easier to find the proper harmony than for anybody to resolve, as the dissonance of the Indian soul knows the far better than for anybody to resolve.

Thus the problem is finding the proper harmony, where the two activities find their place. It is perhaps easier to find the proper harmony than for anybody to resolve, as the dissonance of the Indian soul knows the far better than for anybody to resolve.

Everyone should in his turn seek for the equilibrium which is peculiar to him alone, out of the diverse elements. For everyone must be—as he is at bottom—a different chord. The interest of life consists

in a life-long research after this realisation. And whoever realises this has not wasted his life inasmuch as he is what he *ought to be*. It may be said to be the very definition of joy on earth.

FAILURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL OPIUM CONFERENCE

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE

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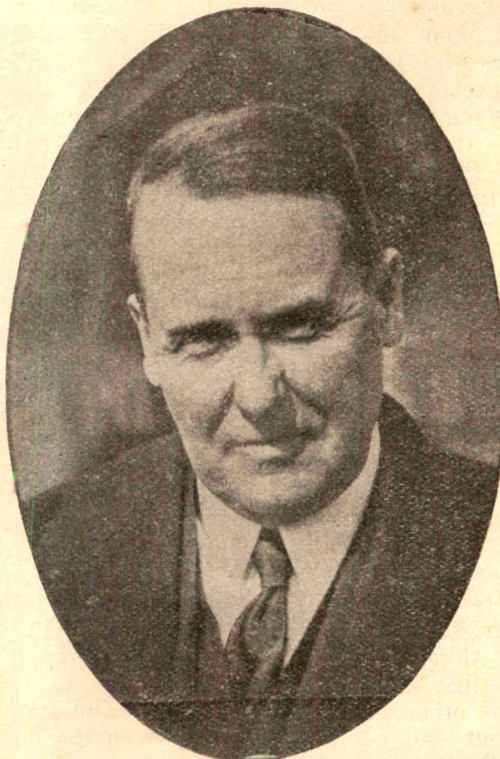
AMERICA won the sincere gratitude of the entire Orient, especially of India, when its delegates at the recent International Opium Conference at Geneva, put up a brave fight to wipe out the nefarious traffic in opium.

The American delegation went to the Conference with a single purpose in view : the complete suppression of the opium traffic, without ifs and buts. This the United States delegates failed to accomplish because of the European political rivalry and commercial greed. The chief offender that blocked America was no other than our familiar, self-righteous England.

I have before me an American cartoon, entitled "Pounds of Flesh". Uncle Sam is represented standing on one side of the fence, and on the other, representatives of European civilization carrying huge sacks of pound sterling labelled "Opium Traffic Blood Money". Uncle Sam looks in amazement at the greedy money-grabbers and exclaims : "Pardon me, gentlemen, but did some one call me Shylock ?"

The Opium Conference ended in a fiasco, because America would not condescend to drive a bargain with those who put money profit above human welfare. For once the American position, absolutely uninfluenced by economic consideration was logically and professionally the world as a whole as to the traffic in

opium poison see the wickedness of their ways, but in vain. At last the American delegation withdrew from the Conference in sheer disgust. Congressman Stephen G. Porter, the chief of the American delegation, in issuing a memorandum to the President of the United States, explained :



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Stephen G. Porter, who Headed the U. S. A. Delegation to the International Opium Conference.

"The joint resolution adopted by the Congress of the United States on May 15, 1924, authorizing our participation in the present conference, expressly stipulated that the representatives of the United States shall sign no agreement which does not fulfil the conditions necessary for suppression of the narcotic drug traffic."

"Despite over two months of discussion and repeated adjournments, it now clearly appears that the purpose for which the conference was called cannot be accomplished. The reports of the various committees plainly indicate that there is no likelihood under present conditions that the production of raw opium and coca leaves will be restricted to the medicinal and scientific needs of the world. In fact, the nature of the reservations show that no appreciable reduction in raw opium is to be expected."

"It is believed, by reason of the very small bulk, the ease of transportation with minimum risk of detection, and the financial gains obtainable from their illicit handling, such drugs and their derivatives can only be effectively controlled if production of raw opium and coca leaves from which they are obtained, is strictly limited to medical and scientific purposes. This the conference is unable to accomplish."

The stand taken by the American delegation at the Opium Conference was fully supported by President Coolidge and Congress. It fought for the production of opium on a medical and scientific basis; it demanded that the only way to bring this about was to strike at the production of opium, especially in countries which produce it for the sole purpose of smoking and chewing.

America has put its case squarely before the world with Japan, China, India (not British India), Egypt, and all the other Eastern nations staunchly supporting it. The world knows now who is protecting and perpetuating the opium trade.

"The key to the failure of the international opium conference", says a dispatch from Paris Universal Press, "was held in London at the British foreign office. This was the nearly unanimous opinion of delegates from forty nations to the international conference. These delegates all saw British delegates (from India) block all agreement to limit the illicit trade. All the governments that opposed the American program took their cue from the British. The British government must therefore, accept full responsibility." What a frightful responsibility is England's!

Altogether twenty-eight countries supported the American plan. England and some nine other countries with colonies deriving about 50 per cent revenue from the opium traffic were in opposition. An overwhelming majority of the nations represented at the Conference were, therefore, against opium:

but what could they do against the chief profiteers of the trade who were deaf to all reason and dead to all moral appeals? Without the co-operation of this determined, but perverse minority, the Conference was doomed to failure. Besides, as the virtuous British pointed out, international practice required unanimity in Conferences of this kind.

The profiteering nations failed to subordinate financial interests to ethical principles and humanitarian purposes. They do not intend, if they can help, to abolish the system which helps to line their pockets with blood money. That is the naked truth. All else is smoke screen.

Where was India at the International Opium Conference? India, as is well known, was "represented" by men with such strange Indian names as Campbell and Clayton. These two fellows were the "Indian" delegates—more accurately the delegates of the India Office in London. They served India in a grand manner, these "Indian" delegates. The worthy pair held that the prohibition of opium production in India would only stimulate production in China.

John Campbell, speaking in the name of India, severely condemned China's opium evil. He was in his holy zeal doubtless presuming a good deal upon the unholy ignorance of the Opium Conference. The fact is that opium was practically unknown in China until the eighteenth century. Then the East India Company was formed, which founded the commerce in opium. It is the East India Company that started to poison China with the drug.

John Campbell imagined that the delegates did not know how England "took" Hong-Kong from China, and how that helpless country was forced at the point of the bayonet to sign a treaty permitting the shipment of an unlimited supply of opium. It would have been more to the point if Honorable John could tell if England ever tried to stop opium as China has done so often, plowing under two million poppy fields, closing its opium dens, and burning crores of rupees of opium. "Britain", says an American paper, "having debauched China, now blames her for not being virtuous." With perhaps one exception, opium is responsible for more hell in the Far East than any other thing since Asia met Europe.

Meanwhile, England claims the right to drug the Indian people, and proposes to

suppress the poison only after China has succeeded in doing it effectively. India must wait on China's success at suppression :

Mr. Campbell was so utterly discredited as the spokesman of India that he was withdrawn, and Lord Robert Cecil, who had just then returned from the United States with \$25,000 prize (Rs. 75,000) of Woodrow Wilson Foundation for his efforts toward international peace, was substituted. This peace prize was supposed to invest Lord Cecil with some occult prestige of high statesmanship ; but it did not prevent him from getting sharp thrusts from the rapiers of American delegates in the vicinity of his fifth rib.

The world is beginning to understand how sincere is England in its professed desire to end opium. As a striking evidence of the British method of inaugurating a campaign against opium *The Chicago Herald and Examiner*, observes :

"After the war the British Indian government signed a contract with the British Hong Kong government for another five years to supply opium in large monthly quantities. This was acknowledged in the House of Commons. (Rev. C.F. Andrews.) Great Britain has now established a morphine factory in the Straits Settlement. Opium has been pouring into Syria, Siam, North Borneo, Ceylon and Assam.

"Mesopotamia was awarded to Great Britain by the league of nations. Yet her first act upon assuming control was to establish an opium monopoly there to sell opium for the purpose of raising revenue. Is it any wonder that the Orientals want to free themselves from the dominating force of Western tyranny and exploitation ?

And yet the bureaucratic crew spews forth its lies, and shouts that it is exerting every nerve to shut the narcotic drug out. What nerve !

The British government declared that it was unwilling to pledge itself to the suppression of opium as it knew beforehand that such suppression was impossible. Impossible ? Did it ever honestly try ?

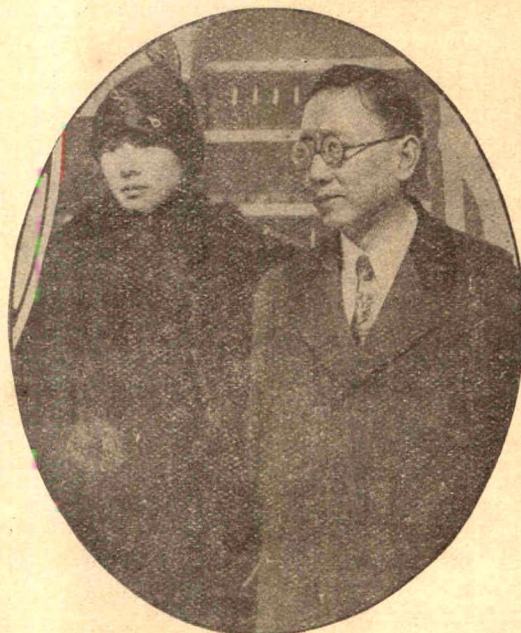
Japan had the actual effrontery to come forward and offer the Conference a working model of the system that has been adopted in Formosa with excellent results. Japan's plan of dealing with opium in Formosa is this :

"All addicts are registered, and no newcomers are admitted to the lists. They are supplied with opium as they need it, till they either die or are cured of the habit. This opium is sold at so low a price that smuggling is unprofitable. Every immigrant from China is detained two days on arrival, to see if he has the habit, and if so, he is deported. By this system the number of smokers has been reduced from 169,000 in 1900 to 40,000 in

1923. Of these more than 27,000 are over fifty years old, and mortality among them is heavy. In a few more years all smoking in Formosa will automatically end, and the whole thing will be over."

Formosa is close to China so there is a danger of opium being smuggled into the island. That did not and does not prevent Japan from trying to suppress opium in Formosa. Did Europe accept this Japanese scheme ? "Far from it!" wrote Ellen La Motte, "Impracticable, says Great Britain, with an eye to the opium revenues in her many Far Eastern colonies. Money no object, of course, but still the thing's impossible. Honestly, there were days at this conference when one needed rubbers because of the crocodile tears!"

The International Opium conference, called under the auspices of the League of Nations, held forth from November till the middle of February. The fable of the mountain's labor is truly applicable to its work. The Conference at Geneva was a complete failure: it did nothing to suppress opium, camouflage for vice and degeneracy.



Sao-Ke Alfred Sze Chinese Minister to the U. S. A., who represented China in the Opium Conference with Mme Sze.

The League of Nations was to promote universal and unbroken peace; but the controlling European members of the League have once more demonstrated that they are

eager to protect themselves, and are quite willing to permit the exploitation of the Orient. Instead of peace, they are actively promoting antagonism between the East and the West. Very probably that is one of the reasons why the League was never more discredited in America than to-day.

Lord Cecil, the winner of the peace prize of Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the most noisy champion of the League of Nations in the British Isles, called opium-eating "an age-old custom, generally harmless and sometimes actually beneficial". Was Lord Cecil in his right mind? If this is the mental attitude which characterizes the "advanced" pro-leaguers and their cohorts, League can now close its shutters and go hence without delay.

The California poet, Bret Harte, once jibed against the Chinese in a verse which is known all over the English-speaking world. The satire of the California poet, which is quoted by all Western politicians anxious to fan the flames of race-hatred, is that "I would like to remark that for ways that are dark and tricks that are vain, the heathen

Chinese is peculiar." The joke is now on the West. As the Geneva Opium Conference was about to adjourn, Dr. Alfred Sze, a delegate from the land of "the heathen Chinese" stepped to the platform. Facing the Occidental people who persist in foisting upon the Orient the abominable opium traffic, Dr. Sze paraphrased the words of Bret Harte and delivered this deft stroke:

"I would like to remark that for ways that are dark and tricks that are vain, first opium conference is peculiar."

A masterpiece of irony!

The bungling of the International Conference with the Opium question has aroused a tidal wave of moral indignation in this country. Opium is doomed; it is bound to be outlawed. America is determined to secure "Complete suppression of the opium traffic, regardless of China, on the ground that China's inability to control the traffic could in no way justify its continuance by other Powers." A relentless war on this great curse of humanity is now on.

Down with the traffickers of the deadly drug!

THE FUTURE OF CIVILIZATION

"The Decay and Restoration of Civilization" is the name of a book by Dr. Albert Schweitzer, translated and published by Messrs. A & C Black in 1923. In Upsala, Oxford, Copenhagen and Prague he expounded the principles of his philosophy in public lectures in which it is said, he proved himself an elemental thinker who has much of great value to say and to give to our age. Let us see what is the gist of his teaching. Those who have read Rabindranath Tagore's *Nationalism* will not need to be told that there is considerable similarity between the line of thought of this Alsatian thinker and the Indian sage.

Civilization, according to our author, consists in moral and material progress, the perfecting of the human race by simultaneous advance enough in both directions. This is a common definition, but the distinction in the present case lies in the unusually strong emphasis laid on the moral side.

Civilization is ultimately ethical and if the ethical foundation be lacking then civilization collapses.

What is the characteristic of Indian as opposed to European ethical thought?

"Ethics is the activity of man directed to secure the inner perfection of his own personality. In itself it is quite independent of whether the theory of the universe is pessimistic or optimistic. But its sphere of action is contracted or widened according as it appears in connection with a theory of the first or the second type."

The Indian theory of the universe is profound and ethical, but alleged to be pessimistic. The theory of the universe which the future needs must be ethical as well as optimistic, that is to say, it must affirm life as possessing value in itself, so as to raise existence, in so far as our influence can affect it to its highest level of value.

"Only when we are able to attribute a real meaning to the world and to life shall we be able also to give ourselves to such action as will produce re-

sults of real value. So long as we look on our existence in the world as meaningless, there is no point whatever in desiring to effect anything in the world.....nothing of real value in the world is ever accomplished without enthusiasm and self-sacrifice".

This affirmative and optimistic view of the world characterises Western nations in general as opposed to the negative and pessimistic view which Dr. Schweitzer attributes to Indian philosophy.

"In the determinist—pessimistic theory of the universe, as we have it in the thought of the Brahmins or of Schopenhauer, ethics has nothing whatever to do with the objective world. It aims solely at securing the self-perfection of the individual as this comes to pass in inner freedom and disconnection from the world and the spirit of the world".

But European civilization is on its last legs. It is approaching dissolution for over-organisation has killed individuality, and "our generation, though so proud of its many achievements, no longer believes in the one thing which is all-essential: the spiritual advance of mankind."

What are the characteristics of the present age? Overwork, want of leisure and self-cultivation, of mental concentration, of self-collectedness, overspecialization leading to development, not of the whole man, but of special faculties and loss of humanity, and superficiality. The demoralisation of the individual by the mass is fairly complete. The modern man is "susceptible, to an extent that is almost pathological, to the views which society and its organs of expression have put ready made, into circulation". "No one as yet clearly perceives what a condition of spiritual poverty is ours to day." The over-organisation of our public life and institutions has been developed at the expense of spiritual life. Personality and ideas are subordinated to institutions and the effect is felt in the repression of creative and spiritual activity. Life has lost in richness and variety in the degree in which living organisations have been made to resemble perfected machines. "An elaborate system of uncivilization" has in a word, been brought into being by what the author calls our "barbarian civilized states".

An instance of this is to be found in the attitude of the white towards the coloured races.

"Our society has ceased to allow to all men, as such, a human value and a human dignity; many sections of the human race have become merely raw material and property in human form..... And what an amount of insulting stuff, some decently veiled, some openly coarse, about the coloured races has made its appearance during the last decades,

and passed for truth and reason, in our colonial literature and our parliaments, and to become an element in general public opinion!"

The historical sense has lost its critical objectivity. There is no suppression of prejudices springing from nationality and creed. The greatest learning is allied with the strongest bias, and the highest position in historical literature is occupied by works written with propagandist aims, "our school history books become regular culture-beds of historical lies."

Nationalism is an ignoble patriotism, exaggerated till it has lost all meaning. The cult of patriotism as such is to be considered as barbarism, as the purposeless wars which it necessarily brings in its train prove. The mentality of our age concentrates all the enthusiasm of which it is capable on the ideal of nationality, but civilization is an interest of all men and of humanity as a whole and the noble kind of patriotism is that which aims at ends that are worthy of the whole of mankind. A *national* civilization is an unhealthy phenomenon. Modern nations seek markets for their civilization, as they do for their manufactures! National civilization is a matter for propaganda and export, and thus the world has inflicted on it a competition between national civilizations and between these, civilization itself comes off badly.

"Anything valuable in a personality or a successful undertaking is attributed to some special excellence in the national character. Foreign soil is assumed to be incapable of producing the same or anything similar, and in most countries this vanity has grown to such a height that, the greatest follies are no longer beyond its reach."

What is needed, therefore, is to impart a new spirit to the age, to bring about an inner change of character, to build on the spirit, not on what is merely external. For

"The various civilized nations have all sunk to the same depth of barbarism. What we have experienced, and are still experiencing, must surely convince us that the spirit is everything and that institutions count for very little. Our institutions are a failure because the spirit of barbarism is at work in them."

We must, therefore, draw from the spirit strength to create new conditions. New ideas and ideals are necessary to bring about this regeneration, but the age gets its ideas from its personalities, and it is the individual personality which must be looked to as the agent in the new movement.

"It is only an ethical movement which can rescue us from the slough of barbarism and the ethical comes into existence only in individuals. The final decision as to what the future of a society

shall be depends not on how near its organization is to perfection but on the degrees of worthiness in its individual members."

Therefore

"Civilization can only revive when there shall come into being in a number of individuals a new tone of mind independent of the one prevalent among the crowd and in opposition to it, a tone of mind which will gradually win influence over the collective one, and in the end determine its character."

Not in the stoic ideal of resignation, nor in the Indian ideal of renunciation, will salvation of the future be found. All the existing civilizations of the world, the Indian and the Chinese included, are, in the opinion of the author, expiring. For one thing,

"Material and spiritual freedom are closely bound up with one another. Civilization presupposes free men, for only by free men can it be thought out and brought to realization"

In the second place,

"The earth no longer has in reserve, as it had once, gifted peoples as yet unused who can relieve us and take our place in some distant future as leaders of the spiritual life. We already know all those which the earth has to dispose of. There is not one among them which is not already taking such a part in our civilization that its spiritual fate is determined by our own. All of them, the gifted and the ungifted, the distant and the near, have felt the influence of those forces of barbarism which are at work among us. All of them are, like ourselves, diseased, and only as we recover can they recover. It is not the civilization of a race, but that of mankind, present and future alike, that we must give up as lost, if belief in a rebirth of our civilization is a vain thing."

Quietism, renunciation, a mere negation of life, cannot bring about the rebirth of civilization. But is it all well with the Western intoxication of activity, the will-to-action and progress? Dr. Schweitzer has serious qualms of conscience on the subject, and his observations deserve to be quoted in full. The substance of what he says is that the Western will-to-activity is a mere groping in the dark without aim and direction, without any serious attempt to find out the key to the interpretation of life and its purpose, in a word, without a theory of the universe to guide its blind activities. But let him speak for himself:—

"How little reflection is present in the Western impulse to action becomes evident when this tries to square its ideas with those of the Far East. For thought in the Far East has been constantly occupied in its search for the meaning of life, and forces us to consider the problem of the meaning of our own restlessness, the problem which we Westerners burke so persistently. We are utterly at a loss when we contemplate the ideas which are presented to us in Indian thought. We turn

away from the intellectual presumption which we find there. We are conscious of the unsatisfying and incomplete elements in the ideal of cessation from action. We feel instinctively that the will-to-progress is justified not only in its aspect as directed to the spiritual perfection of personality but also in that which looks towards the general and material.

For ourselves we dare to allege that we adventurers, who take up an affirmative attitude toward the world and toward life, however great and however ghastly our mistakes may be can yet show not only greater material, but also greater spiritual and ethical contributions than can those who lie under the ban of a theory of the universe characterised by cessation from action."

After this effusion of Western vanity, the learned doctor writes in a more chastened mood :

"And yet, all the same, we cannot feel ourselves completely justified in the face of these strange Eastern theories. They have in them something full of nobility which retains its hold on us, even fascinates us. This tinge of nobility comes from the fact that these convictions are born of a search for a theory of the universe and for the meaning of life. With us, on the other hand, activist instincts and impulses take the place of a theory of the universe. We have no theory affirming the world and life to oppose to the negative theory of these thinkers, no thought which has found a basis for an optimistic conception of existence to oppose to this other, which has arrived at a pessimistic conception."

Presently the author launches into this characteristically Oriental vein of reflections :

"How much would already be accomplished towards our salvation from our present circumstances if only we would all give up three minutes every evening to gazing up into the infinite world of the starry heavens and meditating on it, or if in taking part in a funeral procession we would reflect on the enigma of life and death instead of engaging in thoughtless conversation as we follow behind the coffin ! The ideals born of folly and suffering, of those who make public opinion and direct public events, would have no more power over men if they once began to reflect about eternity, and morality, existence and dissolution and thus learnt to distinguish between true and false standards, between those which possess real value and those which do not."

Maitreyi, the spouse of the vedic sage Yajnavalkya, and Nachiketa, could distinguish between that which conferred immortality and that which did not, between *Sreya* and *Preya*, the true and false standards, and the Indian theory of the universe is the product of a spiritual civilization in which they were the ideal figures. The Western mind, however, can never rest satisfied with such an ideal, and the author's misgivings lead him to make the following queries :

"But is there not a danger in challenging men with this question about the meaning of life and in demanding that our impulse to action should

justify and clarify itself in such reflection as that of which we have spoken? Shall we not lose, in acceding to this demand, some irreplaceable element of naive enthusiasm?"

Dr. Schweitzer's solution is that "it is not the quantity but the quality, of activity that really matters. What is needed is that our wil-to-action should become conscious of itself and cease to work blindly", that is to say, it must work with an ethical and spiritual purpose, and not randomly, for merely to die in harness in no worthy aim, unless we treat our whole life as a preparation for death. We must strive to attain a theory of the universe, affirmative of the world and of life in which the impulse to action may find justification in a fresh access of moral strength and become capable of formulating and of acting on definite ideals of civilization, inspired by the spirit of true humanitarianism.

The activist tendencies of the West do not meet with our approval, just as the quietist tendencies of the East are unbearable

to the Western mind. Each tries to endow its own attitude towards life with an absolute value, and find fault with the other. May not the truth lie between the two, and may not the West profit by our quietism as much, as we by their activism? Dr. Schweitzer's book shows that the message of the East has reached the thinkers of the West, and they are trying to profit by it. Has not the West also its message to deliver to us, which we should try to assimilate and profit by? In stressing the spiritual civilization of India, we must take care to avoid the danger of reducing the doctrine to mere cant, for thereby we will deceive none but ourselves. Great and noble as is our spiritual heritage, we shall gain immensely and lose nothing if we succeed in appropriating the activism of the West and tacking it to our spirituality and evolve a higher humanity on Indian soils.

BOOKLOVER.

M. ROMAIN ROLLAND'S REPLY TO A SWISS MISSIONARY

By C. F. ANDREWS

[A Swiss Missionary, named M. Gaston V. Rosselet, who had been engaged in India in the South Canara district at a place called Mulki, has written to the Swiss Press, criticising Romain Rolland's own book on Mahatma Gandhi and charging him with inaccuracies. Above all he blames him for not taking count of the work done by the Y. M. C. A. and Christian missionaries. The letter of the Swiss missionary is revealing: it seems to show an attempt to depreciate, which Romain Rolland notices in his reply. My friend, M. Fernand Benoit, of Santiniketan, has translated both the criticism and the reply. In writing to me, M. Romain Rolland asked me to give my own statement also, and I have included at the end the reply, which I sent to him for publication in Europe.]

C. F. Andrews]

M. Gaston V. Rosselet's Letter.

Mr. Romain Rolland has been insufficiently informed. A single glance at his bibliography, his short introduction, and his marginal notes, would suffice to show that all his sources of information proceed either from Gandhi himself or else his friends and admirers. Now Gandhi is great enough,—it seems to me,—his sufferings are noble enough, to bear

criticism. If the author of 'Mahatma Gandhi' had taken notice of the articles from the pen of the Moderate party in India, he would not have forgotten to mention, in his report of the Prince of Wales's reception, (p. 145) that Gandhi, in order to keep the people away from the festival had organised on the same day a great *auto-da-fe* of European clothes. From this 'Swadeshi' festival, the crowd ran to destroy tramcars, to attack defenceless Christian and Parsi ladies, and to indulge in many other forms of violence. If all this had been told, one could much better understand Gandhi's humiliation and his fasting undertaken because his 'Swadeshi' festival, instead of purifying, had fostered hatred in men's hearts.

Why does Romain Rolland not speak in this book of the great scene of reconciliation between Hindus and Musalmans, on the one hand and Parsis and Christians, on the other; in which a Christian of great distinction, K. T. Paul, the General Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. played such a predominant part?

On p. 140, we hear of a young Brahmin, who became a sweeper in order to live among the pariahs. I know the story. The young man in question was no longer a Brahmin, but a Christian. It was after his conversion, that he became a sweeper, in order to serve the pariahs. Why are all these details passed over in silence?

Why, again, after enumerating the programme of action in the Non-Co-operation Movement, does he go on to the description of the results, and omit all the items which failed, thus giving the impression that the others were successful? The paragraph, on page 73, begins with a sweeping statement, "Gandhi's example was followed immediately". It may have been followed in other provinces but certainly not in the Madras Presidency. I would like to take you through the streets of Madras and make you read the honorific titles, which many Hindus and Musalmans have inscribed on their villas. You would be convinced that the abandonment of titles was not general by any means. The second item of the programme proved a failure as well, all the Government loans being over-subscribed. About the third and fourth items I can say this, that in South Kanara I do not know a single tribunal, school, or college, which has been abandoned. The boycott of councils, the refusal to participate in official functions, the refusal to accept civil and military posts, are not mentioned, because one cannot possibly say that they had any success.

As for the last episode of the programme—the Swadeshi campaign,—what a disgraceful thing it was! Whenever Mahatma Gandhi came to visit a place, everybody dressed in khaddar: but as soon as his back was turned, more than two thirds returned to their imported or manufactured clothes. And what an amount of cheating there was, in the sale of the so-called swadeshi clothes or soap! It went so far, that any merchant now-a-days, wishing to frighten away a customer, could do so by simply offering him some swadeshi article!

The author, M. Romain Rolland, speaks with much contempt of the Chelmsford-Montagu reforms; but he does not say that in the Madras Presidency the scheme was accepted readily by a notable portion of the population. I could give many proofs of this. But let it suffice to quote a passage from the 'Madras Mail' of May 28, 1924. The native Christians, Catholics and Protest-

ants, had assembled in Mangalore to celebrate Empire Day. They represented a third of the population of the town. In the opening speech, M. T. A. Saldana said, "We have reached a high degree of civic development, thanks to the Government of India Act of 1919, and we may get more by showing ourselves worthy of full self-government, which will be given to us some day or other." The festival ended with the issue of a message of loyalty to the Government. Such newspaper articles are numerous; but it is evident that you will not find them in the columns of the periodicals, whose only task is to disparage Government.

Let us now speak of the repressions and violences of Government. That there should have been regrettable acts, errors of judgment, nobody thinks of denying. But it is false to say that violence has been general. I shall quote, as a proof, one of the leading articles of the Y. M. C. A. newspaper, "The Young Men of India". One of the best informed men, K. T. Paul, the great patriot already mentioned, writes as follows: "It is a unique fact in the history of the world to see two forces, like the British Power and the Revolutionary Movement of Gandhi, fight each other with the firm resolution of never appealing to violence". The Government is faithful to its resolution in spite of the cries of alarm raised by many political newspapers, which see danger in the air and entreat the Government to start action against the adepts of non-cooperation. To the more urgent requests, the Government invariably answers: "You must judge a movement by its fruits. Leave non-cooperation some time to bear its one fruit, so that every one may judge what its fruits are like." And this is why, after waiting a long time, the Government of India could arrest Gandhi without causing any unrest. On the contrary, there was something like a sigh of relief at the news of an arrest, because in spite of all, Gandhi had no practical programme, and at the very time of his arrest Gandhi could no longer control the forces he had set loose.

Mahatma Gandhi not only lacked a practicable programme in politics, but also in social matters. Whoever wants to realise this, need only think for a moment of the remedy he proposes for struggling against famines (p. 130 of R. R.'s book) "Charka means life for millions of moribunds!"—he says. What a Utopia! I know the case of weavers in Southern India, and I.

know that neither a man nor a woman can live by playing their spinning-wheel, because a man earns $\frac{3}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$ annas a day and a woman half to one anna. Such a gain will not help to solve the problem of famine and misery in India. I prefer the Government programme, which tries to improve agriculture such as the culture of sugar-cane and cocoanut, by opening schools of agriculture, model farms, stations for observation and experimentation for the culture of cocoanut trees, sugar-cane, fruit trees, etc. I also think of all the co-operative associations founded and encouraged, and now controlled by Government. It is owing to these co-operative associations, that in South Kanara, for instance, thousands of people were saved from famine. It was immediately after the war, and the price of rice had risen alarmingly. The Government then fixed the sale price to prevent it from rising more. But the owners refused to sell their stocks at the prices proposed by Government; so Government ordered them to deliver over a portion of their stock. The owners then handed over their stock of rice, which soon disappeared. Then Government had to import rice and sold it at a price below the one formerly proposed. Later on, the co-operative associations adjusted and realised the price.

Another remark before I close. In p. 142 and 143 it is said that "the A.I.C.C. stimulates the campaign against alcoholism, while government protects the liquor sellers". The Government is only opposed to the method used by the non-co-operators, while it gives its help each time a fight against alcoholism is going on. I shall only quote, as a proof of this, the experiments made by Miss Campbell, a Canadian Missionary. Through her tenacious efforts, she succeeded in bringing the population of a big district to ask the Government to close all its liquor-shops, and the Government *did* close all of them, one after another. There would be still many remarks to make about many passages of Rolland's book, but I will not over-tax your attention. What precedes will suffice to show you that I was right when I said that the author of Mahatma Gandhi's biography was badly informed. Those who have presented Gandhi to Romain Rolland wanted to present him as a counterpart of Christ. Therefore it was necessary to run swiftly over certain details and overlook others.

While closing this I must, nevertheless, assure you that I much admire Gandhi,

whom I believe to be very sincere and filled with a great ideal. I expect much from him; all the more so, that I see him being given up by the extremists. Now that he is alone, he will be able to surround himself with men who understand him, without betraying his ideal, as occurred when he was the demi-god of one party.

Gaston V. Rosselet.
(Swiss Missionary)

The answer of Rolland to Gaston V. Rosselet, late missionary at Mulki, South Kanara.

"All I wanted was, to make Europe acquainted with a great spiritual movement and a great man. If I am not mistaken, no European missionary, since J. J. Doke's beautiful and forgotten book, written in the Transvaal in 1909, has presented him to us in a worthy manner. Yet it should have been their duty to do so long ago. And, in my turn, I shall ask M. Rosselet, "Why have those Christians passed in silence over the career of the *greatest Christian*; although he is one by the spirit only, and not by baptism?"

"My book never pretended to be a synopsis of all the religious and social movements of modern India. I had no reason whatever to speak of the Y. M. C. A. which is powerful enough to look after itself and never neglects to do so. Of course, M. Paul is worthy of all respect. He also deserves a special story. But each thing in its time. I may possibly continue the series of these Indian sketches. My book has been revised by different Indian friends of mine and by one of the principal leaders of the Swaraj party—Lajpat Rai. They found it true on the whole. They pointed out to me a few mistakes of detail, such as the one—also pointed out by M. Rosselet,—about the half-failure of the abandonment of titles and dignities, by order of the Committee of Non-cooperators. The rectifications they indicated will be taken into account in my further editions of the book. They will very slightly alter my text and not at all my conclusions.

"For the rest, Mr. Gaston V. Rosselet makes himself, it seems, the champion of the British Government. I shall not follow him on this ground. I should have too much to say and I have little time just now. But what is delayed is not lost. I shall only answer on two or three points.

"(1) I have spoken at length of the *auto-*

da-fe of foreign clothes. I cannot see why M. Rosselet gives us to understand that I passed the matter over in silence. I laid great emphasis (pp. 83-5) on C. F. Andrews's pathetic exhortations and also specially on the opposition between Tagore and Gandhi. I myself join my own regrets to those of Andrews.

"(2) The 'charka' appears to M. Rosselet as a ridiculous economic tool. It might be so, if Mahatma Gandhi advocated it as the only means of livelihood for the Indian villager. But Gandhi never said such a thing. He said that the 'charka' would enable the villager to add something to his meagre earnings and to spare on his clothing. In the number of 'Young India' of January 22, 1925, the account of a large popular meeting in Viddhi is given. An old man of sixty tells Gandhi that he is now spinning daily after his hard day's work in the fields, not because of his faith in him, but simply because 'I spin for myself. I produce my own yarn, I weave my own clothes and those of my family. Thus I can spare'. The home industry of the charka existed almost everywhere in India before the English came. The English have destroyed it. Gandhi re-establishes it. It is not a medieval return to a forgotten and obsolete work. It is a natural, practical and immediate means of reducing the expenses while striking the foreign industries which come to rob India of sums that are consumed abroad.*

"For one of the greatest grievances of India against England is the following:—All the conquerors that succeeded one another on Indian ground would—after committing earlier damages—settle down, become Indians, consume on the spot the riches they extorted. In this way a generation might suffer, but India was not impaired. Whereas, the English rule makes England live at the expense of India and undermines the latter.

"(3) M. Rosselet speaks about the co-operative associations created by Government. They do exist. But I consulted my Indian friends. All independent Indians, and even Englishmen as well informed as the Head of the Agricultural School of Sriniketan, a branch

of Santiniketan, agree in declaring that those co-operative associations are not based on a real spirit of mutual help: Should the Government withdraw its pecuniary help, they would at once disappear.

"(4) Finally, to hear that "the English Government gave its help, whenever there was a case of struggling against alcoholism", will astonish my Indian friends extremely, and I leave it to them to answer. But I need not wait for their answer to know that in these very days the English Government is imposing the poison of opium upon India while hypocritically pretending that it is simply fulfilling the wishes of the Indian people. And it stops its ears to their incessant protests. But it does not succeed in preventing us from hearing. These protests poignantly manifest themselves in the Indian press and also in the liberal English press, such as the 'Manchester Guardian'.

February, 1925. Romain Rolland.

P. S. Let me add that Europeans, who want to follow by themselves the Gandhist Movement, had better read the weekly "Young India," whose address I am giving.

MR. ANDREWS' STATEMENT

I have just seen M. Gaston V. Rosselet's statement about Mahatma Gandhi published in "Le Nouvelle Essor" of Geneva, Feb. 28, 1925. It reveals in many parts an ignorance of his subject.

I will take in my reply only one aspect of his criticism on which, perhaps, I may be now regarded as an expert, namely, the non-co-operation campaign against drink and drugs and its after-effects. Probably M. Rosselet is not aware of the fact that it was Mr. W. E. Johnson himself, an entirely impartial witness, who declared after his tour in India that Mr. Gandhi had done more in one year than all the other temperance workers put together. This evidence should be taken into account in judging the whole movement of non-co-operation.

Miss Campbell whom M. Rosselet mentions, is my own friend and fellow-worker. She would be greatly grieved to find her own work placed in contrast to that of Mahatma Gandhi on the question of drink and drugs. She herself would probably agree with Mr. Johnson's verdict. When she was with me at Santiniketan she told me about the disgrace of the opium sales in the poverty-stricken districts of Orissa, how she had seen men and women struggling and almost fighting to purchase the Government monopoly opium before the shops closed. The women who use

* The khaddar policy has also, for Gandhi, the value of a tactical experiment. As he wrote in a recent article, he wants to teach a disciplined people how to obey an order of pacific mobilisation. Pacific, but not inoffensive; the violence of the attacks that come from the English side show well that he has hit at the right place.

it to 'dope' their babies were the most eager to get it. Miss Campbell brought a Government officer to see the disgraceful sight. All he said was—"Please, Miss Campbell, stay a little longer, so as to organise some mother's meetings to persuade the mothers not to give their babies opium!"

Miss Campbell replied: "Why does not the Government stop the sale of it? Why does Government go on realising revenue out of this poison?"

In Assam the consumption of Government opium by the Assamese race is nearly 24 times in excess of that regarded as legitimate medicinal consumption by the League of Nations. Before the great temperance movement of Non-cooperation and Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Assam the opium consumption in those districts was more than forty times in excess. Yet his one visit, with the electrical effect of his personality, brought down the consumption of opium by 42 per cent in six months. Before his visit, for nearly 40 years there had been no appreciable reduction. But after his visit the reduction at once took place in the astonishing manner I have mentioned. Yet in spite of this remarkable moral progress the Government imprisoned over 800 non-cooperators who were doing peaceable temperance work in the Assamese districts. I know personally very many of those workers and have worked with them. I can say unhesitatingly that these Assamese non-cooperators whom I know and who suffered imprisonment offered no violence at all. They were not that kind of persons. But the Government, which received 40 per cent of its income from excise suddenly saw its revenue going down so fast that it was almost in a panic. This was, I believe, one of the true reasons for the bitter prosecution of non-cooperators which followed. The non-cooperators offered no resistance. They did not defend themselves. The principle of 'noblesse oblige' ought to have made the Government more chivalrous than to imprison inoffensive and peaceful temperance workers. I can, I repeat, vouch for it personally that my own friends at least, who were imprisoned for doing so were non-violent in thought and word and deed.

Mr. Gaston V. Rosselet appears to think that the Government of India has only to be approached in order to get passed any temperance reform that is needed. But let me come to some further facts. I have already mentioned the imprisonment of temperance

workers in Assam. That was not all. In 1921 the Rev. J. Nicholls Roy, a Christian missionary, a strong cooperator, brought forward a resolution in the Assam Legislative Council proposing that the sales of opium in Assam should be reduced by 10 per cent per annum, until opium was prohibited except for medicinal use. This resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority. The only persons who voted against it were the Government officials, some Europeans and a few title-holders. The votes were 26 against 13. Thus the Government vote was only half of the non-official vote. Yet the Government, entrenched in its executive powers, has since then refused to put into action the will of the Legislative Council.

A few weeks ago another resolution was passed, again with an overwhelming majority, to the same effect. My friends in Assam have told me that a private member's Bill will also be put forward. But even if this is passed it is quite possible that the Government may not give its assent to the bill and make it law.

At the present time, I am engaged in preparing a report for the All-India National Congress of a commission held last year in Assam and now very nearly completed. The findings of the commission show very clearly the criminal neglect of the Assam Government in allowing opium consumption to drift on, decade after decade, by which one of the noblest races in India, the Assamese, has become ruined. If revenue had not been involved and if maximum of revenue had not been one-half of the Government's own motto for excise, the responsible officials could never have been content with such a policy.

In Great Britain the utmost security and protection against opium is afforded. But in India a man or a woman can go into a shop and purchase sufficient opium to commit suicide. I took up a Bombay paper this morning and saw a common piece of news that a poor woman had committed suicide by opium poisoning. Side by side with it was the report of a death of a baby from an overdose of opium. The number of such children, whose deaths are never even reported must be quite large. Only a few weeks ago the wife of the Governor of Bombay, Lady Wilson called attention to the fact that in a recent year the infant mortality in Bombay had reached 666 per thousand. She also stated that she had been told by her own

doctors that 98 per cent of the mothers who work in the factories of Bombay regularly dose their children with opium before going out to work. From my own experience I can confirm this statement of the wife of the Governor. For I have seen little babies, with their shrunk, old, wizened faces, lying drugged with opium on the floors of chawls of Bombay.

Mr. Gaston V. Rosselet as a missionary, will recognize that the number 666 is the number of the Beast in the Apocalypse. I would ask him to consider whether such an opium traffic from which the Government draws its revenue is not devilish.

But I will relate in conclusion one simple fact which might reasonably, apart from all else, prove my point and put an end to the whole controversy. In August 1921, when the non-cooperation movement was at its height Mahatma Gandhi offered at once to begin once more to co-operate with the Government of India, if they were ready to follow popular Indian opinion in two matters:—

- (i) The abolition of alcohol and opium.
- (ii) The promotion of hand-spinning and

weaving. But though the offer was made and the right hand of friendship was held out *on these conditions* it has never been accepted. The reason has been partly financial and partly a question of prestige. The Government of British India have been too proud hitherto to listen to the offer of Mahatma Gandhi, when he has given these simple conditions.

I have not taken up other subjects because it would make this letter too long, but I cannot let one thing pass unnoticed. Mr. Rosselet has again and again mentioned Mr. K. T. Paul, an Indian Christian. Mr. Paul is an intimate friend of mine and nothing would make him more sad than to have his name used in this connexion. I know how he has read with delight M. Romain Rolland's book and that he is deeply thankful for the author's interpretation of Mahatma Gandhi. For both he and Dr. Datta, another Indian Christian, believe that Mahatma Gandhi is the greatest living exponent in India of the message of the Cross, —which he *practises* rather than preaches.

Yours etc.

C. F. Andrews.

Santiniketan.

MAGADHA

By PANDIT VIDHUSEKHARA SASTRI.

SIMPLE facts mentioned throughout our literature from the Vedas downwards make it perfectly clear that the country called Magadha is a very ancient one. There is hardly any evidence against its identification with the land of the peoples called Kikatas, first referred to in the Rigveda which, according to Sridhara, the commentator of the Bhagavata Purana (1. 3. 24), is the region of Gaya (*Gaya-pradesa*). The very name Kikatas appears to show, as Yaska would derive and explain it, * that the people of that country were of little repute. According to him the land was a dwelling-place of non-Aryans (*anaryadesa*). This dislike of Megadhas found

clear expression also in post-Rigvedic works, and it ran so high that later on Aryan people were enjoined by an author of a Dharma-sastra not to enter there. But why so? Scholars have been and are still discussing the question. Different views are expressed. I may, however, give expression to my own belief that it is not entirely due to the influence of Jinism and Buddhism, though they might have contributed to it to a great extent in later days. For the aversion to Magadhas is found not only in the contemporary and post-Jinist or post-Buddhist works, but also in those which preceded them. It is also to be considered that these two religions were not confined to the Magadhas only. The activities of their followers were found equally inside and outside Magadha in pre-Asokan days. And so the dislike for Magadhas in the earliest period must be accounted for in some other way, and this leads us to the only

* Nirukta VI. 32: "*kim kṛitah*" 'what have they done?' "*kim kṛiyabhiḥ*" "what is the use of rites?" Philologically it is quite possible that the word *kikata* might have been derived from *kim kṛitah* owing to Prakritism which is found in several cases even in the RV.

possible conclusion that, as Yaska has told us, it was due to the fact that the country still remained a non-Aryan one. Be that as it may, even by supposing the Magadhas in the earliest days to have been a barbarian people, we have still much reason to be proud of them. Change is inevitable. Every thing changes every moment. Such is nature and nature cannot be thwarted. Change is the sign of life. So there came a favourable change among the Magadhas showing thereby that they had life. They evolved what they had hidden in the innermost recesses of their mind, and afterwards achieved an exalted position which no other part of India has ever been able to do. The country which was once non-Aryan gradually began to become Aryanized long before Jinism and Buddhism were preached. And we have strong reasons for believing it to be so, even if one does not take into account the evidence from the *Mahabharata*, which can in no way be ignored. The highly civilized condition of the Kasis and Videhas (the older form being *Videghas*) need not be mentioned to those who are acquainted with Vedic literature. And in view of the geographical position of the Magadhas, which are in so much close connection on the west with the Kasis and on the north with the Videhas, it cannot be thought that they were still barbarian in their times.

Jinism and Buddhism, though with some marked differences, are in reality the two main branches of the same religious current of India running through the Upanisads. And the fact that they found their rich soil in the Magadhas show that the people were already adequately fit for understanding them,—and specially Buddhism, which, as the Buddha himself said, was very difficult to grasp (*durdasa*).

Starting from this epoch and coming up to the time of the Pala dynasty, we have actual documentary evidence which goes to show the marvellous conditions of the Magadhas in every direction—political, religious, educational, social, and so forth. Above all, one thing is most striking. It is here in Magadha that India had for the first time the opportunity of expanding herself beyond her geographical boundaries, both politically and religiously. We all know about the relation between Chandragupta and Seleukus Nikator, and between Asoka and the five Greek kings, Antiochus, etc., mentioned in one of his rock edicts. Buddhist missionaries were sent out to far distant countries, and they crossed

seas and mountains even at the risk of their lives. They were thereby the forerunners of the later Brahmanical colonists in Further India. † Intellectual and religious links were also established with different countries, viz., Central Asia, Tibet, China, Korea, Mongolia and Japan on one side, and Ceylon and Further India on the other. And that was the way in which India was able to carry to those lands the message of peace together with her literature, art, music, sculpture and medicine, etc. India could not then keep contained within herself: so immense was her treasure at that time. She gradually began to expand in every direction, sending out what she had to give.

This was mainly due to Buddhism and to the Buddhist Universities in Magadha, which attracted students even from far-off lands at a time when travelling was dangerous at almost every stop.

In this connection we should particularly remember Tibet and China, considering what a great treasure they have been keeping for mankind and especially for India in return for what they received from her. The ancient universities in Magadha were the centre of Buddhist studies. Students came here from these two countries in large numbers, and scholars also went there from here in equally great numbers. They studied each other's language and jointly or independently, these Indian, Tibetan, and Chinese scholars translated hundreds of Sanskrit books not only about Buddhism but also about secular subjects, into Tibetan, or Chinese, or into both. The Sanskrit original of most of these translations is lost for ever, and it is only through these two languages that we may have access to them. Therefore, it goes without saying that unless these works are studied with care and attention, we can hardly understand the real history of our own country. The loss of more than four thousand works is not a small matter. We are, therefore, thankful to our Tibetan and Chinese friends for still preserving a large number, though not all, of them.

To capture and conquer a country by physical force is a fact known to all. India has, however, shown to the world, through her people of Magadha, where Buddhism had its birth, how to conquer a country by *maitri*. "love". Such is the wonderful land of the Magadhas.

† Why were the Jinists confined only to a small part of India even though living side by side with the Buddhists? Why could not they carry their faith outside India?

CENTRAL ASIAN DISCOVERIES

BY PROBHATKUMAR MUKHERJI

Librarian, Visvabharati, Santiniketan.

FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT OF CENTRAL ASIAN MSS.

CENTRAL Asia has loomed large before the public only very recently. It was only thirty-five years ago that in an ordinary meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on 5 Nov., 1890, Colonel Waterhouse exhibited a birch-bark manuscript and some coins, found by Lieutenant Bower in Kashgar. The following note by Lieut. Bower accompanied the exhibit: "While at Kuchar a man offered to show me a subterranean town, provided I would go there in the middle of the night, as he was frightened at getting into trouble with the Chinese, if it was known that he had taken a European there. The same man procured me a packet of old manuscripts written on birch-bark. They had been dug out of the foot of one of the curious old erections of which several are to be found in the Kuchar district; there is also one in the north bank of the river at Kashgar. The one out of which the manuscripts were procured is just outside the subterranean city. * * * I believe the ruins and manuscripts to be Buddhist."

Col. Waterhouse, who exhibited these manuscripts could not say anything further than this about the new find. Babu Saratchandra Das, the great Bengali Tibetan scholar and explorer, failed to decipher it and wrote that he believed that this MS. is only a remnant of the Indo-Tartar Sanskrit, which was current in Khotan and Khasgar during the early centuries after Christ.

It was however decided by the authorities of the Asiatic Society that a facsimile of two leaves would be reproduced in heliogravure, in the hope that some other member might be able to decipher it or throw some light upon its age and origin.

This account appears to have been reprinted in the *Bombay Gazette*, a copy of which fell into the hands of Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, in Aden on his way out to India, in March, 1891. It was the first notice he had of this discovery. Major Cumberland

whose companion Lieut. Bower had been on his travels, was a fellow passenger of Dr. Hoernle, and he gave him corroborative information. On reaching Calcutta he found that the MSS. were in possession of Col. Waterhouse, who at once gave them to this worthy person for examination.

1890.—BOWER MS.

In a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, held on the 1st April, 1891, Dr. Hoernle submitted a preliminary note on the Birch-bark MSS. (Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, 1891, pp. 54-65). In this Survey he gave a few hints on the book, which were presumably Sanskrit, the Script and the Language of the MSS., which eventually evoked considerable interest in learned circles. The description of the MSS. will, however, be found at the end of this study. These MSS., henceforward, came to be known as the "Bower Manuscript" in honour of the discoverer, Mr. Bower. The antiquity of the manuscript was noteworthy. Indian MSS. according to the western standard, are relatively young. Prof. Lueders in his paper "Über die litterarischen Funde in Ost-turkestan", says, 'the destructive effect of climate and the pest of insects require their continual renovation. The oldest MSS., preserved in Nepal on palm-leaves, date back to the 11th century. Only two palm-leaves were hitherto known which had crossed the Indian border in 609 and reached Japan through China. They are preserved in the celebrated monastery of Horiuzi as venerable relics. The Bower MS., however, was a considerable and complete one. It was written in Gupta character, and hence had come undoubtedly from North-West India, and at the latest from the fifth century. Later investigations have proved that it must date from the second half of the fourth century.' (Tran. by G. Nariman—Sanskrit Buddhism).

1891 PETROVSKI MSS. OF RUSSIA.

Publication of these facts about the Bower MS. and the Central Asian Scripts, created

great sensation among the learned world, and the possibility of such a discovery incited further research. Russian scholars had been working on Tibetan language and literature for a long time, so that the Russian Imperial Archeological Society was the first in the field of exploration. The Russian Consul-General M. Petrovski of Kashgar was at once ordered to look out for such MSS. The result was the "Petrovski Collection of MSS.", which was utilised by Dr. Serge Oldenberg and subsequently published in the *Records of the Oriental Transactions of the Imperial Russian Archeological Society*, Vol. VIII, p. 81 ff. The British Government were not inactive and commissioned the Political Agents in Kashmir, Ladak and Kashgar to discover more manuscripts.

1891.—WEBER MSS.

The first lot of manuscripts that reached Dr. Hoernle after the Bower MS. was those received from Mr. Weber. Reverend F. Weber was a Moravian missionary in Leh near Ladak. He was known among the people there as a collector of Tibetan curios. An Afghan merchant, hoping to discover buried treasure, excavated a buried house in ruins, in Kugiar and found a lot of old MSS., nine in number, consisting of 76 leaves. The manuscripts were taken to Mr. Weber by a person, who had received these from the Afghan finder. The place of discovery—Kuigar—is about 60 miles south of Yarkand, and situated between Leh and Yarkand. It lies just within the borders of Chinese Turkestan.

PECULIARITY OF C. A. MSS.

Dr. Hoernle while examining these MSS., observed a peculiarity of the leaves. He had observed that the Bower manuscripts were pierced by one hole, which is not in the middle of the board, but towards one side. The Weber MSS. as well as the Petrovski MSS. had the same peculiarity. Ordinarily Indian manuscripts are either pierced in the centre or have two holes. This practice of using a one-sided hole, Dr. Hoernle decidedly said, would seem to be a mark by which a manuscript may be distinguished, as coming from Central Asia. The description of the manuscripts known as "the Weber MSS.," was published by Dr. Hoernle in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Vol. LXII, 1893, p. 1-40).

1893.—MACARTNEY MSS.

In Kashgar Mr. Macartney, the British Agent, was also busy searching for MSS! He

got a bundle of MSS., from Tsing, the manager of Chinese Foreign Commerce at Kashgar, who was probably working as an intermediary in this work of manuscript collection. In 1894 Lew, the Amban (magistrate) of Kuchar had given these manuscripts to Tsing. These were found by Lew under a mould 100 ft. high. He worked there for two months with some men and got some "torn" leaves with writing on them". These he forwarded to Tsing, who in turn gave them to Mr. Macartney. Mr. Macartney in turn sent them to Sir A. Talbot, the British Resident in Kashmir. The latter forwarded them to the Foreign Office in Simla, which made them over finally to Dr. Hoernle in April, 1895. The manuscripts passed through several hands before they reached the hands of the scholar.

After the find of the Bower MSS. one Dildar Khan obtained possession of the whole of the moiety of the Kuchar find, which he probably divided into three portions: one portion coming into the hand of Mr. Weber, another of Mr. Macartney and the third of the Russian consul. The material of the fragments of Macartney MSS., is of three different kinds: palm leaf, birch-bark and paper. There are nine collections which have 145 fragmentary pieces. Dr. Hoernle thinks on paleographical grounds that some of the manuscripts of the Macartney collection were written about 370 A. D., and probably earlier.

1895.—GODFREY MSS.

In Nov. 1895, Dr. Hoernle received the fourth instalment of Central Asian manuscripts, through the Foreign Office at Simla:—the other three being the (1) Bower (2) Weber (3) Macartney MSS., previously mentioned. Mr. A. Pedlar, as President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in the course of annual Presidential Address delivered on the 5th Feb. 1896, spoke about the new finds for the first time (p. 36). They were secured by Captain S. H. Godfrey, British Joint-Commissioner of Ladak, and for that reason they have been named "Godfrey Manuscripts." Mr. Godfrey wrote to Dr. Hoernle that the MSS. were dug up near Kuchar. The merchants, who had given them to him were unwilling to give their names or any clue to their identity for fear of causing displeasure to the Chinese authorities, who did not regard the excavations of old ruins with favour. They thought that archeological interest was merely a pretext, and that a search for buried treasure was their main object. When they reached

Dr. Hoernle's hands they were a mass of torn pieces of papers. It was due to his extraordinary patience and the skill of his wife that these pieces were deciphered.

The linguistic notices made by Dr. Hoernle in India, the paleographical and philological investigations by Prof. Buehler about these MSS. and the researches of Dr. S. Oldenberg in the *Journal of the Imperial Russian Archeological Society* (vols. 7, 8) about the Petrovski MSS., and the discussion that followed them, created great interest and enthusiasm in Europe.

1897.—SENART ON DUTREUIL DE RHINS MSS.

In August 1897 Dr. Hoernle published his paper on the "Three Further Collections of Ancient Manuscripts from Central Asia" (*J. A. S. B.* 1897, pp. 213—260), in Calcutta; and in Sep. 9, 1897, just a month hence, another remarkable announcement was made at the International Congress of Orientalists held at Paris, by the great French savant M. Emile Senart. It was an ancient birch-bark MS., containing a portion of the Dhammapada written in Kharosthi character. This MS. was discovered by the French traveller Dutreuil de Rhins, who had found three MSS. in Khotan in 1892, while he was travelling in Central Asia. M. Senart proposed at the Congress that this MS. should be named after that intrepid explorer, who had since been killed in those wild parts and was a martyr to the cause of science. Senart's communication created a sensation in the Aryan Section of the Oriental Congress. The MS. was in Kharosthi script, which till then had been known only from inscriptions of the North-Western borders of India. This MS. consisted merely of fragments, but there was sufficient evidence to show that it was a recension of the Dhammapada, differing somewhat from the version at present current. The language was a Prakrit or a Pali, but was more allied to the Pali of Asoka Inscriptions than that to that of the classical books, and exactly agreed with no known variety of Pali. Prof. S. Oldenberg announced in the same meeting that some fragments of the said Dhammapada had reached what was then known as St. Petersburg. In 1898 M. Senart published a critical edition of the Dhammapada with photogravures in the *Journal Asiatique*.*

* *Journal Asiatique* 1898; Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1897, Nov., p. 136. Prakrit Dhammapada, ed. by Dr. Benimadhava Barua and Prof. Sailendra Nath Mitra—Calcutta University.

EARLIER TRAVELLERS IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1898.—RUSSIA'S FIRST ARCHEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION.

The impetus given by some chance discoveries of manuscripts at Kuchar gave rise to systematic research. These discoveries in the desert cities induced Dr. M. Aurel Stein to form the project of his explorations, of which we shall presently hear. But before we describe the systematic work, we shall briefly narrate the adventures and pioneer field-work of explorers, who preceded Stein. The first European to take any notice of the ruins of Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan, was Regel, who contributed a series of articles on the heterogeneous ruins, which he thought to be Grecian ("Pefermanns Mitteilungen." 1879, Heft 10, 11: 1880, Heft 6: 1881, Heft 10) Grun Grzimajlo, a Russian traveller, described the Turfan Ruins (pp. 278-380) in his book in Russian (2 vols. St. Petersburg). A Finnish Exploring Expedition was sent under Otto Donner in 1898 and his book "Resa i Zentral-Asien" (Helsingfors, 1901) was the result.

1898.—RUSSIA'S FIRST ARCHEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION.

But the real scientific Archeological Expedition was first sent by the Russian Government under Dr. Klementz, who set to work at Turfan in Eastern Turkestan in 1898; his account was published in the Imperial Scientific Academy of St. Petersburg in 1899. Dr. Klementz was followed by the other Russian Academicians, Raddoff and Salemann. The great Swedish traveller Sven Hedin's name must not be forgotten as a path-finder.

STEIN'S EXPLORATION 1900-1901

The British Government were not idle and they found in M. Aurel Stein the most energetic man to take up the field-work. This born traveller, explorer and scholar took up the work and since the beginning of the twentieth century has been exploring in the inhospitable desert tracts of Central Asia. Stein worked out a detailed plan of the expedition with Dr. Hoernle and submitted the same to the India Government for sanction and assistance. The late Lord Curzon, one of the most cultured Viceroy of India who took lively interest in history and antiquities, readily helped Dr. Stein in undertaking his work. The Government of India paid Rs. 11,000 to the estimated cost of exploration; besides the services of Dr. Stein who was in the Imperial Educational Service as the Principal of Calcutta Madrasah.

Besides these the Survey Department granted Rs. 2,000 and lent the services of some very able Indian officers, whose names occur in the Report. During 1900-1901, he and his party surveyed and explored the Tarim Valley and Khotan.

DISCOVERY OF FORGERY.

Before we deal with Stein's archeological discoveries of such momentous value, we should speak of his greatest contribution to the science of archeology, viz. his discovery of forgery of "old books". When the importance of 'old books' were known, demand for them increased. During the last five or six years of the last century 'old books' or 'block prints' in a the variety of unknown languages had been sold from Khotan in increasing numbers to European collectors at Kashgar. "In regard to these acquisitions the suspicion of forgery had before presented itself to competent scholars.....and these strange texts continued to be edited and analysed in learned publications." Stein found out that a man named Islam Akhun was regularly carrying on a trade with those forged books and cheating people surreptitiously. In 1901 Dr. Hoernle submitted a Report on the British Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia, in which he reviewed the work of the preceding decade and disclosed to the learned world the forger's activity which had been communicated to him by Stein from his itinerary.*

STEIN'S FIRST BOOK.

The preliminary account of the explorations was first published by Dr. Stein in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (April, 1901). After his return to Europe, he gave an account of his journey and excavations before the International Congress of Orientalists assembled at Hamburg in Sep., 1902. Stein's work was highly appreciated by the savants and they all expressed their admiration for the infinite trouble he took for the cause of science. It was not till 1904 that the public received from Dr. Stein his first book on Chinese Turkestan—"Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan," which was a personal narrative of his journey or archeological and geographical exploration in Eastern Turkestan

—especially in the vicinity of Khotan.* But the scientific study of the vast mass of materials in the form of antiquities and manuscripts collected during 1900-1901, took the author many years of patient work in arranging, classifying and describing the finds, and the result of such research and labour was his first monumental work "Ancient Khotan," which came out in 1907.

1902—1906.—GERMAN EXPEDITIONS.

Stein's success of 1901, admits Lueders, led to the German expedition to Turfan in 1902. This expedition was led by Prof. Albert Gruenwedel and Dr. Huth in Turfan and its vicinity. These are the places excavated by Klementz in 1898 under the auspices of Russian Academy. The German expedition left Berlin in August 1902, reaching the ruins by the end of November, where their excavation continued till March 1903. Gruenwedel wrote a big report called "Berichte ueber archaologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari and Umgebung in winter 1902—1903."

This valuable report was published from München by the Bavarian Royal Academy of Sciences (Vol. XXIV. Band I). The book contains many plans, pictures and reproductions of Turfan Art and frescoes. The result of the first German expedition was very promising and fully repaid the trouble their authors took. After this with the exertions of Prof. Richard Pischel, a German Committee of Research was formed with State help—the German Emperor himself contributing 32,000 marks, and the State granting 10,000 marks.

The second expedition was led by Prof. A von Le Coq, between September, 1904 and Dec., 1905. The party proceeded by the Siberian Railway and got down at Semipalatinsk whence it took them twelve days to reach the Chinese Frontier. The archeological finds and manuscripts amply repaid the trouble they took (Exploration Archeologique a Turfan. Journal Asiatique, 1909 Sept.—Oct.).

By the middle of 1906, the third German expeditionary party under Gruenwedel arrived at Kashgar, where Prof. von Le Coq was sojourning after his hard work of one year. He accompanied Gruenwedel to Kucha and Karashar and wanted to return home; but as there was trouble in Russia, he crossed the Karakorum, passed West Tibet and came to India. His party reached Germany in Jan.

* Stein—Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan, pp. 447-459: Stein—Ancient Khotan, Vol. I, pp. 507-514: Dr. Hoernle—A Report on the British Collection from Central Asia, with 13 plates, 3 tables, 6 woodcuts. Part II. J. A. S. B. Extra No. Vol. LXX, 1901.

* Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan—Hurst and Blackett, 1904.

1907, the work of excavation, however, was continued by Gruenwedel.

STEIN'S SECOND EXPEDITION

"In the meantime Dr. Stein prepared for a second journey of discovery in the remoter part of Central Asia and Westernmost China. The extent of these explorations is sufficiently indicated by the length of time spent over constant travel and field-work, more than two years and a half [1906—08], and by the aggregate marching distance of close on ten thousand miles." (Desert Cathay, Vol. I, p. viii). About his own work Dr. Stein says, "My excavations in 1900-1901 at ruined sites in the Taklamakan Desert around Khotan first revealed fully the great historical interest of that ancient culture which, as the joint product of Indian, Chinese and Classical [Greek] influences, once flourished in the oases of Chinese Turkestan. They also showed the remarkable state of preservation in which even the humblest relics of a civilization extinct for long centuries might survive under the sands of a region vying with Egypt in its extreme dryness of climate. By my second journey I succeeded in extending these systematic explorations farther eastwards for nearly a thousand miles in a straight line.

There, along routes which from the last centuries B.C. onwards linked China with the kingdoms of Central and Western Asia and the classical world, are scattered ruins which yielded up plentiful relics throwing light on the early history, arts and every-day life of regions the past of which except for rare references in the Chinese Annals, seemed lost in darkness.

(Desert Cathay I, p. ix.)

TUN-HUANG CAVES

Dr. Stein's wonderful adventure met with glorious success at every step. At the ruins of Niya site he discovered hundreds of wooden documents in Kharoshthi Script and a Prakrit Language, often bearing classical seal impressions. Many beautiful specimens of Indo-Grecian Art also were found, which opened new vistas of research. But the greatest of all discoveries, since the discovery of Assurbanipal's Library at Nineveh, were the finds in the territory of Tun-Huang. Stein came across a portion, altogether forgotten till then, of the Great Wall built by the Chinese as a protection against incursions of the Huns. Here a windfall waited him in the shape of a literary treasure Buddhist piety of early

times had honey-combed the rock-walls with hundreds of cave-temples, once richly decorated with frescoes and stucco sculptures, and still objects of worship. Dr. Stein had the good fortune of gaining access to a great deposit of ancient manuscripts and art relics, which had lain hidden and perfectly protected in a walled-up rock chapel for about nine hundred years. He secured twenty-four cases, heavy with manuscript treasures secured from that strange place of hiding, five cases filled with paintings, embroideries, and similar remains of Buddhist Art. It is said that a few years before Stein's visit, a Taoist priest discovered, in the Hall of the Thousand Buddhas, or Tun-huang as it is called, among the caves, a cellar which had been closed. This closed cellar contained those manuscripts. The cellar, it seems, had had been closed up in the 11th century. A portion of these manuscripts fell to the lot of the French Mission which was in the field of work under M. Pelliot in 1906-07.

STEIN'S SER-INDIA

Dr. Stein returned in 1908 from his second tour of explorations and published in 1912 his personal narrative in two volumes known as "Ruins of Desert Cathay." It was a popularly written narrative. But the vast material collected by Stein took many years to arrange, catalogue and describe them. His results were published in "Ser-India",—a detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China in 5 quarto volumes, three volumes being texts, one volume plates, and one volume maps and plans. It was published by the Oxford Clarendon Press in 1921. His other great book was the "Thousand Buddhas" which gives the illustration of the Tun-Huang caves.

SCHOLARS' CO-OPERATION

In preparing Ser-India, Dr. Stein got the collaboration of a large number of scholars such as H. F. Andrews, F. M. G. Lorimer, Laurence Binyon, E. Chavannes, A. H. Church, A. H. Francke, A. F. R. Hoernle, T. A. Joyce, R. Petrucci, K. Schlesinger, F. W. Thomas. Prof. Sylvain Levi compares Sir Aurel Stein to his saint *abhishta-devata*, the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen Tsang. He says, "Both traversed the same countries in their peregrinations; both had to endure the same hardships, had to prove the same energy; both brought home a treasure of notes, observations, and documents; * * * No national pride interfered to raise difficulties in the

working up of the mass of documents collected by Stein, some of them have been entrusted to Vilhelm Thomson, a Dane, the wonderful decipherer of Orkhon Turkish runes; some to von Le Coq, a German, himself another explorer of Central Asia; some to La Vallée Poussin, a Belgian, one of the authorities on Mahayana Buddhism; Pelliot, the French *emule* of Stein, who shared with him the treasures hoarded in the celebrated cave at Tun-huang, was called upon to help for the Chinese manuscripts; Chavannes, the leading Sinologist of our day, had for his own part the task of publishing Chinese wooden tablets dating from early centuries A. D. M. Senart, Father Boyer, both of high renown as decipherers of Kharoshti characters, were asked to accept a share as co-editors of the tablets traced in that sort of writing. Prof. Gauthiot obtained the Sogdian fragments. Prof. Levi received the leaves written in the Tokharian language." This was not all. In some of the studies nobody could do any work quite alone. Scholars had to co-operate—a Sinologist with an Indologist, a Sogdianist with a Sanskritist, and so forth.

The wonderful discoveries made by Sir Aurel Stein were all carefully sent to the British Museum; and although a large portion of the expenditure was borne by the India Government, no curios were deposited in any of the Indian museums. But the fact must not be concealed that there is no competent Indian scholar, who could deal with these subjects and we could hardly know of their contents if they were left with ordinary scholars and not with European specialists.

1906.—FRENCH EXPEDITION

In 1906 the French Archeological Department sent M. Pelliot to Chinese Turkestan. The itinerary of the Pelliot Mission took three years to complete the work they had taken. More than a third of the time, from Feb. 1907; to May 1908, was spent at Tun-huang. We have seen that this town and oasis on the edge of the desert of Lop has figured in the accounts of other explorations made during the past thirty years; but the Mission Pelliot was the first to carry out a detailed and systematic examination of the frescoes and images existing in a series of Grottoes, known as the Caves of Thousand Buddhas, cut in the side of a cliff distant from the town nine miles to the south-east, [Mission Pelliot—Toun-Huang in 6 volumes of Portfolios, Paris.]

About the same time, Japan sent a mission

to excavate the Central Asian Ruins, under Count Otani; and Mr. Tachibana, whose labours met with considerable success. To preserve the remains of Tun-Huang library from destruction they despatched its contents to the National Library of Peking.

1913-14 GERMAN EXPEDITION.

In 1913-14 Prof. von Le Coq led another German expedition of Research in Turkestan. The results of German labours are being published under the title "Ergebnisse der Kgl. Preussischen Turfan. Expeditionen", and the latest of these publications is the monumental work by A. von Le Coq, who had taken part in the three last German expeditions, on "Buddhist late-antique Art in Central Asia". Prof. M. Winternitz has very recently in the columns of this magazine given an excellent analysis of this monumental work of German scholarship and thoroughness (see Modern Review, 1925, April).

STEIN'S THIRD EXPLORATION

In 1913-15 Sir Aurel Stein undertook his Third Journey of Research in Central Asia; a preliminary Report was published by him in the Royal Geographical Society's Magazine, 1916; we have not yet got any descriptive and personal narrative from him like the 'Sand-Buried Ruins' and 'Desert Cathay'. We fervently expect another popular book as well as a learned sequel to it in the near future.*

GAUTHIOT'S MISSION.

Before we finish our article, we shall briefly mention one more fact left unfinished by the untimely death of its author. The St. Petersburg Academy appointed M. Gauthiot in 1914, as the head of a Russian expedition to explore some parts of Pamir plateau, where dialects akin to the old Sogdian were still in use. Prof. Gauthiot was one of the greatest Sogdian scholars, rather discoverer of that dead language. His monumental work is his Sogdian Grammar in French, and various articles about Buddhist books in Sogdian, which adorn the pages of many French learned journals.

But the war sacrificed this great scholar on its bloody altar, and the scholarly world is actually the poorer at his death.

* A. Stein—Memoirs on Maps of Chinese Turkestan and Kansu, from the Surveys made during Sir Aurel Stein's Explorations, 1900-01, 1906-08, 1913-15, with appendices by K. Mason and J. de Graaf Hunter. in 2 vols., 1923.

THE GENEVA OPIUM CONFERENCE: ITS PRACTICAL RESULTS

BY C. F. ANDREWS

Never before has the subject of the control of opium come so prominently forward into world notice as it has during the last year. The publicity now given to the subject is, by itself, of the highest practical importance. For in earlier days it was a concern of experts; today it is a world concern. Among the results of the Geneva Conference, this world publicity of the subject may, in the long run, prove the most effective factor. It has been my own task to read through the cuttings from the newspapers, published in Great Britain and America, which were sent out to me. Only the leading extracts were sent. I do not think that any subject of interest on humanitarian lines has had such a public press in modern times. On the whole, the treatment has been generous, sympathetic and serious. The general cause has been remarkably strengthened and consolidated by the wide circulation, day by day, of accurate information. 'Opium', as a subject, cannot possibly recede into a corner again.

When we come to consider the practical results of the Conference itself, a wide distinction must be drawn between the First Conference and the Second. There is unfortunately the strongest evidence that the First Conference was so arranged that America should be excluded, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that America obtained the full power of revising its proceedings. This exclusion of America was one of the worst acts in the whole business. It made clear, from the very first, that the interested foreign powers in the Far East were determined to keep their revenue as long as possible. The First Conference became an affair of mutual arrangement between the foreign powers in the Far East—Great Britain, Portugal, Holland, France—as to how far they could continue their present opium policy as a lucrative monopoly, and how far they would be obliged to alter it to suit the times. India was admitted to this close corporation, because it was from India that all the opium went out to these foreign possessions for smoking purposes.

The tone of the First Conference may be

judged by the significant change which was made by altering the word 'opium dens' to 'opium divans'. I have been into these opium 'divans' in Singapur and seen sights in them that ought never to be seen on God's Earth. Two other points deserve notice:—

(i) A special Article, which was unanimously agreed to, declared that minors, of tender age, should not be allowed in these opium 'divans'. So it was made clear to the world that thirteen years after signing the Hague Convention, little boys had still been allowed to smoke opium in these horrible places. The First Conference could not, however, agree with regard to the exclusion of women. It was argued that it was necessary to preserve 'women's rights, by giving them the doubtful privilege of entering these opium 'divans'. The dangers of such a course are obvious. Prostitution and opium smoking are very closely linked together. If proof of this were needed, near at home, the evidence given by Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter before the Royal Commission, in 1894, should be read. It shows what was going on in Calcutta itself during those earlier days.

(ii). An Article advising, that, in those countries where opium smoking was still going on, the young should be educated about the evils of opium addiction, was carried; but a clause was inserted which said that if for any adequate reason the contracting Power thought it inadvisable to give such instruction to the young, it might be excepted. As Bishop Brent put it, a finer instance of 'hedging' had never been seen!

It is useless to go on with a recitation of the terms of this First Conference. Even its own begetters were ashamed of their offspring. The representative of India, the notorious Mr. John Campbell, duly signed it. Then something happened. All the rest of the delegates hurried away to consult their own cabinets. Mr. Campbell was left ingloriously alone. Those who were present, state that the scene was more like the acting in a farce than the performance of a duty towards humanity. It may be that out of this solemn farce some good may come; for some of the delegates were seriously intent on progress.

But one cannot hope for much in an atmosphere, where the 'opium den' is turned into 'opium divan'.

But what can be said of the Second Conference? Here at least there was no close corporation. Also America, by threatening to leave the Conference at the very start, counteracted the frantic attempts of the Government of India's delegates, Mr. Campbell and Mr. Clayton to keep the limitation of opium *cultivation* out of discussion. 'India' was placed in the sorry position of being the sole obstructionist of full, frank and complete discussion. It would be interesting to know if the Government of India instructed Mr. Clayton and Mr. John Campbell to take up this singular attitude. It would be also interesting to know whether after declaring to the world, in a Government-authorised pamphlet, that opium had been made a transferred subject, the Government of India took the elected members into their confidence either with regard to Mr. Campbell's appointment or with regard to his instructions as delegate.

When the preliminary right of free and unfettered speech had been gained, the American delegate, Mr. Stephen Porter, bluntly accused the British Contracting Power which had acted at the Hague on behalf of India and the Far East possessions, of a breach of faith. He read a passage from a standard authority on International Contracts, and charged Great Britain with breaking the Hague Convention for financial reasons. Lord Robert Cecil rose immediately and said with emotion that the charge brought against Great Britain by America was very wounding indeed: if it had been a private charge brought against himself as a private individual, he would have decided not to have anything more to do with the person who made it, until it was withdrawn. The hint to America to withdraw the charge was a broad one: but I have read every word of the proceedings which were sent to me, and I have found no withdrawal at all.

America, instead of withdrawing the accusation, made one last offer. If Lord Cecil would give any reasonable *definite* time in which he would agree on behalf of Great Britain that opium smoking would be suppressed, he would accept it; but he would not accept an indefinite formula.

Lord Robert refused. He offered the indefinite formula that fifteen years after it had been declared by an international commission that opium smuggling from China had been

suppressed. Great Britain would suppress opium smoking in her Far Eastern possessions.

What Great Britain signed at the Hague in January, 1912, was, that she would 'effectively and progressively suppress opium smoking,' and that 'if she was not able to do so immediately she would do so as soon as possible.' (I am quoting the exact words.) America pointed to the Philippines where the difficulties from smuggling were even greater than they were at Singapore. America said that the vague phrase 'as soon as possible' in the Hague Article had been made the pretext for endless delays already. She was not prepared to sign another dilatory clause such as that which Lord Cecil proposed, namely, 'Fifteen years after it had been declared by an international commission that opium smuggling from China had been brought under control'. Such an indefinite clause would only mean another interminable delay. Therefore America made one last offer, suggesting *eighteen* years from the signing of the Geneva Convention (thus adding three more years to the previous offer): this would imply the year 1943, or thirty-one years after the signing of the Hague Convention in 1912. But Lord Robert Cecil stuck to his own formula and so the American Delegate withdrew.

Has then nothing been achieved? By no means. Probably more was accomplished by the American withdrawal, followed by that of China, than all the rest of the two Conferences put together. It drew the world's attention as nothing else could possibly have done. It made it necessary for the Contracting Powers, who remained, to carry out what they signed to the very letter. They were put on their mettle by America's challenge itself. Therefore, much has been achieved. America's action shook to the ground the hollow fabric of sham, which made up so much of the constructive programme of the First Conference. It brought people to their senses. I have heard since then, that Bishop Brent, who, with Mr. Stephen Porter, fought, so outspokenly for the right and the truth, and uncovered the hypocrisy of the First Conference, believes that a great blow has been struck at the evil traffic and a great advance made.

What must India do? She must pull down at once the hateful screen of lies, by which she is supposed to be represented by a man like Mr. John Campbell. She must see that in all the Councils, including the Imperial Assembly, the opium question comes *entirely* into her own hands without any subterfuge

whatever. She must see at once, that the important recommendation of the Reforms Committee, that Excise shall be a transferred subject in Assam, be carried out. She should send at once her own Congress Commission, not only to Assam, but to all the black spots in India and Burma, in order to enquire what can be done by the people themselves to make them white. She can at once impress on the mill-owners in Bombay, that she will no longer endure to have the babies of factory labourers doped, while the mothers go to work. She can respectfully represent to the State of Malwa, that it is a dishonour to the fair name of the Motherland to grow opium, only to be smuggled through to Assam and other places, and used for opium intoxication.

All these things and many other things can India do, when once the conscience of the people is awake.

With regard to the new Convention itself, the American stand for restriction of cultivation has effected much. In the Preamble, which was signed by all the Contracting Powers the effective reduction of the *cultivation* of the opium poppy has been expressly mentioned.

I take from an authoritative source the following summary of the articles of the new Convention:—

"Factories are to be licensed and controlled, all persons engaged in the trade are to be registered, and a record kept of the quantities manufactured, or otherwise dealt with."

"The certificate system is to be continued and carefully watched. Import and export shall only be permitted when the Governments immediately concerned have given their consent by certificate of permit."

"A permanent Central Board of Control is to be set up to collect from the Signatory Governments estimates of the drugs required, and to secure full information as to production and the stocks held. The Central Board is to consist of eight persons to be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations, the United States and Germany. If the Board has reason to suspect that excessive quantities are accumulating in any country, and that there is reason to fear that these stocks may be diverted into illicit channels, it will recommend that any further export to that country shall cease until the Board is satisfied."

"An important addition to this clause is that the Board will claim the right to follow the same course with any country which is not a signatory if there is a danger of that country becoming a centre of illicit traffic."

"At the end of the Convention there are provisions for applying adequate penalties for offences against these regulations."

"The Convention is not to come into force until it has been ratified by ten powers, including seven of the States who nominate the Central Board."

"In a Protocol to be signed by the opium-producing countries the vexed question of opium-smoking

which led to the American delegation withdrawing from the conference (being dissatisfied with the refusal to debate it) is dealt with. These producing States undertake to reduce their production, as within five years to satisfy an impartial Commission of the League that smuggling from their territories is no longer a serious obstacle to the enforcement of the restrictions on opium-smoking applied by the countries signatory to the First Conference."

"When the League Commission is able to report that this stage has been reached, these countries have agreed to abolish entirely the practice of opium-smoking within their territories within fifteen years."

The same writer, from whom I have taken this, goes on to discuss the chances of these terms sharing any better fate than those of the Hague Convention, which remained practically a dead letter. This is what he says of India:—

"India," he says, "is entrenched behind the discredited Royal Commission of 1895, and continues to flaunt the traditional maxim, that the Indian peoples have for centuries, been using opium as a domestic and veterinary remedy, and even asserting what no one else appears to have heard of, that it is employed in the rites of certain Indian religions."

"Probably no one would deny them the privilege of soothing the ruffled feelings of the gods, or of comforting their dogs and cattle with the drug, but to state these points as sufficient reason to continue the trade at its present dimensions is something less than wise."

Lord Robert Cecil's own account of what has been accomplished may be gathered from a speech made at Bournemouth directly after his return. He made the following announcement:—

"It has been agreed to appoint a new international authority, chosen for the impartiality and competence of its members, whose duty it will be to maintain a careful watch on the traffic. When the need arises, an embargo on the drugs will be applied for, so as to circumvent any attempt to flood a country with harmful drugs.....This Central Board will present to the Council of the League an annual report of its proceedings.....The British Government are ready and willing to co-operate to the utmost, with the most forward and energetic, to stop the trading in drugs.....*The chief difficulty is, how to accept the general principle, without interfering with the domestic concerns in India.* It was decided that the rule should be accepted that opium should be produced for medical and scientific purposes only, but that any country unable to fall in with the rule should make a declaration to that effect, and should be allowed to sign the rest of the Covenant.....As regards the five millions Chinese outside China, among whom there is much smoking, it was resolved to stop it within fifteen years, *this term to begin when it is clear that Chinese opium will not be smuggled into these Eastern territories where smoking is temporarily permitted.*"

Most important of all, is the Press Announcement of M. Herluf Zahle, the Danish Minister at Berlin, who presided with such distinction

over both Conferences, and more than any one else saved the situation. He says as follows :—

"It has been the most difficult Conference in the history of the League of Nations. We have touched on the centuries' old practices of the East; we have come hard against the economic status of several nations; we have found ourselves confronted by the most complicated and baffling details: we have seen the struggle between the smuggler and the law-enforcer; and yet we have had to safeguard legitimate rights and legitimate uses of drugs when fulfilling their errand of mercy in alleviating suffering. The drug question is both a boon and a curse to civilisation: it contains much that is good, as well as much that is bad: but where it is bad, it is like a many-headed Hydra, rearing its ugly features, despite all precautions in the most unexpected places....."

"The Conference has not removed the world's drug evil. It makes no claim to complete success... Yet I do unhesitatingly believe that this Conference has struck a most powerful blow at the drug-evil... *No voice was raised, and indeed, I believe, no voice can be raised, against the justice of the principles of the American delegation.* The only question is as to the moment when they can be realised....." The drug question has entered upon a new period. It

is now caught in the day-to-day machinery of the League of Nations. It cannot escape.....The very many-sided campaign, which we have outlined during the past eight weeks, will follow it on and on through its various successive stages, until the terrible scourge, from which so many different branches of the human family are suffering, shall have finally been laid to rest."

Finally we may take the verdict of the delegate from the Irish Free State :—

"I want to tell you", he writes "that the fight against opium and the drug-scurge will continue, and although the results achieved through this Conference have been less satisfactory than many of us desired, they nevertheless constitute an important step in the right direction... To say that this Conference has been a failure, because a final solution of that problem has not been found, would not only be an exaggeration, but a misrepresentation of the facts."

On the whole, then, we may be thankful indeed for the brave action of the American Delegate. We may believe from what afterwards transpired, that he had the sympathy of a large number of the other delegates in the action he took.

WHY MR. ROCKEFELLER AND MR. CARNEGIE HAVE NOT HELPED INDIA

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

I have been greatly interested in reading the American Letter, signed "Mary K. Morse," in the March number of *The Modern Review*, in which she gives testimony from one "closely connected with the Rockefeller Foundation" regarding the surprising fact that, while vast sums of Rockefeller money have been given to help good causes in many countries of the world, none has gone to India, a land where the need is certainly as great as that of any other country.

Why has India been thus passed by? The reason given by Mrs. Morse is what many of us had long suspected, namely, opposition or at least unfriendliness on the part of the British Government. She says:

"The Rockefeller Foundation spends money in China, South American countries, European countries, and even in Canada, because the governments of these countries take kindly to its activities; but it does not go into any field where the government might feel embarrassed by its work. India is under British rule, and the British Government

tells the world that all that is necessary for the progress of the people of India is being done by the British; the Rockefeller Foundation feels that any activity in India might not be liked by the Government and might even be resented."

Here we have it. Here we see what it means for a people to have no national existence,—to be not a nation, but only a mere appendage to a foreign nation. Is not this condition of things an eloquent commentary upon the claim put forward so constantly by Great Britain that she is India's friend and benefactor—that she is in India for India's good?

A recent report of the Rockefeller Foundation shows gifts to China for medical education, hospitals, etc., amounting to more than ten million dollars. There is one single donation to the Peking Union Medical College of \$8,513,862. All this is admirable. Health conditions in China are bad; she greatly needs such help as this which is being so generously extended to her. But India's

health conditions are quite as bad. And the real fact is that very little is being done to improve them. The British Government is not doing all, or more than a very, very small part, of what is necessary. The money sorely needed for founding and maintaining medical colleges, and for promoting hygiene, sanitation, hospitals and medical aid to the people, to save them from the terrible scourges of malaria, fevers of all kinds, tuberculosis, plague and other diseases which devastate the land, is used for large salaries and pensions for the British overlords for the land, and for great armies to hold the people in subjection. No unprejudiced mind can doubt that if India had been a self-ruling nation instead of a people held in bondage by a foreign power, she would from the first have received as much attention and as generous aid from Mr. Rockefeller as he bestows upon China.

Turn now to Andrew Carnegie. Why did not Mr. Carnegie, while bestowing his large benefactions upon his own and other countries, include India? There seems reason to believe that his motive was exactly the same as that which influenced Mr. Rockefeller and the Rockefeller Foundation. India was a "possession" of Great Britain; and he knew that Great Britain would not be pleased if he extended help to any of her "subjects." She would see in it an implied criticism of her "subjects." She would see in it an implied criticism of her rule,—a suggestion that she was not doing for India all that she ought to do.

I think it will not be out of place if I describe several efforts which have been made to induce Mr. Carnegie to give aid in one form or another to India.

In the year 1906, while I was living in Toronto (Canada), Mr. Carnegie came to Toronto to deliver an address, and was the guest of the distinguished scholar and writer, Professor Goldwin Smith. Having a somewhat intimate acquaintance with Professor Smith, and knowing his interest in India, it occurred to me that this might be a favourable time to carry out, with his aid, a purpose which I had long had in mind, of endeavouring to obtain from Mr. Carnegie, a promise of some important practical benefaction to the Indian people in their poverty and need. Accordingly, I wrote to Mr. Carnegie the following letter, which was delivered to him by Professor Smith:

Toronto, April 26th, 1906.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie.

My dear Sir:

Probably Mr. Goldwin Smith has mentioned to you the subject of India, with the inquiry whether, under any circumstances, you would be disposed to lend a hand in the promotion of Indian Education.

As of course you know, the needs of India are very great. Her people are very poor. There are few to help or take much interest in them. They are the subjects of an alien rule, which has only too little sympathy with their aspirations and ambitions. You will probably agree with me that in important respects they are the most gifted people of Asia. They have had a great history, of which they are proud. They have created the most remarkable literature of the Orient, and philosophies not inferior to those of Greece and Germany. They have given to the world two of its greatest religions. Says Lord Curzon: "India has left a deeper mark upon the history, the philosophy and the religion of mankind than any other territorial unit in the universe." The fate of such a people may well be a matter of concern to the world. With the awaking of the Orient, the people of India are awaking. They have felt deeply the influence of Japan. More and more every year they are feeling the burden of their poverty, their political helplessness, and their want of facilities for education, especially technical and industrial education. Their former extensive manufactures are nearly all broken down. Practically the whole people are now compelled to live on the land. The rich resources of their country in other directions are largely undeveloped, and they cannot develop them, partly for want of scientific and technical knowledge, and there are almost no facilities at all in India for acquiring such knowledge. The Indian Government spends \$105,000,000 a year on its army and the paltry sum of \$3,750,000 a year on education of every kind.

About two years ago an Association was formed with some of the ablest and most influential men from all sections of India at its head, to send students to Great Britain, Germany, Japan and America to acquire the scientific, technical and industrial knowledge which is so sorely needed. The Association is pushing forward earnestly, and has now sent out in all about 100 young men. But unless you have yourself been in India, you can have little conception of how poor the people are, and how severe a strain it is to raise money for even the most urgent objects.

It is to this movement, Mr. Carnegie, that

I wish especially to invite your attention. Would you not like to help in this important, this sorely needed effort to lift up a great people, to give them new hope, to increase their means of livelihood, to put into their hands new possibilities of self-help, and thus do something permanently effective to rescue them from those awful famines which have their cause less in lack of rain than in the appalling poverty of the people?

Allow me to make a definite suggestion. And pardon me if my suggestion is of something large; for the interests, the welfare, the salvation, I may almost say the lives of 300,000,000 of people are at stake. I cannot forget that you offered twenty million dollars to secure the liberty and independence of the Filipino people. This noble offer makes me feel sure that your sympathies and interests take in not only Anglo-Saxon peoples but the world, and it gives me hope that you will be glad to do something in some degree adequate to the great need and the splendid opportunity. Would you not like to devote at least 10,000,000 to India's educational salvation,—the interest on your donation to be devoted first to the work of sending students to Japan, England and the continent of Europe and especially America, to be trained, and then, when the men are ready, to the establishment and maintenance in India of scientific, technical, industrial and agricultural schools in the different great Provinces?

Let me say, I have visited most of the leading universities, colleges and educational institutions in India, and know pretty well what they are, and I have also done some corresponding with leading men in India in regard to this matter which I am now laying before you. I do not speak authoritatively for any one except myself, but I think I have good grounds for believing that no benefaction you have ever made has been more warmly or gratefully received than this would be by practically the whole body of the Indian people.

If this matter is one that interests you, so that you would feel like giving it your consideration in case it came to you in a form that commended itself to your judgment, and from a body of thoroughly representative and responsible Indian gentlemen, I shall be very glad to know.

My only apology for taking the liberty of addressing you, is India's great need, and the opportunity which I believe is offered you there of inaugurating an educational

work second in importance to none that you have undertaken.

Most respectfully yours,
J. T. Sunderland.

P. S. Perhaps I ought to add, that I have been in correspondence for some time with Sir Wm. Wedderburn, Chairman of the London Committee of the Indian National Congress, about the matter, and he expresses very warm and earnest interest in the same and a desire to co-operate in any way in his power. I have also talked the subject over carefully with several eminent American educators, who have strongly urged me to lay the matter before you.

J. T. S.

To this letter I received the following reply from the Secretary of Mr. Carnegie.

Government House,
Ottawa, Canada, April 30, 1906.
Rev. J. T. Sunderland,
Toronto.

Dear Sir :

I am to acknowledge receipt of your favour of April 26 to Mr. Carnegie, and to say that Mr. Carnegie is unable to take up the subject which you bring to his notice.

Yours respectfully,
(Signed by Mr. Carnegie's Secretary).

Four years later, when I was residing in the city of Hartford in the United States, Principal H. C. Maitra, of City College, Calcutta, visited this country and spent some weeks lecturing in institutions of learning and preaching in various churches. During this time he was my guest for several days. At his suggestion, on October 29, 1910, I wrote again to Mr. Carnegie, putting before him once more the pressing educational needs of India, and asking if he would *grant an interview to Principal Maitra* on the subject. To this letter I received an answer (dated November 4), saying : "I am obliged for yours of October 29, but do not wish to undertake foreign work, having quite enough to do at home, or at least within the bounds of our own race. Having been in India and knowing something of the conditions there, I know the magnitude of the task."

Because this letter from Mr. Carnegie laid stress upon his desire to confine his work to *America*, I determined, on further consultation with friends, to address him a

third time, to ascertain whether he would not be willing to aid India in America, that is to establish a generous number of scholarships for Indian students in American universities. Consequently I wrote him once more as follows :

Hartford, Conn., December 17, 1910.
Mr. Andrew Carnegie,
East 91st St., New York.

Dear Sir :

Six weeks ago I wrote you asking whether under any circumstances you would be willing to help India in her great need for education—particularly scientific, technical, agricultural and other forms of practical training. Under date of November 4th you reply that you "do not wish to undertake any foreign work."

I trust you will pardon me if I ask you the further question : Does this mean that you would not be willing to help Indian young men to come to America for study, by providing a certain number of *scholarships* for them in some of our *American institutions of learning* ? This would not require you to send any money to India, or to enter into any relations with parties in India. All could be managed in a very simple way through a competent *American Committee*.

Japan has been very greatly benefited, as you know, by sending here so many of her young men for scientific knowledge and training. China, through her more than 400 young men now studying in America, and the still larger numbers to be sent by the Government in the near future, will be benefited quite as much. India's need is greater than either Japan's or China's. Indian young men in great numbers would already be coming here for training, without receiving any assistance at all, were not the poverty of the people there so very severe. What is required in order to open a new day to India, to enable her to develop her resources, to build up once more her broken down manufactures, to create new industries, and thus raise her people to self-help and to living conditions, is, more than anything else, scientific and technical education.

Would you not, Mr. Carnegie, be willing to furnish, say 50 or 100 scholarships for Indian young men of high ability and promise, perhaps in the Institute which you yourself have founded in Pittsburgh, or, if

it seemed to you wiser, partly in that and partly in other American Institutions :

I am sure the matter could be planned so as to give you no trouble beyond the selection of the committee to have the scheme in charge, and the provision of the necessary funds. And the boon which you would thus confer upon India would be of simply priceless value.

Yours very truly,
J. T. Sunderland.

To this communication I received from Mr. Carnegie a courteous reply, but declining to make any promise that he would found the American Scholarships suggested, and giving no further explanation. Here the whole matter ended.

What was the reason, the real reason, why Mr. Carnegie refused to aid the Indian people ? It was not because he was unwilling to extend his benefactions outside of America. As a fact, he gave thirteen million dollars for libraries in other countries, ten million dollars for universities in Scotland, a million and three quarters for the Peace Temple at the Hague, and gifts for various other objects outside of America amounting to three millions. Nor was he antagonistic or even indifferent to the welfare of India. He had been there and knew its needs. Further more, he was a thorough democrat, a believer in freedom for all peoples. He is reported as saying in an interview in Chicago, March 31, 1910, nearly in the language of Abraham Lincoln ; "I do not believe God ever made any man or any nation good enough to rule any other man or any other nation."

I never knew Mr. Carnegie personally ; but in talking with his friend, Professor Godwin Smith, and with others who knew him well I became convinced, as I have already said that his reason was the same as that which influenced Mr. Rockefeller and the managers of the Rockefeller Foundation, namely, unwillingness to antagonize or displease Great Britain. As a steel manufacturer, he did a vast amount of business with England ; he himself was Scotch by birth, and he owned an estate and a historic old castle in Scotland, where for many years he spent his summers : the British people occupy a great place among the nations of the world, while the Indian people have no place at all ; consequently it was not strange that he desired to preserve undisturbed relations with the British Government and people. Perhaps this was cowardly in him ;

I think it was both cowardly and unjust. But it is easily understandable, and it seems clearly to explain his otherwise inexplicable conduct towards India.

In his case, then, as well as in the case of Mr. Rockefeller, we have an illustration of

what it means to the Indian people to be nationally nobody, in other words, unimportant and negligible subjects of a foreign power instead of a respected and honored nation having a place (as is their right) among the great nations of the world.

DR. STEN KONOW ON INDIA OF TO-DAY

[We have received the following letter from America, with the cuttings mentioned therein, which we have felt it our duty to publish, not because any special importance attaches to the views expressed in them, but because appreciation of Dr. Konow's work and his portrait in Indian costume appeared in this *Review*. Our comments will be found among the Notes in this issue. Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

"225, Sylvia Street,
W. LAFAYETTE, IND.,
April 11, 1925.

"EDITOR,
MODERN REVIEW,
91 Upper Circular Road,
Calcutta, India.

"Dear Sir,

"Enclosed you will find cuttings from *The Chicago Daily News* of a series of articles on India by Prof. Dr. Sten Konow. These articles have been saved by a Chinese friend of mine for sending to India with a view to being published there.

"In the February issue of the *Modern Review* mention is made of the good work done by Dr. Konow by his studies of our ancient civilisation, culture and religion. It will be, probably, interesting also to know his political views about India, which may not be quite agreeable to many of our people at home.

"Since Dr. Konow and Mrs. Konow have obtained so much admiration and love from our people that led to either their assuming, or our conferring on them Hindu names and costumes, it is quite proper that we should know more about them and their views about present-day India besides her past. This is particularly important, because it gives us the point of view of a disinterested foreigner, which we are not always in a position to see.

"I shall be very glad if you will give your attention to the enclosed cuttings and give them publicity, should you consider it proper to do so.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. DHAR.

I.

BOLSHEVISM IN INDIA FOLLOWS QUEER TRAIL.

Weakening of the British Empire—Object of Its Subtle Activities,

(Following is the first of four additional articles on bolshevism in India by Dr. Sten Konow, Professor of Indian Philology in the University of Christiania (Oslo), who is now a visiting professor in Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's university, Visva-Bharati, in Santiniketan, Bengal, India.)

BY DR. STEN KONOW.

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE of the Chicago Daily News Foreign Service.

Santiniketan, Bengal, India, Jan. 15.—Russian bolshevism started as a violent social upheaval. The possessing classes were deposed, and the power in the State as in society was nominally transferred to the workers. In most European countries bolshevist propaganda relies on the antagonism between capital and labor, which has long played a prominent role in the social struggle, and bolshevist agitators take their stand in the theoretical writings of well-known socialist authors. Their theory, however, is more than a social doctrine. It is based on a different conception of man and man's right which is more akin to Asiatic than to European ideas.

In Europe, as in America, the ideal has been unlimited freedom for the individual in his life and activity so far as that freedom does not clash with the natural rights of other individuals. The oriental mentality can perhaps nowhere be more clearly grasped than in India, and especially in Indian art. There one does not meet with individual features but with types and more or less general ideas. And in a similar way Indian religions aim at emancipating man from the fetters of individual happiness and bliss.

DREAMS OF A GOLDEN AGE.

It is a similar frame of mind one meets in socialism and bolshevism, and, in a certain sense both are religious. It is, accordingly, not a mere matter of chance that the bolsheviks have made front against inherited religion. Bolshevism in itself is a religion, with its essentially religious dreams of a golden age, at least for the masses, if not for the individuals.

It seems to me that this communist conception is deeply ingrafted on the Russian mind. Even before the revolution Russian society to a great extent was based on soviets—village councils, provincial

councils, and so on. The representatives of the more individualistic conception to a large extent were foreigners, and bolshevist revolution was also in a certain sense a national reaction. And outside of Russia in Asia the aim of the bolsheviks has been largely a restoration of the Russian empire. Communism and nationalism march hand in hand.

This state of things is everywhere apparent in the bolshevist propaganda in Asia. Its agents appeal to the different nationalities and try to rouse them to fight for independence, wherever they are under foreign rule, and at the same time they attempt to strengthen the communist instincts of the Asiatic peoples. The final aim seems to be an all-comprising bolshevist organization with its center in Russia.

USING THE KORAN FOR PROPAGANDA.

We have been able to follow the process in various parts of Asia. A short time after Lenin's revolution we were informed that a learned Mohammedan had undertaken the task of proving that bolshevism was in reality taught in the Koran. It was apparent that the idea was to make use of Islam in the struggle against the old capitalist society. We can, therefore, understand the attitude of Moscow during the negotiations between Turkey and the allied powers. Turkey was the chief Moslem empire, and an alliance or a close understanding with the caliph would have been of incalculable importance for the bolshevist movement over the whole Mohammedan world.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha made an end of such dreams. He is a nationalist, and his aim is the establishment of a Turkish empire independent and powerful. He abolished the caliphate because he feared that the interests of Islam might sometimes be detrimental to those of the Turks, and he would not be likely to submit to the dictates of a world-comprising organization. Nationalism cannot well be reconciled with international ideas.

Such evidently, is also the opinion of the bolsheviks themselves, to judge from their behavior in the Caucasus. To begin with, they acted as if they were in favour of an independent Caucasus. As soon as the people had organised their home-rule, however, soviet troops appeared in order to establish a soviet republic dependent on Moscow—free nationalities are only a means toward the final aim. Subject races should be freed from the domination of "capitalist" empires because the latter is an obstacle to bolshevism, but not in order to permit them to carve out their destiny in their own way.

As long as they do not feel strong enough to bring foreign peoples under their control, however, the bolsheviks pose as the advocates of the rights of the subject nations, or of the national cause where foreigners try to exploit a country in their interest. Everywhere in Asia they are able to point to the contrast between the rich Europeans and the mass of the population, and frequently also to win over the representatives of national capital, who hope to get rid of the European competition and do not take into account that bolshevism in its very nature, is irreconcilable with their own interests. Only a short time ago we heard of leading Chinese politicians who declared themselves to be bolsheviks.

The methods of the soviet propagandists in Asia can be studied with exceptional ease in Afghanistan. The aim has been clearly to lessen the British hold on the country, and thus to contribute to the

weakening of the British empire, which everywhere in Asia stands in the way of bolshevism.

AFGHAN EMIR IN CONTROL.

The new ruler of Afghanistan seems to be quite sincere in his desire to modernize his country. He has made himself independent on India, after a war which the English newspapers in India described as successful, and since then he has been busy trying to develop Afghanistan politically, industrially and commercially. Russian agents play a considerable role in Kabul and probably also elsewhere in the country, and they are exercising a great influence on the emir. Evidently they do everything in their power in order to strengthen his position and to help him in carrying through his reforms.

Industrialism is not in itself repugnant to bolshevist principles and Afghan industry is a state affair just as are Russian mills at the present day. But the leader of the whole undertaking is the emir and not even nominally a soviet or representative of the employees. And the same is the state of things everywhere.

It is evident that the bolsheviks have chosen to abstract from bolshevism proper in order to achieve some preliminary object. That can be only the weakening of British influence in Asia. Therefore, the bolsheviks ally themselves with Afghan nationalism, well knowing that it would not be too difficult to make Afghanistan submit to Russian control, were Britain's powerful hand to be withdrawn.

WORK WITH INDIAN NATIONALISTS.

Similar considerations have induced the soviet authorities to seek connection with Indian nationalists. There can be little doubt that Russian money has been placed at the disposal of Indians, and the nationalist coloring affected by soviet propaganda in Asia has strengthened the Indian independenceists, who feel more secure in the conviction that Russia stands behind them. For Russia is still to the average Indian a powerful antagonist of the British empire. The Indian anarchist will be still more encouraged in this way than the ordinary nationalist for he knows that his methods have the sanction of the mighty soviet organization. But even to him the immediate aim is to obtain independence for India. He is above all a nationalist.

Therefore, when we can trace the influence of Russia in India at the present day and hear the praise of bolshevism sung by people who are themselves far removed from its underlying ideas, the reason is that nationalism has become such a leading factor in India. In later articles I shall speak of the development of the national idea in this country.

II.

NATIONALISTIC IDEA STRONGER IN INDIA.

Some Results of World War Increase the Anti-British Feeling.

(Following is the second of four additional articles by Dr. Konow on political and social conditions in India. Dr. Konow is professor of Indian philology in the University of Christiania (Oslo), but for some time has been a visiting professor at Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's university, Visva-Bharati in Santiniketan, Bengal, India.)

By DR. STEN KONOW.

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE of the Chicago Daily News Foreign Service.

Santiniketan, Bengal, India, Jan. 15.—The idea of an Indian nation has not come as a natural consequence of the historical development of the Indian people. Since India emerged from the mist of prehistoric ages the country has been the home of different races and peoples never able to melt together into a community with common aims and interests. To a great extent the whole population came under the influence of Aryan civilization and in the caste system was found a formula for co-operation between the different elements. But all attempts at establishing a common empire failed, and the caste system became a hindrance to the development of the feeling of unity. The Brahmin of one country felt himself more closely akin to his caste-fellows in the neighboring State than to his co-citizens.

The last great attempt at uniting the country in one State before the advent of the Europeans brought a new split in introducing a new religion—Islam.

It was reserved to the English to accomplish what others had failed to do—to create a united India. Only after the establishment of the British Indian empire were the necessary conditions given for the development of an Indian nation. Only then could the Indians become accustomed to look on the whole people as a unity: *la nation c'est l'histoire*.

EDUCATION PROMOTES UNITY.

For further development it was of far-reaching consequence that the British decided to build a new educational system on western lines. The result has been that European ideas have gradually found their way to India and impressed themselves on the minds of educated Indians, the leaders of Indian thought, and among these the national idea has gradually come to occupy the foremost place.

There was a long time before the development led to a feeling of irreconcilable contrast between Indians and British. To a great extent the educated Indian looked upon himself as a British citizen and was proud of belonging to the ruling nation. Even the great revolt in 1857 was more a reaction against a supposed tendency to introduce Christianity than a national rising.

Gradually, however, the attitude of the educated classes underwent a change. The more the mind was filled with European ideas, and the less the British did to give the Indians equal rights within the country—not to speak of the empire—the clearer the Indians began to see that they were a subject race and not free British citizens. This feeling brought them nearer together and strengthened the national idea, which grew up in consequence of the establishment of a common State and which, to begin with, seemed to tend towards the development of a unity comprising British and Indians. The more outspoken and particularized Indian nationalism therefore came as a reaction against the foreign domination.

Before I was in India sixteen years ago the national feeling had become very strong and it was decidedly anti-English. Over and over again I noticed how the attitude toward me changed when it became known that I was not an Englishman.

MOHAMMEDAN AND THE HINDU.

Still the movement was not then universal. It was more or less restricted to the educated classes especially to those who had studied in English

schools and universities. And the Mohammedans were standing aloof. They knew that they were in a minority and that their position in an independent India would be worse than under British dominion. As an intelligent Mohammedan ruler has repeatedly said to his friends: "We were never ruled by Hindus and we never will submit to Hindu rule." Islam was to them more important than India. There was moreover generally an impression of the necessity of preserving the connection with Great Britain. India could not stand on its own legs.

Now it seems as if a thorough change has come about. Leading Mohammedans are joining the Hindus in claiming home-rule or independence, and the national idea has a firm hold on the mind in much wider circles. And what is perhaps most significant, the Sadhus, the saints whose calling should make them disinclined to take a share in worldly affairs are active in the anti-British propaganda.

SIGN OF SIGNIFICANT CHANGE.

I shall never forget what happened to me a short time ago in an Indian town. I had delivered a lecture on a religious topic and during the lecture I had been asked to give a resume in Sanskrit. When I had done so, a Sadhu rose and pointed out that I had just happened to throw a curious light on the position of India. When a foreigner spoke to them in English they all understood every word but when he translated his utterances into their own sacred tongue only very few were able to follow him. And the Sadhu was loudly cheered.

In order to understand the thorough change of atmosphere, it is not sufficient to point to the natural growth of the national movement. There must be special reasons. And among these I feel convinced that the great war must be mentioned first.

When the war broke out, Lord Sydenham warned his compatriots against drawing India into the conflict. He reminded them of the fact that the pretorians remained loyal only as long as they did not think that they were necessary.

His warning has proved true. The Indians were told that they must come to the assistance of the mother country in her struggle. They were not over-willing, and the methods of recruiting were not characterised by sympathy and leniency. But they went into the war, and they fought bravely and most Indians were convinced that they decided the issue. They drew one conclusion from the whole series of events. It was not Great Britain that was necessary for India, but on the contrary, Britain could not subsist without India.

LOSE FAITH IN PROMISES.

India was roused to a sense of her own importance, and the Indians claimed a large share in the administration of their country as a well-earned reward. The British were slow in listening to such voices and when the reform came the Indians thought that they had been exploited against Britain's will. The anti-British feeling became still stronger.

Moreover, the Mohammedans entered the field. They had gone to the war confiding in the pledges of government that the caliph's power would not be curtailed and the sacred places of Islam would not be invaded. And they saw that British troops entered Jerusalem, which to the Moslem is

a holy town, and they were told by Lloyd George that the Turkish sultan could not hope to be better treated than the other enemies. The result was that leading Mohammedans lost their faith in British sincerity and joined the ranks of the Hindu nationalists.

It is curious that the great war, which was said to aim at liberating all nations and uniting them for the furtherance of lofty ideals, has led to a straining of feeling between the different races. The color prejudice of the white race seems to be stronger than ever, and the colored races are more and more reciprocating the feeling of distrust and ill will. In such circumstances the anti-British feeling may some day spread all over India and become irresistible.

III.

PRESTIGE OF BRITISH MUCH LOWER IN INDIA.

Soldiers Disillusioned by What They Saw in War—Gandhi's Influence.

(Following is the third of four additional articles by Dr. Konow on political and social conditions in India. Dr. Konow is professor of Indian philology in the University of Christiania (Oslo), but is now visiting professor in Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's University, Visva-Bharati, in Santiniketan, Bengal, India.)

By DR. STEN KONOW.

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE of the Chicago Daily News Foreign Service.

Santiniketan, Bengal, India, Jan. 15.—The strengthening of nationalism in India, with the consequent claim for home-rule or independence, has been brought about by the educated classes. The people at large have had little or no share in the movement. The change has been due in part, however, to events during and after the war.

As a rule the soldiers who enlisted for the war did not belong to the higher classes. Their experiences during the various campaigns were bound to become known in large circles. In the camps they heard about the great service they were rendering to the British empire—they must after all be of some account. And on the battlefields and in the trenches they were not always witnessing triumphs won by the powerful sahibs, their masters. Sometimes they even saw the sahibs flee for their lives. The tales the soldiers told when they returned were repeated in the bazaars and they lost nothing in being repeated. There was an immense loss of prestige for the British arms, even in the minds of the simple villager.

To the villager, sarkar, the British government had been a mystic power, something almost divine, which must be worshipped in fear and awe. But there was rarely any love for or devotion to it. Now, with belief in its invincibility and something of the awe disappearing, we even heard of low-caste kulis who sang out in joy at the rumor of British defeats.

SAN FRANCISCO EXILES ACTIVE.

The soil is gradually becoming prepared for the spread of the nationalist movement among the Indian masses. To a certain extent the movement has already made its way to them. It is possible to point to definite events that have contributed to this result.

During and after the war there were many signs of a widespread revolutionary movement, led partly by Indian exiles who had found refuge in San Francisco. The authorities were nervous, and especially in the Punjab, some officials were

anxious. There more than elsewhere the recruiting for the war had been conducted with a harshness that led to much resentment.

Some unfortunate happenings led to an attack by a mob on the British quarters in Amritsar, where some Englishmen were killed and a lady was ill-treated. The leading Indians tried to quiet the masses and condemned their violence in strong terms. Then the town became quiet again.

But then the British general, Dyer, entered the stage and forbade all public meetings in the town. His orders were not sufficiently published and a big meeting was announced in the Jallanwalla Bagh, a big square with only one entrance. There Gen. Dyer posted his troops and ordered them to shoot on the assembled masses, and about 100 Indians were killed. Other repressive measures followed, and the following days were hard for the Indians.

GANDHI ENTERS THE LISTS.

These events raised a torrent of indignation all over India, and Gandhi threw himself with all his energy, into the struggle. He condemned, in the strongest terms, the attitude of the government, in Amritsar and with reference to the peace with Turkey, and started a campaign which soon spread over all India.

Gandhi is not a politician of the common type. He has devoted his life to a disinterested fight for those who are exploited and depressed, first in South Africa, and now in India, and he has a unique position in the hearts of the Indian people. His methods and his motives are different from those of the average politician. He does not belong to the English. On the contrary he is inclined to admire them, and would be prepared to agree with Rabindranath Tagore "that the best Englishmen are the best specimens of humanity." He knows, as every impartial judge knows, that the British administration in India has been of a high order, and that the individual Briton will exert himself to the utmost of his power.

Gandhi, therefore, was shocked more than any one else at these happenings, because they shook his faith. He foresaw that the Mohammedan question threatened to become fatal for India, and he joined hands with them, partly to avoid a violent outburst of religious feeling. He first tried to appeal to the British authorities and only when this appeal failed did he throw himself into the struggle, of which he soon became the nominal leader.

GANDHI'S VIEWS NOT POLITICAL.

Gandhi did this with great reluctance and only after having come to the conclusion that there was no other way available. He saw in the conflict between the British and the Indians not so much a struggle for political power as a clash between two different views of life and life's aims. To the average European the chief things are power and prosperity, to Gandhi spiritual freedom and self-control. His view is religious and not political.

But he had come to the conclusion that the contact with Europe was a dangerous poison for India, and he joined those who wanted to break off the connection or make it powerless to work for evil.

The policy Gandhi advocated is characteristic of the man. The Indians, he argued, should withdraw from every co-operation with government, the satanic government, as he used to say and we now understand how he came to use such a term. But

such means he had triumphed in South Africa, and he had no doubt as to the result in India. The Indian should rely on right and justice, which were stronger powers than force and violence.

Above all, they must practise ahimsa, avoid violence in any form, and here he shows how fundamentally he differs from the bolshevist revolutionaries of Russia.

The Indian people at large worship Gandhi, the mahatma, as a saint. And the result of his joining the ranks of the nationalists was that the movement spread all over the country and came to comprise all classes of the people. Indian nationalism is on its way to becoming very firm.

GANDHI'S ADHERENCE HELPS MOVEMENT.

Gandhi's preaching of ahimsa was not in vain. For many years it had been impossible for higher British officials to move about without expensive precautions. Otherwise their persons and their lives would have been in danger. Now there was a great improvement in this state of things, and it was only quite lately that the recrudescence of anarchic crime brought about a change for the worse.

The following current of events is too well known to need recapitulation. The movement which Gandhi accelerated spread like fire in dry hay, and here and there it proved impossible to restrain the mob from using violence. It came to deplorable excesses, and Gandhi did not shrink from the responsibility. He was arrested and imprisoned for six years, till the precarious state of his health brought about a release last year.

But Gandhi in prison was even a more formidable power than he had been before, and his restraining influence was eliminated. And now he is again active, trying to reconcile the different Indian camps and preaching his gospel of ahimsa and home rule.

In my next letter I shall try to point out some of the reasons why Gandhi failed in keeping his followers from violence and some features which seem to me to contain a serious warning for the future.

IV

OPPRESSED IN INDIA THINKING OF RIGHTS.

How Bolshevism, Which They Little Understand, May Lead to Trouble.

(Following is the fourth and last of this series of articles by Dr. Konow on political and social conditions in India. Dr. Konow is professor of Indian philology in the university of Christiania (Oslo), and for some time has been visiting professor in Dr. Rabin-dranath Tagore's university, Visva-Bharati, in Santiniketan, Bengal, India).

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS FOREIGN SERVICE.

Santiniketan, Bengal, India, Jan. 15.—The national idea, which is spreading over all India, is, in its origin, essentially a reaction against the foreigner, and it is a question whether it would have any vitality if the home rulers succeeded in making India independent of Great Britain.

I have mentioned in previous articles the strained relations between Hindus and Moslems, and it is scarcely to be hoped that those relations will become better if the British cease to exercise control over the country.

Then there is another contrast which is bound to become more and more prominent with the spread of education and knowledge—the difference

between the wealthy and the poor classes, between high and low.

There are in India, and have always been, some institutions of a democratic or even communistic nature. The village has its council, and the villagers often settle their own affairs. The craftsmen were formerly and to some extent are still paid with shares in the harvest and not in cash. Such inherited habits, however, are gradually disappearing, and life even in the village becomes differentiated as in Europe and America.

SOCIAL QUESTION GAINS IMPORTANCE.

The real power in matters of common and often quite vital interest has never been in the hands of the many, but has been monopolized by the few, and with the spread of western ideas the masses sooner or later realize that such is the case. The social question is bound to play a considerable role in India as elsewhere in a not very distant future. Already there are signs of the coming struggle, though they are sometimes misinterpreted as due to the nationalist propaganda.

Among the 320,000,000 who form the population of India not less than one-eighth or about 40,000,000 are so-called untouchables on whom the higher classes look down as impure. They cannot touch, them or even approach them without becoming themselves impure and defiled. Several leading Indians have raised their voices against this abnormal state of things, but the feeling against the outcastes is still strong, and quite recently one could witness how some orthodox Hindus made it a condition of their joining the home-rulers that the untouchables should not be allowed to approach certain places of worship.

What is going to happen when these depressed classes wake up to see the injustice of this state of things and realize that it is possible to combine and enforce their right as human beings and fellow-citizens? They are already beginning to bestir themselves.

AGRICULTURISTS DEEPLY OPPRESSED.

Then there is another grave problem. The bulk of the Indian population is dependent on agriculture for its living. In some districts the actual tillers are also the owners of their plots of ground or are secure in their right as cultivators. To a great extent, however, they are tenants who have to pay rental to the landlords, and in spite of all government regulations it has often proved impossible to secure them against being rackrented. Moreover, they are often in the hands of money-lenders who are not rarely usurers of the worst kind.

The position of these poor people is miserable and they are too poor and too ignorant to enforce their rights against their oppressors. Frequently even forced labor is exacted from them, though it is illegal. They receive a nominal pay in order to save appearances, and they are powerless in face of this kind of oppression, which is sometimes resorted to in the name of the highest British officials.

Some days ago I went to a Santal village to look on a village dance. The good-natured Santals have been allowed to settle down and build their houses on ground belonging to a wealthy landlord. They have no written contracts, and their rent has been raised from time to time, at the bidding of the landlord. Still the industrious tillers have

managed to make a poor living for themselves. Now the harvest had been good and they were prepared to enjoy themselves. On the day when we came, however, their innocent joy had been disturbed: The landlord had ordered the men to come to his place for some days of forced labor.

CAUSES OF A TILLERS' RIOT,

About fifty years ago an Englishman wrote that the pressure on the Indian tenants was so great that an explosion was bound to come in a near future. It has not come yet, but there have been occasional outbursts.

A few years ago an Indian told a compatriot in London that he failed to understand why the tenants in his home, in Chauri-Chaura, had not long before risen against their oppressors. In the days when Gandhi's name was on everybody's lips, it happened in this very place that the mob turned against the police and burned many of them to death. The Indian police always side with those in power. They are underpaid, with the result that bribes are taken or extorted and the common Indian does not love the police. Now Gandhi had stirred up the whole people and the poor tillers in Chauri-Chaura gave vent to their feelings in a deplorable outburst of violence.

The whole matter was represented as the result of Gandhi's propaganda, but the real cause lay much deeper. In other recent happenings such as the Moplah rebellion, the troubles in Assam and in Oudh, the pressure under which the lower classes live was largely responsible for the outbursts.

If we further bear in mind the rapid growth of industrial undertakings with the consequent massing of laborers in industrial centers, it will be understood that there is more than enough of inflammable matter which only needs a spark to be inflamed.

Not long ago it happened in this neighborhood that a young Indian who had returned from the war began to organize the villagers for drill and sport. The matter looked quite innocent. But one

day some of the villagers came to the leader of a neighboring institution and said: "We hear that you also are suffering from the greed of the landlords. Only give the word and we shall burn down their homesteads."

TALK OF LIVING OVER VOLCANO.

Indian friends have told me that they sometimes have the feeling of moving about on a volcano, and if one looks at the glaring contrast between rich and poor people in India one feels inclined to think that such must be the case.

In such circumstances it may be understood why Gandhi has not been able to keep his people from violence. And one can easily see how dangerous it is when some nationalists who are themselves supporters of the ancient Indian society pose as bolsheviks. Sooner or later the depressed classes will learn to understand that bolshevism is not merely nationalism but social gospel which is bound to make a strong appeal to them. And some day political agents will come from abroad and enlighten them still more.

There lies the real bolshevik danger for India. Provisionally bolshevism is to most Indians only a vague idea which the nationalists fancy they can use in their struggle against the British. But what about the day when it becomes a reality?

If the masses can be organized and disciplined by leaders with strong will and settled aims they will some day rise, not against British rule, but against their oppressors, the wealthy Indians and the upper classes generally. And there will come a cataclysm which will make an end of the ancient Indian society and to Indian civilization. And millions of those who rose in rebellion will themselves die the death of starvation, because it is as the soviet republic has taught us, so infinitely more difficult to build up than to pull down.

If such an upheaval should come after the Indians had succeeded in turning out the British, nothing would be able to keep it down. The firm hand of the British ruler alone could succeed in averting the disaster.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. News items, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH.

AMONG THE BRAHMINS AND PARIAHS: By J. H. Sauter. Translated from the German by Bernard Miall. Boni and Liveright, New York. \$3.00.

It is difficult for an American who has not been to India, to draw when writing of a book

about India, a fair conclusion regarding the merit or demerits of such a book. There is, however, in the reading of books a certain pleasure which may have nothing to do with the truth or falsity of their contents,—a pleasure, in short, derived from style.

In connection with the reading of Herr Sauter's

book, *Among the Brahmins and Pariahs*, one's memory turns to another book, *Island India*, by Miss Augusta de Wit (Yale University Press) which is similar in style. The two places described by Herr Sauter and Miss de Wit, the one India and the other Java, are many miles apart, but there is an identity of treatment which is in each instance delightful. The bond existing between the two lies a delicacy of touch in the writer's craftsmanship which lifts the subject-matter above the ordinary descriptive writing on travels and places it in a class of reading matter which is always enjoyable.

As has been said, it is difficult for an American who has not been to India to judge Herr Sauter's book. One is without authority to say whether he digresses from the truth, or whether he approaches his subject of India with a just, or an unjust attitude. The only criterion for such a reader is whether the book is of merit from a literary view-point. This Herr Sauter's book is. There are passages in regard to the phrasing of which, the reader wishes the translator had used more originality. Certain expressions are used again and again in the English where one feels certain some variety must have existed in the original German. But the effect on the whole is very picturesque and very delightful.

For instance, the description of the festival of *Ganesha-Satra* in a temple in Deoghar is one not soon to be forgotten :

"The sun had disappeared behind the dark blue banks of clouds; the last rays were growing faint, and the stars were peeping forth in the vast dome of the heavens, growing always brighter and clearer, until at length, when darkness had filled the whole sky, the silver-bright Milky Way shone forth in the heavens. From the city sounded the voices of many men, mingling with the din in the temple court, until the night seemed full of the roaring of breakers on a rocky shore. Pushed onward by the crowd we wandered once more from one side-temple to another. They were now brightly illuminated by countless oil-lamps burning within them. On the tall iron stands before the images of the gods sticks of incense were burning, giving off that sweet, slightly acrid odour peculiar to the Indian Temple. The booths were brightly lit with lamps of every kind, and there was no corner, not a parapet in the temple precincts, without its row of tiny lights."

Herr Sauter makes the statement that occidental influences are gradually destroying Hindu customs and taste. He states further and as an example, that the mannerisms of the occidental theatre and the plots of western drama are invading the precincts of the ancient Hindu drama and are destroying it. This statement is corroborated in a recent book by Dhan Gopal Mukerji, *My Brother's Face*. Mukerji, after an absence of a number of years, returned to India to find that the passive Indian drama had begun to give way to the clink and clatter of gaudy Western melodrama and that the giving way was taking place with amazing rapidity. Oriental and occidental dramas are not at all alike and no one deplors the invasion of the latter into the field of Indian drama more than these two writers of oriental subjects. One wonders whether it is the same movement which has injected the automobile and other modern inventions into Chinese and Japanese life, which has injected the active drama of the West into Indian life. Each year in New York under the direction of

Mr. Das Gupta, the Union of the East and the West, the organization formed by Tagore during his last visit to this country, presents a series of Indian plays. The audiences attending these plays are increasing in number from year to year. The anomalies of western dramatic form invading India and Indian drama invading the West are very interesting. One thinks, too, of the Mohammedan temple which is at present in course of construction in Berlin. The invasion of Christianity and modern Western drama into the East are not the only invasions. Eastern religions and drama are also invading the West. What is to be the inevitable outcome? Will there be a real union of East and West?

Herr Sauter's book is a record of the author's travels in India and his residence in that country covering a period of several years. The book is filled with the author's reminiscences, recollections of people and places which linger in memory long after the covers of the books have been closed. One of these persons is Arun, an Indian of high birth. Another is Swami Sri Devanand. Both are delineated with such sympathy and such delicacy of touch that they might be men whose acquaintance is enjoyed not only by the author, but by the reader as well.

Among the Brahmins and Pariahs is a collection of essays each of which is complete in itself, a series of word-pictures. Side by side with description is the author's interpretation of the philosophic concepts of the Hindus with whom he has come in contact. The book is one treating both light and serious moments. It is a book which is pleasant in both language and content and ought to be of interest to both Indians and Americans.

VIOLA IRENE COOPER.

RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY: (FOUR LECTURES): By Thomas B. Strong, Bishop of Ripon. Published by the Oxford University Press. Pp.-78. Price 3s. 6d.

In the first and the second chapter, the author has "considered the position of man in his relations with the world round him and his various efforts to use it for his own purposes and to make himself at home in it" (p. 42). In the last two chapters he describes the importance of Judaism and Christianity. He writes from the stand-point of orthodox Christianity.

His Christianity is based upon some historical events, by which he means the birth, life, death and resurrection of Jesus. (p. vi, 74-77).

He lays a special emphasis on the death and resurrection of Jesus. He writes:—"The dispensation of sacrifice was at an end, because the purpose which the ancient sacrifices figured forth ineffectively, had at last been achieved. *Through the death and resurrection of Christ, man has become reconciled to God*" (p. 71). (Italics ours).

In another place he says that philosophy cannot, but physical resurrection or even the appearance of a ghost, can prove the immortality of the soul (p. 52, 76).

In this connection we may remark:—

(i) Drews, W. B. Smith, Robertson, Schweitzer and others have challenged the very historicity of Jesus. We may not accept the constructive side of their theories but their destructive criticism is unanswerable. We are constrained to say that they have conclusively proved that the Jesus of the Gospels had no existence.

(ii) There is another class of more influential

scholars who believe in the historicity of Jesus but at the same time say that nothing positive can be known about his life and teachings. The Christ of the church and of the Gospels, too, is according to them, an ideal construction. Round the historical Jesus gathered many fables according to the needs of the church, and to him were attributed the sayings of his predecessors and contemporaries. What little of his life we can extract from the mass of the Gospel legends, is trivial and of slight importance, and we cannot say with certainty what precepts were really his. This is the verdict of modern scholarship.

Everything in connection with the life and precepts of Jesus is doubtful. But one thing is certain and it is this, that the Resurrection is a myth, pure and simple. And upon this myth our author has built the superstructure of his Christianity. Now what will become of this superstructure when its foundation is removed. Even if, for argument's sake, we assume the resurrection to be an historical fact, still the position of our author will remain untenable.

How can the death and resurrection of Jesus reconcile man to God. The relation between God and man is direct and not mediate. Man is organically related to God, whether he feels it or not. If there be any estrangement, it can be removed only by the parties concerned and the process is purely internal and spiritual. This estrangement cannot be removed by sacrificing an animal or a man; by sacrificing and 'resurrecting' Jesus or some other person. The Christian doctrine of human sacrifice is a relic of an old barbaric religion which prescribed sacrifice for appeasing an angry and vindictive God.

Nor can resurrection prove the immortality of the soul. Physical resurrection cannot establish metaphysical immortality. It can, at the most, prove a temporary post-mortem existence of a materialised soul.

Our author justly takes pride in being a man of the twentieth century (p. 53) but he tries to push us back to the eighteenth.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

We are in receipt of two of the recent issues of "*Poetry*," a magazine exclusively devoted to verse and verse-criticism, edited by Mr. S. Fowler-Wright, the poet. We have, for some time, known Mr. Fowler-Wright as the zealous, if sometimes over-zealous, opponent of a certain coterie that arrogates to itself the divine right of silencing all poetry which is not their poetry. It is safe to say that anyone who turns to "*Poetry*" for relief from the kind of poetry which has esconced itself today in high places, and whose only merit, often, is the self-advertising violence of a ludicrously strained originality, will not have looked in vain for sane yet various verse.

J. J. V.

A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION: By Sri Aurobindo Ghose. Published by the Arya Publishing House, College Street Market, Calcutta.

The book contains essays on the general principles of a sound system of teaching applicable for the most part to national education. The fame of Sri Aurobindo as an intellectual is widespread enough to make it unnecessary here to enlarge upon his keen analytical powers and profound learning. He criticises the existing western system

of teaching as being "based on an insufficient knowledge of psychology" and he says that "it is safeguarded in Europe from disastrous results by the refusal of the ordinary student to subject himself to the processes it involves."

"The first principle of true teaching is that nothing can be taught." It is the teacher's business "to suggest and not to impose". Knowledge is always "within" the boy and the teacher only "helps" it to rise to the surface. Such is the opinion of Sri Aurobindo and he works out his ideas into details in this book.

INDIAN RAILWAYS: By K. V. Iyer. Published by the Oxford University Press.

This is Volume VII of their series *India of To-day* and gives us a comprehensive idea of the Indian Railway system. A neat little handbook, from the pen of an authority on the subject, which should find appreciation everywhere.

The Campaign in Mesopotamia, Vol. 1. Compiled at the request of the Government of India under the direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial defence. By Brig-Gen. F. J. Moberly, C.B., C. S. I., D. S. O. P. S. C. Printed and published by His Majesty's Stationery Office.

The book is based mainly on official documents and contains the history of the Mesopotamian Campaign up to the 5th October, 1915. It is illustrated with three photographic pictures and seven maps. The introductory chapters on the nature of the country, the British pre-war policy and the inception of the operations make the book specially interesting and useful.

WESTERN RACES AND THE WORLD: *Essays arranged and edited by R. S. Marvin. Published by the Oxford University Press.*

This is the fifth volume of the Unity Series published by the Oxford University Press in response to the "need for the persistent presentation of the synthetic aspects of history, for putting in their due prominence those factors in human evolution which have tended to build up a more united mankind." In this volume there are essays from the pen of J. A. Smith (Language as a Link), Edwyn Bevan (Greeks and Barbarians), H. Stuart Jones (The Roman Empire), Dr. A. J. Carlyle (The Influence of Christianity), S. H. Swinny (The Humanitarianism of the Eighteenth Century and its Results), Sir T. W. Arnold (Europe and Islam), Charles H. Roberts (The Indian Problem), W. E. Soothill (Western Races and the Far East), J. H. Harris (Economic Exploitation of the Tropics) and Sir Sydney Olivier (Master and Man in the Tropics and Mandates under the League of Nations). This collection aims at establishing that "Western energy and Western light" have taken the world forward and the spirit of progress is by no means exhausted. Even in backward places, the influence of the West has been for the good, say the authors of the book. In this view they shall not find support everywhere.

TUTANKHAMEN, AMENISM, ATENISM AND EGYPTIAN MONOTHEISM; WITH HIEROGLYPHIC TEXTS OF HYMNS TO AMEN AND ATEN. TRANSLATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS: By Sir Ernest A. Wallis Budge, Litt. D. D. Litt., Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum. Published by Martin Hopkinson and Company Ltd. 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London.

Sir E. A. W. Budge wrote this book at the sug-

gestion of the late Lord Carnarvon, who with Mr. Howard Carter discovered the tomb of Tutankhamen in December, 1922. The sensation that was created by their discovery is still fresh in our minds and this book comes as a great help to harmonise and give definite shape to all the numerous bits of information that has got into our mind since that memorable occasion in 1922. The information supplied to the world by an over-excited press was not wholly correct. Sir Ernest says about this: "But some of them (the writers who discussed Tutankhamen in this press) have been led astray by their eagerness to do ample justice to the great discovery, and have introduced into their eulogies statements of a historical character which are incorrect." Sir Ernest has cleared up all our doubts regarding the history and achievements of Tutankhamen in his book and has also given us a good deal of information on the cults of Amen and Aten and on Egyptian Monotheism. The book is profusely illustrated with plates and pictures and the price of 10s. 6d. should enable all who are interested in the subject to get a copy.

INFLUENCES OF INDIAN ART: Published by the India Society, 3 Victoria Terrace, London S. W. Price 25 shillings net.

This is a collection of six papers by Josef Strzygowski, J. Ph. Vogel, H.F.E. Visser, Victor Goloubeff, Joseph Hackin and Andreas Nell. The introduction is by F. H. Andrews. India had throughout her long history economic, political and cultural relations with the outer world. Naturally her art went with her emigrants. Of course the mark that Indian art has left upon the art of other countries shows that Buddhist India exerted the greatest influence in adding to and modifying the art of what we now call greater India. The countries to which India carried her artistic genius were not cultureless. They had all more or less highly developed arts of their own which with the advent of Buddhism, applied themselves to the service of this new religion. "Representations of Buddha and the Buddhist Hierarchy attracted practically all the talent that these countries could provide."

"The new religion," says Mr. Andrews, "was in fact, a fertilizer and vitalizer which in providing new inspiration in the fields of art, awakened and re-energized latent talent to express itself, at first in the terms of Indian formulae but later to produce its finest works when native genius found it could declare itself more eloquently in its enriched vernacular."

So the arts of the countries which received inspiration from India at one time or another either directly or in a round-about way, should not be considered as exotic by the enthusiastic nationalists of India. All that India should claim is a deep cultural sympathy. These lands developed the artistic traditions of India by the force of their own genius and talent and the fusion of their cultural heritage with that of India has produced wonderful works of arts such as, to take only Javanese examples, the *Stupa* of Borobudur which has been aptly called the Parthenon of Asia by Mr. Havell, Chandi Mendut and Chandi Pawon, the temple of Kalasan, the Dyeng temples, the Prambanan Sculptures depicting the story of *Ravana*, the *Ganesa* of Bara, the *Vishnu* on *Garuda* of Belahan which has no Indian equal in the opinion of Vogel, the famous *Prajnaparamita* which is in the words of Havell "one of the most spiri-

tual creations of any art, 'Eastern or Western,' etc. etc.

In the case of Far Eastern Art Indian influence first went to China, thence to Korea and Japan. China has lost most of her early Buddhist art owing to political, religious and climatic causes and it is Japan which gives us some idea of the glory of early Far Eastern Buddhist art. H. F. E. Visser's paper on Indian Influence on Far Eastern Art is masterly from the way in which it has embodied in it the researches of great authorities such as Edouard Chavannes, Ito Chuta, Petrucci, Foucher, Miss Klee, Segalen, William Cohn, O. C. Gangoly and others. Visser concludes, "The two magnificent poles of the art of Asia are India and China. Before there could have been any contact between Chinese and Indian art, each of these arts had produced works of extraordinary beauty and masterly style. If there is any question as to one land having inspired another, then that land is, of course, India. "Some supreme Buddhist works created in Far Eastern countries seem to be the sublime result of a fusion of Indian and Far Eastern art. "Can anything finer be imagined in the history of the art of Asia?"

The question of Indian influence on the arts of Indo-China, Tibet, Central Asia and Ceylon receives the attention of Victor Goloubeff, Joseph Hackin and Andreas Nell. Their papers are highly interesting and comprehensive. The book is a treasure-house of information on the subject it deals with. The price is rather high for the average pocket and may hinder even keen students from possessing a copy.

A. C.

SANSKRIT.

SRIMAD VALLABHACARYA'S (1) *SIDDHANTARAHASYA* and (2) *SUBODHINI*: Edited by M. T. Teliwala, B.A.; LL.B., and D.V. Sankalia, B.A., LL.B., Khakkar Buildings, C. P. Tank Road, Girgaon, Bombay.

Messrs. Teliwala and Sankalia have been presenting us with a good many works on the Vallabha School of the Vaisnavas. Today we have much pleasure in noticing the above two books sent to us. The first of them, *Siddhantarahasya*, is a very small treatise composed of only eight and a half slokas by Vallabhacarya. It forms one of the sixteen *prakarana* works by him and is now edited with eleven commentaries by the renowned teachers of the school, viz. Gokulanatha, Raghunatha, Kalyanaraya, etc., together with a *vivarana* in Gujarati by Purusottama and a well-written introduction in English. The subject-matter of it in simple language is that it is only by establishing a relation to *Brahman* (*Brahmasambandhakarana*) that all sorts of depravity of one's body and soul are removed, and one should first offer one's everything to the Lord and then one may enjoy it, thinking oneself just like a servant belonging to Him. This offering (*Samarpana*) is to be performed with the help of those who have completely surrendered themselves to Him (*nivedins*). This simple and pure teaching has, however, been utterly misunderstood by a large section of the followers of the Vallabha School and consequently immoral practices have crept into it, and their extent was once exposed to the public in the notorious Maharaja Libel Case. It may be noted in this connexion that the defendant in that case cited the present treatise to show that those practices are preached by Vallabha himself and sanctioned by his grandson, Gokulanatha. It goes, however, without

saying that a careful perusal of Vallabha's works will clearly show that his teaching is far from it. It can in no way be so. Students of religions and especially the followers of the Vallabha School should feel thankful to the editors for bringing out the book, which is so dangerously misunderstood even by some of the spiritual guides of the school.

The second book, *Subodhini*, is Vallabha's commentary on the *Srimad Bhagavata Purana* extending to seven *Adhyayas*, 26-37, of tenth *skandha* in which the *rasalila* is included. The original and the commentary are too well known to require any description. There is a Gujarati translation of the Sanskrit slokas of the *Purana* as well as an appendix comprising some small but very useful treatises subsidiary to the original or the commentary. According to the Vaisnavas the best portion of that *Purana* is the *rasalila* from which one can form an idea as to how the Gopis of Vrindavana sacrificed every thing in their possession to God, how they were always and entirely engrossed in Him, and finally how they realized Him as an embodiment of bliss, *rasa*, of which the seers say: "*raso vai sah*." Those who really want to understand it from the Vaisnavic point of view may read the work in the spirit in which it is written.

VIDIHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

URDU.

1. *SUR-GUZASHT-HAYAT: By Nazcer Husain Farooqi. Pp. 280. Size 18" x 22". Price Rs. 2-8as.*

2. *JAPAN AUR US KA TALIM NAZM-O-NASQ: Translated by Maulvi Inayat Ullah. B. A. Pp. 482. Price Rs. 3/-*

3. *ANJUMA TARAQI URDU KI SALANA REPORT: By Maulvi Abdul Haque. B. A. Pp. 58 with appendices. Publisher: Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Aurangabad, Deccan.*

No. (1) is a popular and non-technical treatise on human physiology with copious references to the laws and principles of general biology. It is conveniently divided into 25 chapters. The first four chapters deal with plant-life, and the next eight chapters with the origins of animal-life in water and on land and the gradual development of life from its lowest forms right up to its highest level. The remaining thirteen chapters are devoted to a description of the structure and functions of the principal members of human body—skin, heart, teeth, stomach, brain, nerves, etc. The whole book affords an interesting reading. There is not a dull line from the beginning to the end. The author deserves congratulations on his successful attempt to convey sound scientific knowledge in delightful language.

No. (2) is an Urdu translation of the report on Japan's educational system prepared by Mr. Ross Masood, Director of Public Instruction, Hyderabad, Deccan, who was deputed by the Nizam's Government to make an educational tour of Japan in 1922. The report is divided into 24 chapters of which only the last nine (16 to 24) are strictly relevant to the purpose of the report, the first fifteen dealing in a rambling way with the history, politics, religion, constitution, and the social life of the Japanese people. But apart from this tendency to prolixity and verbosity, the report is, on the whole, illuminating, and its Urdu translation is readable. The annexure of several charts and diagrams has added to the utility of the book.

No. (3) is the annual report of Anjuma Taraqqi Urdu (Aurangabad, Deccan), the premier institution of Urdu language and literature, for the year 1922-23 A.D. It is a painful record of the apathy and indifference persistently shown by those who call Urdu as their own language towards an institution that has been doing splendid work for its enrichment since its very inception. The score card deserves every credit for having carried on the work of Anjuma so successfully hitherto.

A. M.

MARATHI

PRAKRIT SAPTASHATI: By Uttamashloka. Edited and annotated by S. R. Pande with a foreword by M. S. Ane, M.L.A. Published by Grantha-Prakasha Mandal, Umarkhed (Berar). Pages 50 and 40 S. Price Rs. 3.

Vidarbha Desha (Berar) was a great centre of learning and has to its credit a line of illustrious poets such as Bhavabhuti, Devanathi, Dayalnath, etc. Uttamashloka was one of them. He lived in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Though he can by no means claim to be ranked among the first class Marathi poets such as Dnyaneshwar, Mukteshwar or Eknath, his verse displays considerable facility and richness of expression and deep acquaintance with the Vedantic lore. It is a pity that such a work lay undiscovered for over a century and the publishers richly deserve the thanks of the Marathi-reading public for making it available to general readers. The Vaidurbhi style of writing is visible throughout the poem and as such it will unfailingly attract the attention of the students of Marathi literature.

PURUSHARTHAACHE MOOL OR THE BASIS OF HUMAN EFFORT: Author not Mentioned, Publisher: K. R. Gandhalekar. Pages 128. Price annas twelve.

It is admitted by every one that mere intellect is not enough for the uplift of a nation. Good physique is equally, if not more, necessary. This simple truth is, however, neglected by the intelligentsia of India, as much as by Government which is responsible for the welfare of the Indian nation. A slow reaction has, however, set in, and it is hoped that its progress will be accelerated by constantly reminding the leaders of society, parents and guardians, no less than the youth of the country of their duty in the matter. About twenty years ago, a series of articles was contributed by the writer to the columns of the leading Marathi weekly the '*Kesari*' and the book under notice is a collection of those articles. The book is readable from cover to cover and is calculated to impress the people with the necessity of taking immediate action in the directions mentioned by the writer for the physical regeneration of India.

V. G. APTE.

GUJARATI

THEOSOPHY: By Framji B. Patel. Third edition. Printed at the Bharat Seva Press, Bombay. Pp. 496. Cloth bound (1924).

It is difficult at the first blush to believe that this compilation comes from the pen of a Parsi, so chaste and accurate is the language in spite of the subject being a highly technical one, because the exposition of Theosophy based on Theosophical manuals, notes on the Bhagavat Gita, Growth of the Soul, Path of Discipleship, require close acquaintance with the vocabulary of metaphysics, religious

philosophy, physics and some other scientific subjects. To those who are interested in the creed, the book is sure to prove a guide and a friend.

THE GREATNESS OF THE KORAN: By Jafar Ali "Asir". Printed at the Kharshed Printing Works, Bombay. Clothbound. Pp. 122. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1924.)

By means of suitable extracts from the Koran and discussions on them so far as they bear on the greatness of Islam, the writer has sought to support his thesis. The language used is, however, so high-pitched that we think it would not command popularity.

THE BIG CONSPIRACY IN THE PUNJAB: By Shachindra Nath Sanyal. Printed at Ganderi Printing Press, Surat. Paper cover. Pp. 116. Price Re. -16/- (1924.)

This is an interesting story of a prisoner caught up in the eddy of the revolutionary times in the north.

PETALS OF A FLOWER: By P. H. Shukla. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover, pp. 68. Price -15/- (1925.)

The poetic flowers of Rabindranath Tagore are sought to be followed in the prose-poems of this little book. The foreword written by Rev. Bahadur Ramanbhai is remarkable for the trenchant criticism it makes on such abnormal attempts at rhapsodical writings. Another foreword written by Mr. Nanalal Kavi is in the opposite direction, and invests the writings with an ethereal interest. For a novice the out-turn is certainly creditable.

OUR STORIES: By Sumati Nagardas Patel, and Nagardas Patel, printed at the Nava-Yug Printing Press, Surat. Paper cover. Pp. 79. Price -18/- (1924.)

A dainty little volume. Sure to please the little ones for whom the stories are intended.

KRISHNA VAKILAL: By Premyogi. Printed at the Charotar Printing Press, Anand. Paper cover, pp. 57. Price -18/- (1924.)

There is a mythological story of Arjun and Hanuman vying with each other about the trial of their strength in bridge-building and bridge-demolishing, in which Arjun loses, and is prepared to eat fire. Krishna intervenes and by his cleverness, pacifies both. This incident is dramatized here.

KUL-LAKSHMI KAMLA: By Prasanna Vadan Chhatrilaram Dikshit, printed at the Kalamaya Printing Works, Surat. Paper cover, pp. 176. Price Re. 1/4/- (1924.)

This book is the translation of a Bengali novel called "Kakima" by Banku Behari Dhar: it illustrates not an unusual feature of Hindu life, the self-sacrifice of the senior members of the family, male and female, for the preservation of harmony in the joint family, when younger members become unreasonable and kick at the traces. As the feature is common to Gujrat and Bengal, readers can very easily follow the many incidents of the novel.

SAINT JOHN NUN BHAGVAT: By the late Mr. Manishanker Ratnaji Bhatt. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 120. (1924.)

The Gospel of St. John appeals to all mystics. The late Mr. Bhatt had a mystic turn of mind, and hence has translated this part of the New Testament. A preface by Mr. Manihal Chhotalal Parék, who has converted himself to Christianity, explains all that is necessary to appreciate the Gospel, which otherwise, in its bald translated, form is not quite easy to follow.

We have received *Meghsaduta* and *Rashtriya Songs* by "Vihari" which are good in their own way.

SHRI SUNDAR SHIV STUTI.

It is a tiny publication of a few pages. Mr. G. V. Bhachech thinks that it must have been composed by a king of Kashi, Sundar Singh by name. If so, it would not be expected to be in Gujarati.

K. M. J.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, "The Modern Review."]

"Prajā-Vishnu" and "Dhanurdurga"

The reply of Prof. V. Bhattacharya in support of his untenable interpretation to which he still adheres is so misleading that it cannot be allowed to remain unchallenged in the pages of this Review (May, 1925, pp. 558-59). I expected that after it

was pointed out to him that Vishnu had just been dismissed from the ceremony and Vishnu, therefore, could not be the witness—a point which he had failed to notice—he would own his mistake. Instead, he chooses to hide his face in the sands of assumed wisdom—"this seems to me to be too weak to discuss". His reply secondly is "Chandes-

vara himself brings the god Vishnu, again after his dismissal".....This is a pure misrepresentation. Chandesvara is commenting on the very passage (p. 84) preceding the dismissal of Vishnu in the text quoted by him (p. 83) *ganga gangajalena*, etc. Chandesvara is not 'bringing back Vishnu after his dismissal'. It is too much to suppose on the ground of charity that the Professor has made a mistake in regarding the commentary on the very text independently and treating the text as composed by Chandesvara, especially when he has entered on a serious controversy. I am, therefore, forced to say that the Professor has perhaps unconsciously fallen into the *citanda* method and for the sake of saving this situation put forward a reply which is not approved in modern scholarship.

His next reply is, "it is not a fact that at any time or anywhere in taking oath or making promise God is invoked as a witness." This is too wise. It leaves the question miles apart.

After this treatment, the Professor falls on the Mahabharata text. His attempt is based on the twisting of the text—changing the text as *palayasyamyaham* (sic.) *bhauma brahma*.....while the text is *bhaumam*, that is, it is the object of *palayasyamaham* (sic.) and not adjectival to *brahma* as the Professor would make it. (See Mbh. Kumb. ed. vol. 19th. Santi-parva, p. 95, Kumbakonam. ed. 1907; Santi-parva. lix. 106, 107, ed. Calcutta.) His whole discussion, therefore, becomes futile. Here again the Pandit has taken to *citanda* method and to misrepresentation. It is hardly in consonance with present-day scholarly traditions.

DHANURDURGA.

What the Pandit writes at length on Dhanurdurga is irrelevant to the controversy raised by him. The real point was that the reading of Manu's verse which Chandesvara gives is attested by Medhatithi, the oldest commentator of Manu. In view of that, how could it be said, as the Pandit

too wisely assumes, that Chandesvara was wrong. Instead of meeting the clear point, the Pandit has taken upon himself to write out a thesis on irrelevant points. Throughout his note there is an evasion of the fact of Medhatithi's reading.

K. P. J.

Reply.

I have read the above note of Mr. Jayaswal dispassionately. I would have been glad if anything in it could have made me change my position, but I see nothing in it which can make me do so.

The only point which, to my mind, may reasonably demand a reply from me is regarding the reading "*bhaumam brahma*" in that verse of the Mahabharata. I do not remember whether I myself committed the mistake in writing *bhauma* for *bhaumam*, nor can I say with certainty that the *anuscara* (m) was somehow or other omitted in printing or in correcting the proofs. Owing to the want of proper types in the press, the transliteration is not satisfactory at all, and there are many other printing inaccuracies. But be that as it may, whether it be *bhauma* or *bhaumam*, in either case, I take it as an adjective of 'brahma'. Therefore, it does not affect my position in the least.

As to the rest, I find nothing substantial in the above note of Mr. Jayaswal excepting some strong expressions levelled against me about which I have nothing to say. I only want to accept them in silence as his kind offerings and will try to keep for his scholarship the same regard and esteem that I have for him. I want to put a stop to the discussion which instead of being friendly and scholarly has unfortunately become personal, stepping beyond the limit of scholarly propriety and restraint.

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

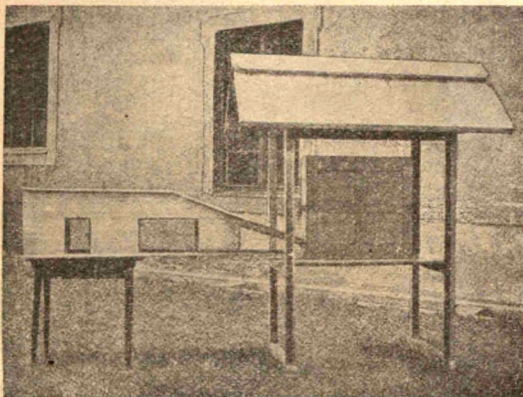
Santiniketan,
21-5-25.

This controversy is now closed. Ed., THE MODERN REVIEW.

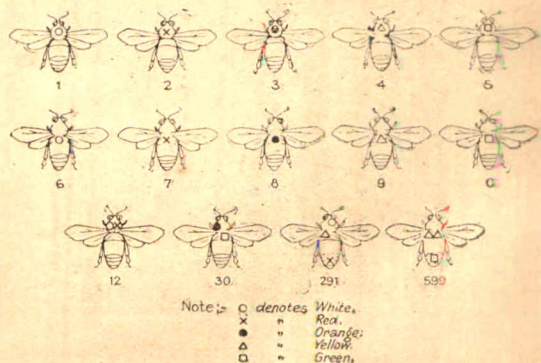
GLEANINGS

Herr Karl von Frisch a German scientist of note, claims to have discovered the "language" of bees.

He has found that the inmates of the hive "talk" to one another by means of special dances, which

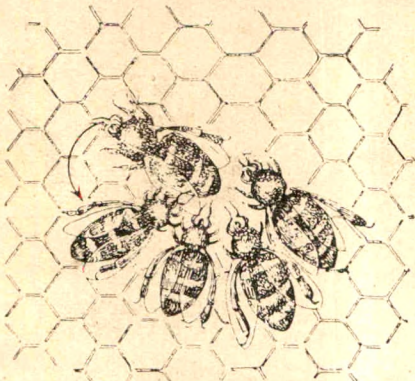


A Bee-hive under a glass roof and protected by glass walls.

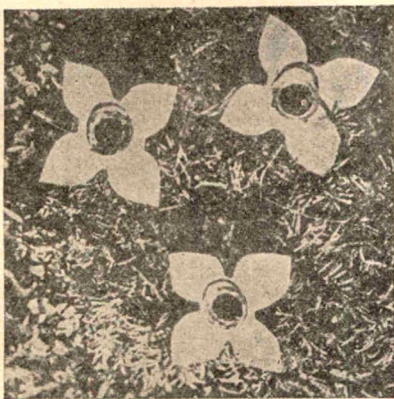


The way to observe bees—to pick up 599 bees out of thousands.

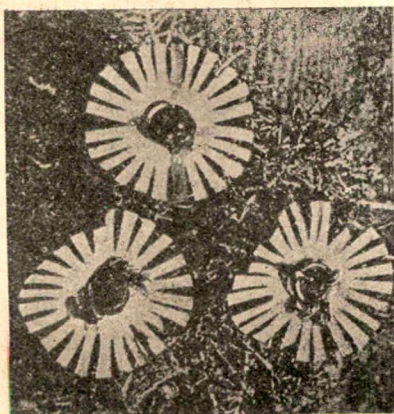
enable a bee who has discovered a rich store of honey or pollen to make the news known to her sisters.



Bees dancing after drinking honey.



Feeding tame bees by the help of artificial blue flowers.



Artificial flowers of different colours.

There is a special dance for honey and a different one for pollen, for the same group of workers

never collects both. In addition, the bees can also communicate a find by emitting a special smell.

DISCOVERIES

The discoveries of Herr von Frisch provide the solution to a riddle which has baffled humanity since the earliest times.



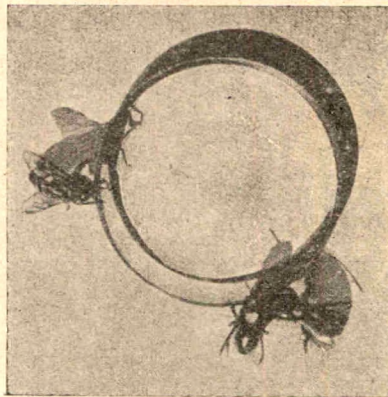
Feeding the Bees.

By spreading honey in watch-glasses or in artificial flowers, Herr von Frisch trained a certain number of bees to seek it in special places in his garden. He marked a number of them with a chemical paint, so that he was able to recognise his trained workers among the 30,000 inhabitants of the hive, which had walls of glass.

When a marked bee returned home her cargo was removed by the others. She then began a kind of "floral dance". The other bees showed great excitement and endeavoured to touch her with their feelers.

Presently a number fell out of the dance, flew off, and in a short time discovered the place which she had indicated to them.

It was their sense of smell that had told them what perfume to seek, and their memory for smells is so good that they never make a mistake.



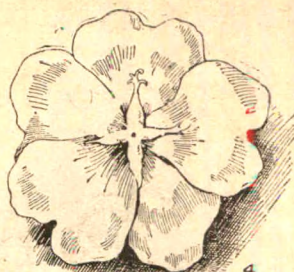
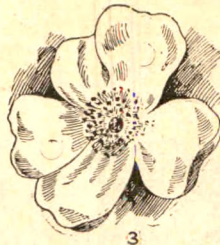
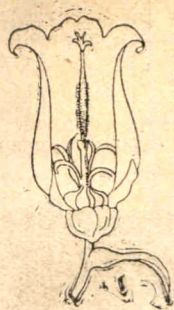
Bees at their artificial feeding place

POLLEN DANCE.

The pollen dance consists of quite different movements, and only bees specially appointed to collect pollen react to it.

Incidentally, the scientist has destroyed the centuries-old legend of the "busy bee". Bees only work, like men, when there is something to be done in their special line. When they are "unemployed", they will spend hours and even days drowsing away in a corner of the comb.

Bees' vision resembles that of human beings who



Some open flowers to attract bees

are "color-blind" in certain respects. They see red as black, the orange-green-yellow group as various light or dark shades of yellow, but they can apparently see ultra-violet light, which we cannot. Blue and yellow are the colors they distinguish best.

Climbers Suck Oxygen though Pipe to Keep Alive on Mt. Everest

Something of the hardships that the daring explorers who attempted to climb Mt. Everest were compelled to undergo, was forcibly impressed upon the public recently in a motion-picture illustrating

Theater Ushers with Signs on Backs Announce Coming Attractions

Illuminated signs carried on the backs of ushers are being used in a California motion-picture theater to announce approaching attractions. As the attendants reach the darkened aisles, they



Getting News of Next Week's Show from Illuminated Sign Carried on Usher's Back

press an electric switch carried in the hand. A tiny bulb over the sign flashes and persons following have a chance to read the legend on the card before reaching their seats.



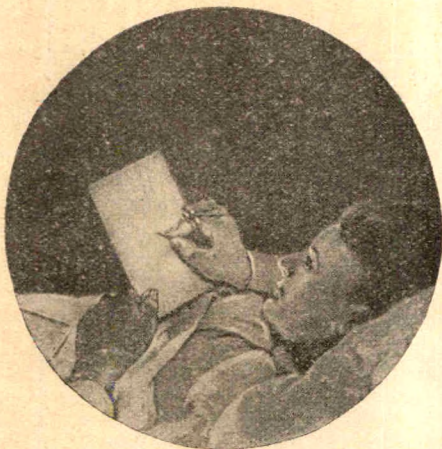
Pose from a Motion-Picture Film Illustrating Oxygen Apparatus and Other Equipment Worn by Mount Everest Climbers

how the adventurers were dressed and how they acted as they fought their losing fight for the summit. One of the most distinctive parts of the equipment was the oxygen apparatus which the men had to use as they neared the summit. The tanks, weighing twenty-four pounds, were strapped to the back. Connected to them was a length of small rubber tubing through which the climber breathed the life-sustaining gas as he struggled upward. Goggles to protect the eyes from the glare of the sun, canvas coats with knitted helmets for the head and heavy mittens were other essentials of the "armor." The warm clothing was absolutely essential, but at times during midday when the skies were cloudless, the rays of the sun made the heat almost unbearable in the rare atmosphere.

the climbers declared. They failed to reach the summit by less than 2,000 feet.

Finger Lamp Throws Light on Work and Saves Electric Current

For dentists, artists, watch-repairers and others in similar occupations or for use in the sick room, a handy electric lamp that is worn on the finger somewhat like a ring, has been invented. It is so shaped that the light is thrown directly upon the work and may be moved about by means of a convenient holder on which a reflector for the lamp



For the Sick, Finger Lamp Is Found Convenient When Writing, and Sparing the Eyes

also is mounted. A transformer accompanies the outfit so that the lamp may be used with current from a wall socket. It requires but little electricity, is durably incased in metal and besides affording a bright illumination calculated—to spare the eyes, does not bother persons near by, a feature that commends its use for patients in a hospital ward.

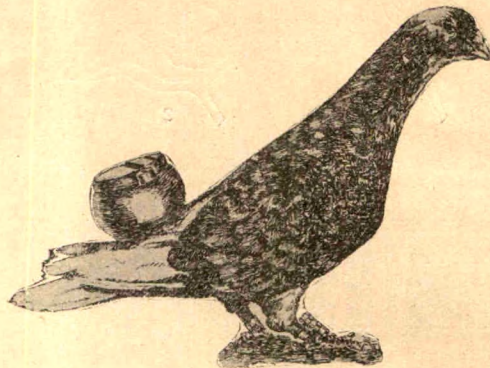
Pigeons Messengers of Peace and War

Despite the advances made in scientific methods of communications, homing pigeons, message-bearers of the early Egyptians, are still relied on to maintain contact between widely separated places when all other means have failed.

While it is common for homing pigeons to cover courses of 200 or 300 miles, some can fly more than 1,000 miles without apparent harm. Such flights are generally made in a series of "hops", the birds taking to shelter at night and resuming their journeys with daylight. Heavy rainstorms have little effect on them, and many records of fast flying have been made by pigeons forced to go through steady downpours. Nature protects them, covering the wings with a natural powderlike substance which keeps the moisture from penetrating to the skin.

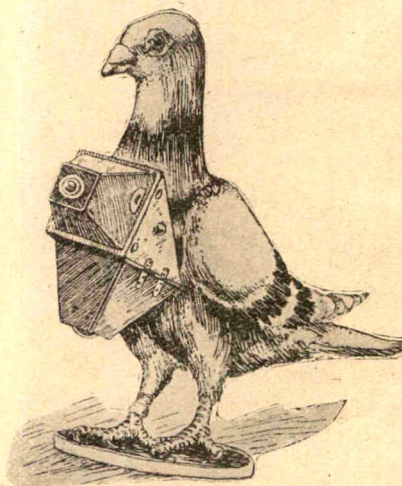
In order to teach the "squaker", as the youngster is called, a trainer first drills it to "trap" properly. This consists in entering the loft

through a swinging-gate arrangement which hangs on a pivoted shaft. Alighting on the landing board, the bird is coaxed by feed within to thrust itself against wire strands which rise upward as it passes and drop into place again to prevent the pigeon's exit. Backward birds are urged by the gentle use of a light whip. After



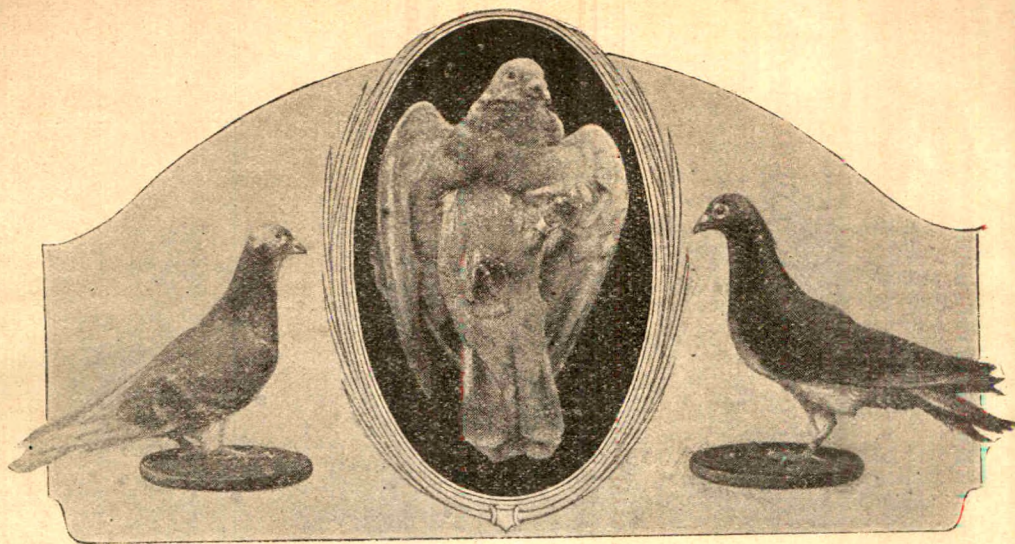
The Mocker, Greatest of Hero Birds, Saved Whole Battalion of American Soldiers

they have learned to trap, they are taken from one to two miles from home and "tossed," or released to fly back. The distance is gradually increased the trainer purposely keeping the little students hungry to assure their return for food, since a carefully raised homer is not likely to forage for



French Bird Equipped with Aerial Camera to Be Used over German Lines

food, specially on short flights. As they progress, courses of 500 or 600 miles become a regular feat for the pigeons. While many records exist of birds flying 1,000 miles, some have gone much further. And speeds of more than a mile a minute have been maintained by countless homers on ordinary test flights.



Left, "The Mocker," and Right, "President Wilson," Hero Pigeons of the United States Army Injured While Flying over German Lines with Important Messages; Center, Typical Racing Homer

During the early part of the Americans' participation in the war the rapid advance of the Americans found the means of communications very inadequate. Because of the pounding of the heavy artillery, radio was ineffective and telephone service often impossible. It was then that the pigeon came into its own. "The mocker," greatest of all hero birds, on the morning of Sept. 12, 1918 arrived at his loft from the Beaumont front with his right eye shot out and his head a welter of blood. He carried messages that gave the exact location of advancing enemy batteries. This information enabled the allied artillery to save a whole battalion.

Infantrymen were equipped with small silk bags filled with oxygen into which the birds were put when a gas attack came over the lines.

About the year 1916 the French introduced the aerial camera. This little instrument weighed scarce two and one-half ounces and was principally made of aluminum. It was fastened to the breast of the bird with small straps and rubber bands. Each camera had two lenses, one pointing forward and the other downward. Inside was a small rubber

ball pierced by a minute hole. This ball was pumped tight with air. After the bird was released the air slowly leaked from the container and upon complete collapse released the shutter, thus taking the picture.

The bird circled to a height of 100 to 300 feet. It was too small to be hit with bullets and too high for the artillery and gas. The tiny films, when greatly enlarged, gave wonderful information. Often the enemy sent up falcons to kill the allied birds, but the French placed small bowl-like whistles on the tails of the birds, and when the wind blew against them, a loud whistling noise issued forth to scarce away the falcons.

In the days when ancient Rome's legions marched forth to battle, carefully guarded pigeons accompanied them. If the passage of foot messengers was prevented by the enemy, the birds were released with messages to fly over the heads of the opposing armies. Rarely did an imperial prince of those times set out on a long journey without the imperial pigeon cote being included in the train of attendants and equipment.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

"The Visva-bharati Quarterly"

The Visva-bharati Quarterly for April, which did not reach us early enough for use for our May issue, contains many articles, poems, etc., of high quality, all of which, we regret, we shall not be able to notice.

WHAT THE MILANESE WANTED TO HEAR FROM TAGORE.

In welcoming the poet Rabindranath Tagore to Milan, Professor Formichi said in part:—

We do not expect that, like Krishna to Arjuna

you should reveal God sensibly to us, or that you should tell us the destiny of each one after death. Man is not and must not be allowed into the ultimate mystery of things. What he is expected to do is to approach as near as may be to that great mystery, with thoughts purified and strength drawn from the holiness of his own life. You have given us the example, and your song is the loftiest prayer that contemporary mankind can raise to the Highest.

Yours is not a mysticism irreconcilable with the acute sense of reality that we Western people inherit in our very blood; it is not a message of renunciation, but rather an irresistible appeal to participate in the gifts, the allurements and the beauties of life; to contribute, by means of the implement of Science, to the more and more rapid ascent of Civilisation.

I have read that to your Chinese friends in Burma you said: "My friends, never be afraid of life. Life must make its experiments, go through its mistakes. Don't try to keep yourselves secure from such blunders by remaining in your tomb-stones." You adore life, youth, work; your message has been called a vernal one; and it is a great piece of luck that the first Italian town to throw her doors open to you, is Milan,—full of life, never knowing weariness in work, ever raising her banner with enthusiasm for every great idea and deed.

Master, tell then to the Milanese your message of peace and of human brotherhood. We shall all listen to it as to the trumpet of a prophecy: every one of us, like the *udgata* at the Soma sacrifice, exhorts you thus:

Asato ma sad gamaya

Tamaso ma jyotir gamaya

Mrtyor ma amrtam gamaya.

Let me pass from falsehood to truth,
from darkness to light,
from death to immortality.

THE VOICE of HUMANITY.

The address which Rabindranath delivered at Milan contains some reminiscences of his first visit to Europe when he was a boy of barely seventeen. We have to omit these and reproduce some other passages.

In our language we have the expression *jagrata devata*, the Divinity which is fully awake. For the soul of the individual, the Divine is not everywhere and always active. Only where our consciousness is illumined with love, does God act through our spirit. The shrine of the wakeful Divinity is there where the atmosphere of faith and devotion has been created by the meeting of generations of true worshippers. So our pilgrims in India are attracted to those places where according to them, the divine spirit is active through the religious life and work of devotees.

Some time in 1912 I felt such desire to make my pilgrimage to the shrine of humanity, where the human mind was fully awake, with all its lamps lighted, there to meet face to face the Eternal in man. It had occurred to me that this present age was dominated by the European mind, only because that mind was fully awake. You all know how the spirit of great Asia is going through an age-long slumber in the depth of night, with only a few lonely watchers to read the stars and wait for the sign of the rising sun across the darkness. So

I had this longing to come to Europe and see the human spirit in the full blaze of its power and beauty. Then it was that I took that voyage,—my voyage of pilgrimage to Europe,—leaving for the moment my own work at Santiniketan and the children I loved.....

While I was still busy doing service to children I don't know what possessed me all of a sudden. From some far away sky came to me a call of pilgrimage reminding me that we are all born pilgrims,—pilgrims of this green earth. A voice questioned me: "Have you been to the sacred shrine where Divinity reveals itself in the thoughts and dreams and deeds of Man?" I thought possibly it was in Europe where I must seek it, and know the full meaning of my birth as a human being in this world. And so for the second time I came to this continent.

But, meanwhile, I had grown up and learnt much of the history of man. I had sighed with the great poet Wordsworth who became sad when he saw what man had done to man. We too have suffered at the hands of man,—not tigers and snakes, not elemental forces of nature, but human beings. Men are ever the greatest enemy of Man. I had felt and known it: all the same, there was a hope, deep in my heart, that I should find some place, some temple, where the immortal spirit of man dwelt hidden like the sun behind clouds.

Yet, when I arrived in the land of my quest, I could not stop the insistent question which kept troubling me with a sense of despair: "Why is it that Europe with all her power of mind is racked with unrest? How is it that she is overcome with such a whirlwind of suspicion and jealousy and greed? Why is it that her greatness itself offers a vast field for fiercely contending passions to have their devil-dance in the lurid light of conflagration?"

When I travelled from Italy to Calais I saw the beautiful scenery on both sides of the railway. These men, I thought, have the ability to love their soil; and what a great power is this love! How they have beautified and made fruitful the whole continent with heroic sacrifice! With the force of their love they have fully won their country for themselves, and this ever-active service of their devotion, for generations, has given rise in them to an irresistible power. For love is the highest human truth and truth gives fulness of life. The earth is overwhelmed by it, not because of man's covetousness, but because of this life-giving shower of heart and mind that he has poured around him. How he has struggled to eradicate the obstinate barrenness from the inert! How he has fought and defeated at every step the evil in everything that was hostile in his surroundings! Why then this dark misery lowering over Europe, why this widespread menace of doom in her sky?

Because the love for her own soil and children will no longer suffice for her. So long as destiny offered to her only a limited problem, Europe did more or less satisfactorily solve it. Her answer was patriotism, nationalism,—that is to say, love only for that and those to whom she happened to be related. According to the degree of truth in this love she has reaped her harvest of welfare. But to-day, through the help of science, the whole world has been given to her for a problem. How to answer it in the fulness of truth she has yet to learn. Because the problem has become vast, the wrong answer is fraught with immense danger.

A great truth has been laid bare to you, and according to your dealing with it, you will attain the fulfilment of your destiny. If you do not have the strength to accept it in the right spirit, your humanity will rapidly degenerate; your love of freedom, love of justice, love of truth, love of beauty, will wither at the root; and you will be rejected of God.....

We have no doubt reason to be proud of Science. We offer to Europe our homage in return for her gift of science, now bequeathed to posterity. Our sages have said: "The Infinite has to be known and realised. For man, the Infinite is the only true source of happiness." Europe has come face to face with the Infinite in the world of extension, the domain of external Nature.

I do not cry down the material world. I fully realise that this is the nurse and the cradle of the Spirit. By achieving the Infinite in the heart of the material world you have made this world more generous than it ever was. But merely coming to a rich fact does not give us the right to own it. The great Science which you have discovered still awaits your meriting. Through what you have gained outwardly, you may become successful, but you may miss greatness in spite of the success.

Because you have strenuously cultivated your mind in Europe, because of your accuracy of observation and the development of your reasoning faculties, these discoveries you have undoubtedly deserved. But discoveries have to be realised by a complete humanity,—Knowing has to be brought under the control of Being,—before Truth can be fully honoured. But our Being, the fundamental reality in the human world, with which all other truths have to be brought into harmony at any cost, is not within the domain of Science. Truth when not properly treated turns back on us to destroy us. Your very science is thus becoming your destroyer.

If you have acquired a thunderbolt for yourself, you must earn the right arm of a god to be safe. You have failed to cultivate those qualities which would give you full sovereign right over science and therefore you have missed peace. You cry for peace, and only build another frightful machine, some new powerful combination. Quiet may be imposed by outside compulsion for a time, but Peace comes from the inner spirit, from the power of sympathy, the power of self-sacrifice,—not of organisation.

I have great faith in humanity. Like the sun it can be clouded, but never extinguished. I admit that at this time when the human races have met together as never before, the baser elements appear predominant. The powerful are exulting at the number of their victims. They take the name of science to cultivate the school-boy superstition that they have certain physical signs indicating their eternal right to rule, as the explosive force of the earthquake once might have claimed, with enough of evidence, its never-ending sway over the destiny of this earth. But they in their turn will be disappointed.

Theirs is the cry of a past that is already exhausted, a past that has thrived upon the exclusive spirit of national individualism which will no longer be able to keep the balance in its perpetual disharmony with its surroundings. Only those races will prosper who, for the sake of their own perfection and permanent safety, are ready to cultivate the spiritual magnanimity of mind that enables

the soul of man to be realised in the heart of all races.

For men to come near to one another, and yet to continue to ignore the claims of humanity, is a sure process of suicide. We are waiting for the time when the spirit of the age will be incarnated in a complete human truth and the meeting of men will be translated into the Unity of Man.

I have come to your door seeking the voice of humanity, which must sound its solemn challenge and overcome the clamour of the greedy crowd of slave-drivers. Perhaps it is already being uttered in whispers behind closed doors, and will grow in volume till it bursts forth in a thundering cry of judgment, and the vulgar shout of brute force is silenced in awe.

THE HISTORY OF THE ARYANS IN INDIA.

In his paper on the development of religious thought among the Indo-Aryans, Prof. Dr. Sten Konow says:—

The history of the Aryans in India is accordingly a very long one, and a review of the religious development of the Indo-Aryans will have to cover a period of about 5000 years. During these long centuries the Aryans came into contact with the older races inhabiting India, brought them under their sway and gradually became their leaders and teachers, in civilization as well as in religious thought, till they all came to be more or less Aryanized.

But this Aryanizing was not effected by force, nor in such a way that the old inhabitants had to give up all their old notions and ideas and adopt the Aryan ones instead. To a great extent they went on worshipping in their traditional way, only replacing the names of their old gods by the Aryan ones. And the Aryans were wise enough to tolerate this state of things, and even to do their best to assist such development.

In this way the conquerors learnt to look on their old enemies as people belonging to their own religious community, and the conquered races gradually absorbed the higher religious ideas of the Aryans. These amalgamated religious notions and the resulting common civilisation became strong ties which bound the whole population together, not as one nation, but rather as parts of a great all-comprising society. And as the Aryans were the spiritual leaders, who organized this large society and arranged it in classes and castes, and who also rearranged the religious systems of the older inhabitants, the whole ensemble got an Aryan stamp, in spite of all the different elements which had contributed to its composition.

HUMAN BROTHERHOOD AND THE UNITY OF GOD.

The article on "the Body of Humanity" in which Mr. C. F. Andrews deals with "The Function of Islam" displays remarkable breadth of vision, coming, as it does from the pen of a devout Christian. We will quote only the passages relating to brotherhood and the Unity of God.

The brotherhood which Islam contemplates is always a brotherhood of believers. This relation of Muslims to fellow believers is separated off by a sharp-cut line of demarcation from the Muslim relation to unbelievers. The law of brotherhood is

for believers. "Know", said the Prophet, "that every Muslim is the brother of every other. All of you are equal. You are all one brotherhood."

Nothing could be more pronounced than this stress upon the unity of all believers. Nothing could be more significant than the precise limitation of this unity to believers only. It is here more than anywhere else that I find difficulty in reconciling Islam, in its present form, with universal religion and universal brotherhood. It would appear as though a certain exclusiveness were involved within the very structure of the Islamic faith.

It is true that the spirit of brotherhood engendered by Islam not unfrequently oversteps the barriers of formal creeds and overflows to all mankind. The whole Sufi Movement in India has this ideal behind it. Such a true brotherly love I have myself experienced within the homes and hearts of Muslims, who have been more than brothers to me. But the division of human life between Muslims and non-Muslims seems almost fundamental both in Muhammadan law and social obligation. The fact that to-day in the Twentieth Century any non-Muslim who ventured openly within the city of Mecca would do so at the peril of his life, makes painfully clear how hard and fast the line is still drawn.

I am well aware that Christianity has flagrantly denied in action the principle of universal brotherhood which its creed professes. I am also aware that Islam has far more effectively solved the race problem within its own borders than Christendom has done hitherto. Indeed, no apology for the Christian Church is possible as things stand to-day. The sin committed is against the light, and therefore it is all the greater. 'Race' Churches exist, in direct defiance of the will and spirit of the Founder of the Christian Faith. In the Southern States of North America and in South Africa the situation has become quite indefensible, and from the humane standpoint quite intolerable. Nevertheless the gulf of religion in Islam between believers and unbelievers is still unbridged, and there seems no way of bridging it except for the whole world to be converted to Islam.

With respect to the Islamic doctrine of the Unity of God I have no such criticism to offer. That is a supremely uniting and not a dividing faith. One of the greatest of all blessings which Islam has brought to East and West alike has been the emphasis which at a critical period in human history it placed upon the Divine Unity. For during those Dark Ages both in East and West, from 600 to 1,000 A. D., this doctrine was in danger of being over-aid and obscured in Hinduism and in Christianity itself, owing to the immense accretions of subsidiary worships of countless saints and demigods and heroes. Islam has been, both to Europe and to India, in their darkest hour of aberration from the sovereign truth of God's unity, an invaluable corrective and deterrent. Indeed, without the final emphasis to this truth, which Islam gave from its central position,—facing India and facing Europe,—it is doubtful whether this idea of God as One could have obtained that established place in human thought, which is uncontested in the intellectual world to-day.

Furthermore, this divine truth which has thus been preserved by Islam is not merely an abstract postulate of scientific thought. Rather, it is the most vital of all experiences and the very soul of pure religion. More, perhaps, than anything else

in Islam, it was this aspect of the Divine Unity which profoundly satisfied Raja Rammohan Roy.

SOME SANTAL SONGS.

Mr. S. C. Majumdar contributes English translations of some Santal songs of delicate aroma, having the genuine ring of poetry, from which we choose two at random.

Do not play your flute, Badan, by the bank of the river.
Why trouble the water that lies beneath the rock?

Father, you dug a pool at the bend of the road
across our village.
On its banks you planted trees of *tagar* flowers.

Father, I also have grown up like those trees;
But while their flowers have faded, this blossom
of yours is trembling in the breeze.

My sweetheart has his decoration of gold, and
his ornaments of silver.
Their vision haunts my mind.

Let me hang my dreams high up on the branches
of the tamarind tree at our door;
For they make me neglect my sweeping of our
courtyard.

MUSIC AND LIFE.

Dr. Kalidas Nag contributes an English translation of an autobiographical fragment of Romain Rolland, entitled "Music and Life", to which he appends a note, in the course of which he observes:—

Initiated into the mysteries of music by his gifted mother, the one dream of Rolland's life has been to interpret humanity in terms of music. In spite of all the tragic cruelty of his life, Rolland never for a moment deviated from the path of his musical *abhisara* the lover's quest of the Supreme Harmony.

While still a boy, Rolland would go every day from Paris to Versailles, just to translate his joys and sorrows, his dreams and aspirations, on the piano of a friend, for he could not afford to have an instrument of his own. He was not able to consecrate his life to music, and fulfil the cherished dream of his life to become a composer himself. Nevertheless he persevered in his passionate quest to emerge as the greatest musical critic of his age,—nay more than a mere critic,—a revealer, a creator.

The first to be appointed a professor of Musical History, Rolland devoted ten years of his life (1902-1912) to the proper elucidation and appreciation of music through his erudite and illuminating lectures before the Paris University. His opening lecture "About the Place of Music in General History", was as much an original reading of History as of Music.

So it is in the fitness of things that Romain Rolland should be the first to harmonise the jarring notes of modern history into a supreme musical creation in his *Jean Christophe*, a veritable epic of modern life; unique alike in amplitude and intensity are its improvisations on Life and Death, Love and Immortality, with their equal distribution of glamour and gloom, of lyric moonbeam and epic thunder,—a tenth symphony (the unfulfilled dream of Beethoven) achieved by this Beethoven of Romance.

That is why, even amidst the terrible depression

of this crisis in Civilisation we may gather courage to sing with the immortal creator of Jean Christophe:

—“Thou shalt be born again. Take rest. There is nothing but one heart for all. The smile of the night and of the day embrace each other. O Harmony, august marriage of Love and Hatred! I sing to the God with the two powerful wings: Victory to Life! Victory to Death!”

A Poet on a Painter

The Poet Harindranath Chattopadhyaya contributes to *Shama'a* the following poem in memory of his dear departed friend Rama Rao, the Andhra artist:

These hands which wrought immortal works of art
Are quiet in death; those deep dark eyes now close
Against the world's old beauty in repose
Struck by the magic of Death's mystic dart.

The wistful aching wonder of his heart
Has passed like splendour into star and rose.
Hush, shed no tear, since now he is of those
Who, dreamers once, are dreams God dreams apart.

He is not dead...How can he die who made
Immortal things for us, drunk with the bright
Nectar of dreams, who sat alone and played
Upon a golden harp of inward Sight,
Who revelled in dim worlds of light and shade
Dreaming in silence of unshadowed Light?

The Present Political Situation

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani concludes his article in *The Indian Review* on the present situation in the following words:—

Never, perhaps, within living memory was Indian public opinion more disorganized and therefore, more ineffective. Yet, and this is the tragedy of the situation, never before was the need so imperative of an organized and united body of public opinion to confront and to overcome the mighty forces of reaction entrenched in power, interested in maintaining it and determined not to surrender a particle of it. It is of little use that effectually all thinking Indians want Self-Government and that the British know it. This national longing has to become operative. There has to be the will to achieve. It is the lack of this that constitutes the most formidable advantage of the opponents of India's progress. The remedy is apparently simple. It is certainly indispensable. But as Gladstone would have said, at the moment it also seems to be the impossible.

The Kenya Lowlands

In the same monthly Mr. C. F. Andrews tells all about the offer of the Kenya low-

lands to the Indian settlers. Says he in part:—

By far the most serious issue, outside South Africa, at the present crisis in the affairs of Indians abroad, is the question of the Kenya Lowlands. There is unfortunately no doubt at all that for a long time past the Government of India, through its Executive, has been tempted sorely to consider favourably the offer in the Kenya White Paper, which was published in July 1923, that a suitable territory should be found, if possible, in the Lowlands of Kenya so as to compensate for the reservation of the agricultural lands in the Highlands for the white settlers. This tentative offer was made in order to show, at face value, some sort of justice to the Indian settlers when their claims to be allowed to purchase freely land in Kenya according to their earliest legal rights was put on one side and definitely refused at the violent bidding of the white settlers.

It was not with any surprise that I saw in the White Paper this fatuous offer of a suitable site in the Lowlands to compensate for the reservation of the Highlands. I have called it 'fatuous' because it has not really got a single good feature to recommend it when considered from the Indian point of view. Yet it has been this very offer, that the Government of India has taken hold of with eagerness as though it were a means of salvation.

It has to some extent been unexpected that the Government of India should have taken up this attitude: but what has surprised me still more has been to observe the hesitancy and uncertainty with which members of the Imperial Council of State and Legislative Assembly have dealt with the subject. Instead of condemning it outright, as Mahatma Gandhi did, they have been half afraid to refuse the offer. I trust that what I have written in this article may help to clear up the position.

Registration of Conversions

The registration of all conversions for which Dr. R. P. Paranjpye pleads in the same Review seems to us quite necessary. He observes:—

While conversions should thus be freely allowed, the State is quite within its legitimate sphere if it requires that these conversions do not lead to disturbances of law and order and that they are absolutely free and not forced or fraudulent. This is reasonable in the case of every State and it is much more so in the case of India where the conditions are so peculiar. A law with this limited objective should not therefore meet with any objection from any reasonable person, to whatever religious community he may belong.

He then proceeds to suggest the main features of such a law, which seem to us very reasonable. A bill, embodying these suggestions, ought to be introduced in the Legislative Assembly.

The Statues of the Nayaks of Madura

The paper on the statues of the Nayaks of Madura in the Pudu Mantapam which the Rev. H. Heras, S. J., M. A., contributes to the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, with illustrations, has historical value. His opinion is:—

The importance of the statues of the first ten Nayaks of Madura in the Pudu Mantapam, the Tirumala's Choultrie of Fergusson, in the history of fine arts in India, is undeniable. The statues mark the climax of the perfection of Indian sculpture in Southern India. The aim of that unknown Dravidian Phidias who carved them by Tirumala's order was to reproduce the previous kings of Madura as they were, not idealized as other sculptures did. And he attained his aim, indeed. Hence the importance of these statues for the historian. They are true portraits of the first ten Nayak sovereigns of the Pandya country.

But there is still another reason for the exceptional importance of the statues as far as history is concerned. They are a tacit argument that confirms the succession of the Nayaks as given in the ancient Tamil chronicles.

"The Lord's Prayer"

By quoting numerous biblical commentators and critics, Mr. Maheschandra Ghosh shows in the *Vedic Magazine* that the Christians'

Lord's Prayer is not free from tautology. Every one of the seven petitions is objectionable. We cannot accept the Jewish Messianic idea embodied in the first three petitions. The fourth petition is intensely selfish and over-wordy. The fifth petition tries to avoid punishment and it further imposes a condition on God. The sixth has shocked even the orthodox Christians. The seventh is born of superstition. The Doxology is excellent but it is an interpolation.

Tagore's "Nationalism"

In reviewing in the same journal Mr. C. N. Zutshi's pamphlet "India's Cruel Destiny," Madeline Ruth Harding speaks of

"That wonderful book by Rabindranath Tagore, *Nationalism*, which sets out in a great majestic way the sufferings of India. One puts it down with the cry, 'What can one do, the problem is so huge.' It makes one long to raise a voice of protest and refuse even to be thought a part of a soulless machine which is crushing all that is precious in the lives of others."

Religious Intolerance

Mr. Muhammad Yakub Khan writes in the *Islamic World*:—

To my mind there could not possibly be any such thing as religious intolerance. The phrase is a contradiction in terms. Why, take any religion you would and you will not hesitate to bear me out that each one of them pooh-poohs the faintest idea of intolerance. For ought I know of Higher Hinduism, I can say it has no room for the petty-mindedness we find, to-day, embittering our intercommunal relations to such a deplorable extent. Does not Sri Krishna teach as the very essence of his teachings, "No one who harbours the least ill-will towards man can attain to me?" Did not that ancient sage of China, Confucius sum up his whole mission in the words: "Do not unto others what you do not like done unto yourself." And come to that Prince of Peace, the gentle teacher of Galilee. What is his message?—"Do unto others as you would be done by?" How, on earth can our Hindu or Christian brethren reconcile these sublime words to any spirit of intolerance, I leave them to their own judgment. To my Mussalman brethren, however, I have a right to speak more plainly—even sternly. Did not the Holy Prophet whose name we never utter without invoking Divine blessings on him—give the self-same message to humanity? Did he not say, "A man has not thoroughly believed unless he wishes for his brother-man what he wishes for himself?" Does not the Quran charge the Mussalman with the sacred mission of defending any place of Worship with his own life, if need be? How dare you demolish the tabernacle of God Himself as the heart of every man undebatedly is? Does not the Quran strike the highest point of respect for others' religious susceptibilities when it enjoins: "Speak not ill of what they worship besides Allah...for to every one his own deeds are fair-seeming. How, in the name of the religion that would not let so much as you speak ill of others' deities, could you kill their object of worship?"

But such is the irony of fate! In the name of the self-same institution that is meant, above all else, to weld man and man into a bond of fraternity, here we are, Hindus, Christians, Mussalmans running at one another's throats with all the spleen of the beasts of the jungle. Let us all, in one voice, proclaim: "This is not religion." This is *ir-religion*.

Bodhgaya Math Not a Hindu Temple

We read in the *Maha-bodhi*:—

Meetings are being held in various parts of Bengal, Bihar and the United Provinces by the Hindus who are partisans of the Saivite Mahant of the Bodhgaya Math in his favour and passing resolutions declaring that the great Temple of Maha Bodhi is a Hindu Temple and that it should be left in the hands of the Mahant. They are unnecessarily interfering in the matter. Not one Hindu who had been to Buddhagaya and seen the utter desecration of the holy site could say that the Temple is Hindu. In a Hindu Temple, whether it be a Saivite or Vaishnava, there are Brahman priests to make offerings to the gods in accordance with the Hindu shastras. Mantras are repeated and offerings are made several times a day; but in the Maha-Bodhi Temple there is no Brahman priest, no mantras are repeated. A low-caste Hindu does the work allotted to a Brahman priest, and the

great Image of the Lord Buddha is clothed in such a way that the identity of the Image is unrecognized. On the forehead of the Image marks are painted, some day they are horizontal, on other days they are vertical. The whole thing is a farce. The Buddhists are powerless, they visit the shrine and go away disgusted, seeing the abominable desecration. The all-powerful British Government proclaims that it observes religious neutrality, nevertheless it allows the Saivite Mahant to insult the feelings of the Buddhists. Since May 1894 the Mahant had been at this disgusting game, and all the representations made by the Maha-Bodhi Society since 1894 had been of no avail. The Government is helping the Mahant to continue the abominable desecration. It has appointed a custodian to watch the Temple lest it be removed from the place, and the custodian obeys the Mahant.

J. N. Samaddar, M.A., is a Professor of the Patna Government College, who is employed by the Saivite Mahant to write articles on behalf of the Mahant in the English papers. He makes use of his knowledge to falsify Buddhist history. He says he is a scholar but every word that he writes on the Buddhagaya Temple is untrue. He has published a pamphlet under the title of "The Buddha Gaya Temple" full of distorted facts.

"Pay-Cutters"

Among other interesting contents, *The Accountants' Comrade* has the following anecdote :—

We have been nicknamed "Pay-cutters" by men in other departments. In this connection the following extract from the sketch of the life of late Dewan Bahadur Dr. Jnan Saran Chakravarti, a member of the Indian Finance Department may be of some interest to our reader :—

"On another occasion a high officer of the I. M. S. went to Afghanistan on some duty and after his return called on Jnan Saran at the office for his allowance. While the bill was being checked and adjusted the officer explained to Jnan Saran the value of *Pax Britannica*. "You have simply to cross the frontier to perceive the difference," he said, "On this side everyone moves about freely unarmed and unguarded. But cross the frontier and you will find that everyone who is of any consequence has to be guarded day and night with fixed bayonets and loaded rifles." Jnan Saran smiled in his pleasant manner and expressed agreement and admiration. The officer continued with a smile, "But I got one relief after crossing the frontier: there is no Accountant-General beyond the frontier and your objection slips do not pursue us there. It is a place where Accountants-General cease from troubling and officers are at rest." Jnan Saran laughed heartily at the joke which consisted in the officer calling the Accounts Department "wicked" by implication. "Are we so wicked then in your opinion?" Jnan Saran asked. The officer replied, "Not wicked exactly—but all are agreed that your department is an infernal nuisance." Some time afterwards Jnan Saran had an opportunity of pointing out to this very officer

that a considerable sum due to him for a long time had not been drawn. The officer was very pleased at this communication. He called personally at the office to thank Jnan Saran. "What about our wickedness now?"—Jnan Saran, enquired with a laugh. "I will now admit," said the officer rising and grasping Jnan Saran's hand warmly "that even the Accounts Department has some use."

Municipal Effort in London to Provide Housing.

Mr. St. Nihal Singh's copiously illustrated and informing article in *Welfare* on Municipal effort in London to provide housing ought to stimulate the city fathers of all our big towns to go and do likewise. Mr. Singh tells us :—

The London County Council and other Municipalities in Britain have shown enterprise in providing housing accommodation for persons with limited means. But for such effort these men and women would either have been compelled to live in slums and still pay rents at extortionate rates; or they would have been forced to live far away from their work, which they could not conveniently do, for many of them have to work at night and many others have to begin work very early, or their hours are erratic.

The blocks of buildings containing tenements of one, two, three or four rooms which the various municipal organisations in London and other British centres have put up, have especially been godsend to policemen, tram and bus drivers and conductors, cabmen, taximen, printers, and persons engaged in similar occupations. In allotting accommodation the authorities, in fact, give preference to such applicants. They, in any case, will not permit persons who can afford to rent flats in the ordinary way to live in one intended for people of more limited means.

The Manace of Political Parties

What Sudhindra Bose and Miss Ruth B. Middaugh say in the same monthly of the menace of political parties in America ought to be a warning to us also in India

If there were no pernicious expenditures of funds by political candidates, if all party bosses cast a scornful eye upon the dollar, and if the presidential candidates' moral natures were as clean and shiny as newly-scrubbed linoleum, the insidious influence of parties would still remain. It would remain because the greatest menace of the political party is not in terms of money, but in terms of brains.....

At the last election nearly half the citizens were vote slackers. In some of the States, the percentage of the eligible voters who took the trouble to go to the polls was as low as eight...Why did the voters stay away from the polls?

The average citizen is indifferent to politics.

especially politics of the stupid sort; but the situation is much more intriguing than that. Even those who do not vote usually follow the party label, right or wrong. The ordinary voter is not fond of exercising his mental apparatus. He would much prefer to have some one else figure out remedies for the ailments of humanity, leaving nothing for him to do but to imbibe this soothing castor oil. Political parties play the quack doctor beautifully. Their patent medicines in the form of policies are guaranteed to cure any sickness of the government. There is no need for the drugged voter to think; all he has to do is to fall in line and take his cue. Political parties are a result of the crowd complex which is one of America's greatest afflictions. Modern man must belong to something; he does not possess enough individuality or self-reliance to play the game alone. If there is not enough stuff in him to belong to the Concatenated Order of the Who's Who, at least there is no one who will keep him out of the Republican Party.

The appeal of the political party is not to the intelligence of the citizen, but to everything else. There is, points out a writer of vision, "no search after fundamental issues, no determination to go into economic factors from the standpoint of principle. The party chooses its candidates, not on the basis of their intelligence or fitness for the position, but with the idea of picking a man who is politically and religiously 'available' and who is reasonably sure to win. The ruling party, with all its crookedness and corruption, keeps up the appearance of 'unity by temporary compromise' rather than 'unity by sound fundamental reform.' Are these the evidences of intelligent leadership?

National nominating conventions, political rallies, torch-light parades, mass meetings... these things do not help to make better citizens, but instead undermine the intelligence of the voter by subjecting him to the influence of mob psychology. Many a voter might cast his ballot sanely if he were free from the emotional appeal upon which parties lean so strongly. How can a nominating convention be a deliberative body, when many of its delegates come under iron-bound instructions and when many others are drunk, or hilarious, or mentally dead to the world?

Calcutta as a Tanning Centre

Mr. B. Ramachandra Rau observes in the sixth chapter of his informing paper on the economics of leather trade and industry in the same periodical:—

To sum up the correlation of forests, river, manufacturing site, rail, electric power, port and a market is one of the most desirable things that Calcutta possesses and it can unhesitatingly be said that Calcutta may become one day the "Leeds" or the "Bermondsey" of the East if only proper advantage is taken of the economics of her industrial situation.....

The present chapter has been written with this point in view, i. e., the establishment of the tanning industry on a commercial scale means the exporting of tanned hides in place of raw hides that are being exported in such large quantities.

[N.B. For other contents of *May Welfare*, see Readers' Guide to *Welfare* for May, 1925 printed elsewhere.]

Bhil Seva Mandal

We are glad to read the following account of the Bhil Seva Mandal in *The Social Service Quarterly*:—

It is a matter for regret that, despite the propaganda carried on by Mr. Amritlal Thakkar and a few enlightened workers, there is little appreciation in the country as a whole of the problem of the aboriginal and there has been a very poor response to the appeals addressed from time to time to the general public to contribute towards the cost of conducting social and educational work among backward tribes and communities like the Bhils and Kalipraj. Foreign missions and the Salvation Army find among these communities a vast field for their propaganda, and have established among them useful centres through which they carry on social and educational work, assist in economic improvement, and provide medical relief. In the Bombay Presidency, as an offshoot of the campaign against drink among the Kalipraj of Surat and adjacent portions of the Baroda State much useful work has been undertaken and there has been an awakening of the social instincts of the Kalipraj themselves. The only other indigenous effort is that made by Mr. A. V. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society who has established his headquarters in the heart of the Bhil tract of the Panch Mahals district and has with the help of a band of earnest and energetic co-adjutors, started a Bhil Seva Mandal, a body of missionary workers which has accepted Mr. Thakkar as its chief. The Mandal has chalked out its programme of work and opened over half a dozen centres. The main work at these centres is the holding of regular classes under capable full-time teachers for the education of the children of the Bhils. These hesitate to go for education to ordinary schools, so ingrained is their suspicion of institutions connected in their minds with those in authority and those who wield the money stick. There are ten such schools run by the Mandal, all with a fair attendance, and each one of them a centre for spreading the message of hope and good cheer among the Bhil population served by it. Some of these are central schools for a group of villages and at such places boardings are attached to the schools where the children stay with their teachers and other workers of the Mandal. Discourses for adults, social gatherings and meetings are a feature of the work of these centres, at a few training is given in crafts, gardening and agriculture along with education in the three R's, and another attraction is the free dispensary attached to some of them. The Mandal has engaged the services of two Vaidas who move about in villages to attend to bad cases and dispense Ayurvedic treatment at the centres, either themselves or through some of the workers trained for the purpose. A general propaganda about elementary rules of personal hygiene and the importance of maintaining homes and surroundings

in a sanitary condition is conducted through these schools and dispensaries, while another very useful activity is the promotion of economic improvement by encouraging the spread of co-operative credit. The Mandal also undertakes to inquire into the complaints of the Bhil population, with whom its workers come into touch about the inconveniences under which they labour and grievances they have to represent, and its responsible workers, after proper investigation, seek redress of such complaints at the hands of the public authorities concerned. With the extension of its various activities, the financial commitments of the Mandal have grown largely and the institution would have been sorely handicapped last year for lack of funds but for a timely donation from the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee to the extent of one-third of its expenditure. Even with this help, the Bhil Seva Mandal may just be able to carry on, but if its sphere of missionary effort is to be extended it will have to approach the general public for the financial support to which it is entitled in view of the importance of its work.

Brown Rice versus Polished Rice.

The Health states:—

The bran of the rice grain cannot be removed so easily as that of the wheat grain. Its bran clings very tight. To remove it, the rice is put through a machinery process whereby the kernels rub against each other. The friction removes the bran in tiny particles—hence the term “polishings” and “Polished Rice.”

Natural brown rice is unpolished rice containing both the bran and the germ. It is generally obtained through pounding. In those days when rice mills were unknown, we used to have our paddy pounded in our homes and get good natural brown rice for our food. The power of resistance to diseases was great among our forefathers who were accustomed to feed on natural brown rice. But the polished rice that is now consumed is rid of its essential element—the Vitamines, and no wonder we fall an easy prey to the ravages of diseases. Science, like history, repeats itself. And thanks to the progress of science, it has now discovered our folly in eating the so-called polished rice which is nothing but chaff and wants us to go back to our old feed—the natural Brown Rice. Will you obey science and try to lead a long and healthy life or stick on to the dictates of fashion and civilization and court an untimely death?

New Light on Hindu Political Science Literature.

According to an article by Mr. K. P. Jyaswal in the *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society*,

Up to this time the writers on Arthasastra or Hindu Political Science were known from references to their views in the *Kautiliya Artha-Sastra*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Kamandakiya Nitisara* and

Chandesvara's *Raja-niti-Ratnakara*. I may also refer to Nilakantha's *Niti-mayukha* and Mitra Misra's *Rajanitiprakasa*. But the latter does not carry our knowledge of the Artha-Sastra literature much further.

The work which opens up for us a catalogue of hitherto sealed literature on the subject is a commentary on the Jaina author Soma-deva Suri's *Nitivakyamrita*. The *Nitivakyamrita* is a well-known little book written for the education of young princes in the tenth century of the Christian era. It is a mixture of ethics and politics, in short *sutras* or aphorisms. The commentary under discussion is by an author whose name is yet unknown. A manuscript of the work discovered is dated the 4th of Kartika Sudi, Vikrama Samvat 1541 (=1463 A. C.) in the reign of Sultan, Bahlola Shahi i.e. Bahlol Lodi. The manuscript was presented by a pious Jaina lady to a Jaina scholar, Pandita Medhavi of Hisar, where it was placed in a Jaina library. From there it was transferred to a Jaina library at Amer. Pandita Nathurama Premim of Bombay obtained this manuscript through some Jaipur friends and has printed the commentary as a volume in the *Manikachandra Digambara Jaina Series*. It discloses a welcome mass of information.

About Women

The following paragraphs are taken from *Stri-Dharma:—*

THE AGE OF CONSENT BILL

We are glad to be informed that the Age of Consent Bill, that was thrown out in the last session by the Legislative Assembly has not been really killed, and it will be brought up again in the next session in Simla. The letter that the Women's Indian Association sent to the members of the Assembly evidently had quite a definite effect, for we notice that various members quoted from it in their speeches, and the Bill was regarded sympathetically by a majority of the members. But when they had passed all the clauses, they evidently got alarmed when they realised what they had done, and the white feather was shown by the Swarajists who walked into the Government lobby to throw out the Bill for they were afraid that, if they voted for the Bill, they would lose the support of the orthodox party.

TURKEY

(The following is a good example that might well be followed in India)

What is a wedding without the trousseau and the wedding breakfast? Yet in Turkey both appear to be doomed.

The Turkish Government has invited the Constantinople City Council to draw up rules for putting down extravagance at festivals, and the Council has begun with weddings.

It is proposed that wedding breakfasts should be abolished entirely, and only sweets and syrups offered to the guests. Apparently only a certain number may partake even of these, for the wedding procession must not exceed five carriages or cars. The bridegroom may only give his bride one present (a ring), while the bride may contribute

the furniture of only one room to the home-making, and the bride's outfit must not include more than two dresses!

THE POSITION OF WOMAN IN RUSSIA.

The greatest change of all, the English Trade Union Delegation notes, "has been brought about by the new status of woman....In Soviet Russia she has now been made by law entirely independent of man. What is right for a man is right for a woman, and vice-versa. Her responsibilities are equal with his, so also her freedom. Marriage is a contract by which both parties are equally bound or free by mutual consent at all times....As a consequence there is probably less immorality, in the sense of irregular sexual relationships, than formerly."

"Prostitution has for the first time been made illegal. But the measures taken to stamp it out are mostly levelled against the man. Any payment to a woman for this purpose is a criminal offence. The former Government-controlled licensed houses, where girls were exposed for hire at a recognised fee, have been closed. In Tsarist days these houses were a recognised Government institution; the opening ceremony was undertaken by a police officer and the premises blessed by Russian orthodox priests."

Mahatma Gandhi's Ahimsa.

May Current Thought contains the story of how in 1896 Mahatma Gandhi was assaulted by a white mob in South Africa in the course of the early struggle for the Indian settlers' rights there and how he refused to prosecute his assailants.

A mob followed us. With every step we advanced, it grew larger and larger. The gathering was enormous when we reached West Street. A man of powerful build took hold of Mr. Laughton and tore him away from me. He was not therefore in a position to come up with me. The crowd began to abuse me and shower upon me stones and whatever else they could lay their hands on. They threw down my turban. Meanwhile a burly fellow came up to me slapped me in the face and then kicked me. I was about to fall down unconscious when I held on to the railings of a house near by. I took breath for a while and when the fainting was over proceeded on my way. I had almost given up the hope of reaching home alive. But I remember well that even then my heart did not arraign my assailants....

On Mr. Escombe, Attorney-General with the Government of Natal, telling Mr. Gandhi,

"We desire that the offenders should be brought to book. Can you identify any of your assailants?"

I replied: "I might perhaps be able to identify one or two of them. But I must say at once before this conversation proceeds that I have already made up my mind not to prosecute my assailants. I cannot see that they are at fault. What information they had they had obtained from their leaders. It is too much to expect them to judge whether it was correct or otherwise. If all that they heard about me was true, it was natural for

them to be excited and do something wrong in a fit of indignation. I would not blame them for it. Excited crowds have always tried to deal out justice in that manner. If any one is to blame it is the Committee of Whites, you yourself and, therefore, the Government of Natal. Reuter might have cabled any distorted account. But when you knew that I was coming to Natal, it was your duty and the duty of the Committee to question me about the suspicions you entertained with regard to my activities in India, to hear what I had to say and then do what might appear proper in the circumstances. Now I cannot prosecute you or the Committee for the assault. And even if I could, I would not seek redress in a court of law. You took such steps as seemed advisable to you for safeguarding the interests of the whites of Natal. That is a political matter, and it remains for me to fight with you in the political field to convince you and the Whites that the Indians who constitute a large proportion of the population of the British Empire wish to preserve their self-respect and safeguard their rights without injuring the Whites in the least."

The Polish Nobel Prizeman.

The Young Citizen quotes from *Life*, U. S. A., some interesting particulars about Ladislas Reymont, the winner of the 1924 Nobel Prize in literature.

The outstanding characteristics of the present prose laureate of the world are his simplicity and aversion to being lionised. M. Reymont, it is recorded, tried hard to gain an education, but he was expelled from every school he entered and then became a telegraph operator.

"Ladislas Stanislaw Reymont was born on May 6, 1868, in that part of Poland which at that time remained under Russian domination," Mr. Hughes writes, in the course of his article, based on information secured from Reymont, while he was in America: "He was of a family of twelve which was very patriotic and poor. His mother took, with her five brothers, an active part in the insurrection of 1863.

"The schools at that time were instruments of Russification. School children were not allowed to speak Polish within the walls of the school. Reymont went from one school to another, expelled from all of them.

"He began early to earn his living. He was a store clerk and telegraph operator. He was an actor in a wandering theatrical troupe. He was twice a railroad employee. He tried farming, and even entered the famous monastery of the Paulist Fathers in Czestochowa with the purpose of becoming a monk. He entered the literary field in 1894 with the publishing of a short story, and his novels now comprise twenty-three volumes.

"When Reymont came to America, it was exceedingly Reymontish of him to behave as he did. He came quietly, shyly across our threshold, conferred with a few Polish friends, and could not be induced to permit lionisation even among his compatriots.

"Reymont lingered only a brief while in New York. He went as soon as possible to Chicago.

where numbers of Polish immigrants work in the stock-yards. As soon as he had filled his eyes, his ears, and his heart, he returned to Poland, where he is a farmer after a life of so many experiments."

The Importance of Indian History

The Indian Historical Journal, edited by Dr. Narendranath Law, which we welcome, is introduced to the reader by Professor Dr. Sten Konow in an article in which he dwells on the importance of Indian history. Says he:—

There are numerous problems connected with the history of India which are of general interest and do not concern India only. The latest discoveries in Sind and in the Punjab have raised the question about a possible connection between India and the ancient civilization of Mesopotamia, which latter has played such a prominent role in the development of the Western World. If the antiquities unearthed at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa belong to an old civilization connected with that of the Sumerians, which came to an end about 3000 years B.C., we shall have to reconsider the question about the date of the Aryan invasion of India in the light of these new finds and it is probable that we shall arrive at results which are calculated to modify our ideas about the history of the Aryan and the Indo-European periods in the history of our race. We shall be able to judge better about the relations existing between the different countries and the different civilizations in ancient times than we can at the present day, and we shall probably find that there was much more intercourse and much less isolation than many people have been inclined to think.

There are other questions which likewise take us outside the borders of India. Who were the Dravidians, and whence did they come? What can we find out about the ancient civilization which perhaps preceded the Dravidians and the Aryans in India and in the continent and islands surrounding the Indian seas, and what does it teach us about the development of the eastern world in pre-historic times?

If we turn to later times, the importance of Indian history does not become less. Indian history has seldom been restricted to India itself. It forms an important chapter in the general history of the world; and the Indian trade, which looms so large in the statistics of many modern nations, has always been important. The history of the trade of the world would be incomplete if India's share in it were not carefully studied.

Still more such considerations hold good with him who tries to disentangle the history of the development of human thought and human ideals during the ages. Here, a conspicuous place is to be accorded to India, not only in modern times, but also in bygone ages. And much, very much, patient spade work will have to be done before we can hope to draw the historical outlines.....

India is slowly, but surely, making her re-entrance as a separate unit in the world's concert. The Indian tribes and races are developing into a real

nation, with its own aims and its own tendencies; and the Indian people will necessarily take a greater interest in its past history.

An ancient people will never be able to hold its own in the world, if it chooses to live exclusively on loans from abroad. It must build up its future on the safe foundation of its material and spiritual experience in the past. It cannot live in the past and seclude itself from the outside world by means of Chinese walls. The ancient barriers have been broken down, and every country must, at the present day, enter into competition and co-operation with all the rest. But it cannot enter into the complicated system of the modern world without backbone. And only a thorough understanding of the past, with intimate knowledge of such power and forces as have been developed out of the peculiar faculties of the people itself, can give the necessary self-reliance and strength if it is not to lose its individuality and become a mere spectator of the great drama.

With the growth of the national idea in India the interest in the country's history must go hand in hand. It is India, with all her traditions and all her ancient history, which must secure her entrance in the modern world; and an historical journal is bound to occupy an important place in the development.....

The necessary condition is, however, that the undertaking is conducted in a scientific and critical spirit. It will not be enough to dwell on such periods in Indian history as bear witness to great power and strength. Also the times of decadence and disaster belong to the people's history and are often peculiarly interesting in its development.....

Dyarchy or Provincial Autonomy in India

In the *Hindustan Review* the Hon'ble Mr Sachchidananda Sinha observes that

It would be a great mistake in the present temper of the people to think of conferring upon the Council powers which may have the effect of controlling the activities of the Assembly.

With reference to the Bihar and Orissa Government's despatch on the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, he writes:—

I do not find in the despatch any reference to the grievance of the Hon'ble Ministers that "the rules of Executive Business are binding upon the Ministers though made without consulting them." I am aware that it is so because the power of making the rules, for the disposal of the Executive Business in the provinces is vested, under the Government of India Act, in the Governor alone. It would be however in my opinion an improvement if the section sanctioning the present practice were to be so amended that the Governor might share this responsibility with all the other members of his Government so that the rules may carry with them the concurrence of all of them or at any rate, of a majority of them.

He shows that the Reforms have been a failure, and has "no alternative but to suggest that the present system in the

provinces be superseded by the establishment of complete provincial autonomy which alone seems to be the true solution of the difficulty."

"The Present Political Situation in India".

In the course of an article under the above heading in the same review, Lala Lajpat says that

From a close study of the mentality of the Muslim leaders, I am afraid, they are determined to have their own way. In that case, I will rather let them negotiate with the Government than agree to propositions which to me seem fatal to the very purpose for which an understanding is desired.

There is another phase of the question to which I would like to draw the attention of all national leaders. It is clear to me that the only political party in Great Britain, which is likely to be of some help to us in our progress towards Swaraj, is the Labour party. The Liberal party is in this respect worse than the Tories and, moreover, it need not be counted upon as having any influence worth the name in Parliament. The only party which can deliver the goods safely and surely, if once we enter into an agreement with it, is the Conservative Party. An agreement with the Conservatives as to the terms on which they will allow us the management of our internal affairs would be worth while, even though we may have to sacrifice some vital points in order to arrive at that agreement. Failing that, as I have said before, the Labour Party is the only group of British politicians with whom we should negotiate. It will be extremely foolish to alienate them. It is true that they failed us last year when they were in office. It is also true that they are responsible for the policy of repression now being followed in Bengal and the Punjab. Yet, in spite of all this, they are the only party in which we have true and trustworthy friends.

Folk High Schools in Denmark

Mr. C. F. Strickland writes in the *Young Men of India* :—

The Folk High School takes grown-up men, not boys, who left school at 13 and have since then been hardening their hands at their trade, and it has to do in six months what secondary schools do for their pupils in four years, that is, it has to bring them to an understanding of life. So far as that object is concerned it is undoubtedly better effected in six months than by a secondary school in four years.

At the present moment, Government subsidizes all the Folk High Schools, if they are efficient, giving them grants which vary from one-third to two-thirds of the total cost. I would estimate as an average Government Budget for such grants ten lakhs of crowns per annum, and if you translate Danish crowns into rupees we might call them 6½

lakhs of rupees per annum for grants to 60 Folk High Schools. In addition to these grants, which are given partly towards buildings, partly towards pay of the staff, the Government also gives scholarships on a large scale to those pupils who need them. In return for this help Government in Denmark carries out an annual inspection; if such inspection be not satisfactory the grant will be reduced or refused. The schools are in most cases owned by private individuals. Any man may start a Folk High School. But they are not founded by rich men. The teachers are poor, enthusiastic and devoted; in many cases they sacrifice their lives, and certainly they sacrifice all prospect of wealth to the ideal of educating the nation, educating the nation to understand the meaning of patriotism without politics. The pupils are the sons of peasants, of landless labourers or of artisans. They save up money from their wages, from the proceeds of their agriculture or trade, to pay the fees at a Folk High School for six months. The usual course is for six months, from October to March or November to April. That is the time when in cold countries of the north very little agricultural work is to be done, and I estimate very roughly the cost. A pupil at 70 or 80 Danish crowns, say 50 rupees, per mensem for six months, that is to say, 300 rupees, of which one-third will be school-fees and two-thirds will be board and lodging. I particularly wish to emphasize that the men who pay these 300 rupees are poor men, some of them owning only five acres. It may be objected that this is an impossible ideal for India. My answer to that is, What does an Indian peasant owning five acres or even less, spend on the marriage of his daughter? The pay of the staff rises in rupees from 150 to 400 per mensem, but if allowance be made for the higher cost of living in Europe that sum will be comparable to 75 to 200 rupees in India. The teachers are keen young men, sometimes unmarried but if they are married their wives also usually teach in the schools.

Mr. Strickland wants Indians to start numerous such schools, devote the whole of their lives to them and turn our illiterate adults into citizens fit for responsible duties.

Banana Production in the Empire

The Agricultural Journal of India publishes the following :—

Although many people in the United Kingdom associate the banana particularly with Jamaica and the Canary Islands, not more than two-fifths of the fruit imported into the country comes from those countries, the remaining three-fifths being supplied by Colombia, Costa Rica and the Republic of Honduras.

In 1922, bananas were imported into the United Kingdom to the value of over £5,300,000, of which amount only about £600,000 represented produce of British Possessions. In view of the fact that the banana can be grown in most tropical lands where labour is available, it would therefore seem advisable to consider whether a greater share in the banana industry could not be undertaken within the Empire, more particularly in parts of West

Africa which are within a comparatively short distance of the home market. The present position of the industry in the various countries of the Empire is indicated in an article on "The Banana and its Cultivation with Special Reference to the Empire," published in the current issue of the *Bulletin of the Imperial Institute*, which also gives particulars of methods of growing the fruit and the preparation of various products, such as banana flour and dried bananas or "figs." Of the British West India Islands, Jamaica is the only important banana-producing country, and last year exported (largely to the United States) 12½ million bunches, valued at over £2,250,000, whilst in some years the exports have exceeded 16 million bunches. Trinidad, Barbados and Dominica formerly exported small quantities of fruit but the trade has now almost ceased. British Honduras has an annual output of about half a million bunches, but British Guiana, although producing fruit of excellent flavour, has so far not built up an export trade. In Australia, considerable quantities are grown for local consumption in Queensland and New South Wales, and there is also a large import from Fiji, where banana-growing is one of the staple industries. Other parts of the Empire, such as India, Ceylon, Malaya and East and West Africa at present only grow the fruit for their own use.

Supply of Breeding Bulls

Mr. Nilananda Chatterjee contributes an instructive article to the *Welfare* and sums up with the following:

There are about 250 districts in British India with an average area of about 4000 sq. miles and an average population of 9,31,000. The total number of cattle is about 147 millions of which only about 37 millions are cows and 13 millions are she-buffaloes. These 50 millions female cattle will require one million good bulls to cover them. This means that an average supply of about 4000 (4000 11250=1000,000) superior serving bulls per district will quite adequately afford breeding facilities to the country. There is no dearth of bulls. The live-stock statistics show that there are about 10 millions bulls and bullocks. If 10 per cent of them are good, that will quite serve our purpose. The main thing required is the proper selection of these bulls and their suitable distribution throughout the breeding centres. The avoidance of promiscuous breedings, the setting apart of selected breeding bulls and the conversion of other bulls into bullocks and using them for draught purposes only, and the organization and control of breeding by opening breeding studs in every Municipality and every village union are the only practical desiderata. The initial cost of each such centre ought to be raised by contribution of half by the Local Body and half by voluntary subscriptions amongst the inhabitants themselves and the recurring cost of maintenance may be realised by charging a fee for each covering.

In rural areas there ought to be two bulls in each centre: one a Brahmini country bull and another a similar up-country bull. In urban areas there ought to be sufficient number of upcountry bulls according to requirement as well as a good number of Brahmini bulls. The cost of getting Brahmini bulls ought to be only nominal. Two model schemes—one for rural areas and another for urban areas are outlined below for the information of the reader.

Rural Breeding Station for Village Unions (with one country Brahmini bull, and another upcountry bull).

<i>Initial Expense</i>	Rs.
The cost of a shed 100 sq. ft. for location of 2 bulls below and their keeper above at -8- per sq. ft.	50
The cost of an upcountry bull, Brahmini bull being had free	150
Total Rs	200

<i>Recurring Expenditure</i>	
Cost of feeding 2 bulls with straw, grass and oil-cake and occasionally with gram at -4- per head per day for one year	180
Wages of one servant at -10- per month for 1 year	120
Total Rs.	300

<i>Recurring Income</i>	
Fee-receipts for each covering 100 coverings per head at Rs 2 for each covering by up-country bull and Re 1 for each covering by country bull	300

URBAN BREEDING STATION FOR MUNICIPALITIES (with 5 up-country bulls and 5 Brahmini country Bulls)

<i>Initial Expense</i>	
The cost of a shed 500 sq. ft. for location of 10 bulls and 2 servants at Re. 1 per sq. ft.	500
The cost of purchasing 5 up-country bulls at Rs. 200	1000
The cost of securing 5 country bulls	100
	Rs. 1600

<i>Recurring Expense</i>	
The cost of feeding 10 bulls with straw, grass, oil-cake, bran and gram at -8- per head per day for one year	1825
Wages of 2 servants at Rs. 15 per month for one year	360
	Rs. 2185

<i>Recurring Income</i>	
Fee-receipts for 100 coverings per head per year for 5 up-country bulls at Rs. 3- per covering	1500-
Fee-receipts for 100 covering per head per year for 5 country bulls at Rs. 2 per covering	1000
	Rs. 2500

In this way breeding studs may be opened throughout the country and with the free help of the Veterinary Assistants in the employ of Municipalities, District Boards and the Government the organisation supervision and proper running of these studs may be secured. The breeding problem of the country will be thus solved.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"Which Races are Best?"

The following is a summary, *in its own words*, of an article in *The Scientific American* by Mr. Albert A. Hopkins, Associate Editor of that leading American scientific monthly:—

What races really are the best, either for future citizenship or for other things? Are the Nordics really better than the dark-whites or are they worse? What are the essential differences between the races? How did the different races originate and what are the relations, biological and otherwise, between them?

THERE IS NO PURE-BRED RACE.

Unfortunately but few of these answers are ready. Among all the domesticated animals man is the one, it seems, about which we know the least. Yet there are three things about present-day humanity which it does seem possible to say. None of them is especially flattering to our racial pride.

The first is that there is no such thing in the modern world as a pure-bred race. The "pure Nordic" idea is a myth.

The second is that not one scrap of real evidence exists to prove that any one race is potentially abler or more honest or more intelligent than any other race. The "white man's burden" may be laid down any time with a clear conscience and with no fear that we are deserting our duty to the world.

The third is that racial mixture—even to what we would shrink from as extremes—seems much more likely to be beneficial to civilization than the reverse.

The facts on which these three conclusions rest have been discovered, in the main, during that remarkable advance of knowledge about ancient, prehistoric humanity which has resulted from the excavations and museum studies of the last four decades.

The older geographers were accustomed to divide mankind into five races: the white, the black, the yellow, the brown and the red. It has been apparent for years that this classification is unsatisfactory; indeed, that it is impossible, although it persists to a considerable extent in the public mind. Its impossibility lies in the fact that the differences between these five so-called races are not sharp. There are yellow-brown races and black-white ones. What are we to say of the Turks and Lapps, who are white yet have distinct Chinese-like traits? Are the African pygmies negroes or a separate race? What are the Esquimaux?

THE BRIEF MOMENT OF HISTORY.

"The fact is that no exact classification of races is possible. Mankind forms one great family. Inside this family it is possible to distinguish ten or fifteen groups which differ more or less sharply from each other.

the Negro, the Chinese, the American Indian, the Jew, the blonde-white or Nordic, the dark-white, the "blackfellow" of Australia, the brown islanders of the Pacific, the Esquimaux, and so on. There are many blends between these groups. The separations between them are not sharp; indeed, it is only the extremes which are clearly distinct at all. That is the present-day racial picture of the earth.

"It has been the picture during all of that brief moment of the earth story that we call historic time. But this historic time covers less than ten thousand years. Man has been on earth, essentially in his present bodily form, for at least a hundred thousand years, possibly for five or six times as long as this. The origins of races, the roots of our present world politics, go back into this dim and distant prehistoric period when the great drama of the peopling of the earth was just beginning to unfold."

CLIMATE RULES COMPLEXION.

"Exactly how these first men diverged into the different races of modern times is by no means so certain. We know that men, like other animals, are much modified by the conditions under which they live. In the sunlit tropics the human skin grows darker and the hair apparently grows short and kinky. In the dimmer days and longer nights of the north the skin grows white and the hair long and blonde. Nobody knows why this happens but it does happen. Many similar modifications are known. These facts provide a clue, we believe, to how the races may have originated.

"In the Asian homeland there has never been much food to spare. Within historic times there have rolled out of Asia over the rest of the world the successive human waves of the Hittites, the Persians, the Goths, the Visigoths, the Huns. Eastward in the same period, swept the tide of Mongols. Famine drove them all. Always Asia is the mother of peoples. Always the mother drives her peoples out, from time to time, to conquer other lands where food is easier to come by than it is at home."

BLACK MEN WERE THE FIRST.

"Races have originated, then, by the slow alteration, under forces of climate and other

circumstances, of successive migration waves out of Asia. Possibly the stock left behind in Asia changed between successive migrations. In any event, each wave of migrants encountered different conditions when it got outside. All these changes have worked together to make the diversity that exists to-day.

"Since the very first millenniums of this process the peoples who have erupted out of Asia have not found an empty world which they could occupy at will. Instead they were confronted with a world already too well filled. Hence the appeal to the sword, followed, in time, by some kind of racial fusion between the conquerors and the conquered. For more than a hundred centuries, then, the world has been a laboratory for mixing and blending races. In historic time we have full records of many examples. In prehistoric times we have evidence, although less unmistakable evidence, that the same thing was going on."

SKULLS PROVIDE THE CLUE.

"One result of this is the conclusion that racial mixture is no new thing in the world. America is not the first "melting pot". Indeed, there is ample evidence that no race anywhere in the world has kept itself unmixed with strains of other races who left Asia sooner or later than it did.

A short time ago Professor Roland B. Dixon of Harvard University tested some of these ideas by a strictly scientific method. He collected all the human skulls that he could find, both modern and prehistoric. He measured the relative dimensions of these, what are called the indices of height, width, length and so on, commonly used by anthropologists as one of the criteria of race. In addition he collected all the similar measurements which had been made by other anthropologists. He set down all this data and compared it.

"One of his most remarkable conclusions was that every race, no matter in what part of the world, showed evidences of mixture with other races. Many of the American Indian skulls showed negro-like characteristics. Some of the negro skulls were more or less like the Chinese. Many white skulls showed traces of the admixture of Chinese or Negro or American Indian blood.

"The most probable explanation of this, an explanation which is supported by a vast array of other evidence, is that during the long period of man's presence and migrations

on earth all of the races have been more or less mixed with each other. Even the famous Nordics are a racial blend.

"However this may be, the white race is already as blended as any other. In our ancestry, as in that of the American Indian, we can trace the elements of early negroid races, of the Australian savage, of the same Alpines who helped to settle America, of Mongols, of half a dozen others. Among the ancestors of every American business man one could find, it is safe to say, every important racial element of prehistoric times; every type of human animal in the world, from the Chinese philosopher to the savage chieftain of a caveman tribe.

"This is the argument for our first conclusion, the conclusion that there is no such thing as a pure-bred race—not even a pure-bred individual—in the modern world. All of our so-called races are already blends. Why should we be afraid of further blending?

"From this argument, too, it is easy to see that no great case can be made for any superiority of certain races over other races. The great peoples of the past have not been of pure race. All of them have been, like us, the products of slow but effective racial mixture.

"At the last meeting of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, two scientists argued pro and con the problem of whether or not the white race is superior to the negro. The argument was inconclusive. It had to be. It is almost certain that both of the gentlemen in question, as well as the assemblage of distinguished scientists who listened, had both white and negroid elements in their ancestry, in their blood, in the very bones of their heads like those which Professor Dixon measured.

"To talk of menaces in racial mixture is equally absurd. If racial mixture could have ruined mankind that ruin would have been completed many millenniums before any scribe set down one word of history. Indeed, a degree of racial mixture seems actually to be stimulating to human intelligence and human enterprise.

"It was a mixed race that baked bricks in the plains of the Tigris and Euphrates and built the walls of Babylon. It was another mixed race in the Valley of the Nile that dug the stones which went to make the Pyramids. It was a third mixed race which forged the power of Rome, another which lit that Grecian torch of learning that still burns in the minds of men. If it be these things that

mixed races do, let us have more, not less of racial mixture in our world!"

The Schools of the Future

Sarah N. Cleghorn ventures to guess in the *Century Magazine*

That by 1950 the common schools of the world will be history schools in a far more fundamental sense than they ever were Latin schools, or, as we are still old-fashioned enough to call them, grammar schools. And just as now, in the United States, a child's advance from grade to grade depends on his understanding of arithmetic, so in the schools of the future I think the willingness of a maturer group to admit any young person to its intellectual adventures will depend largely on the range and vividness of that young person's historical perceptions. By talking about historical perceptions, I mean quite concrete things. For one thing, I mean his power to discover fresh and meaningful analogies between the present and the past.

When I say "historical perceptions", I am thinking of the perception that history consists of a blend of cultures—skein of major human interests as international as arithmetic.

For these future schools will spend, I believe, little or no time on compartmental history. These divisions and subdivisions which we call "English history", "French history", "ancient history", will begin. I am sure, to look quite old-fashioned by 1950. Or if the national histories are still in use, I am sure they will have been completely re-scaled, all their proportions over-hauled and subordinated to those of earth-history as a whole.

So, in a well-proportioned English history, the discoveries of Copernicus would take up most of the room now accorded to the fourth, fifth, and sixth wives of Henry VIII; St. Francis would be featured in more detail than Thomas a Becket. In short, I believe the view of history which our grandchildren will take is essentially just that blend of cultures with which, when it is considered simply and innocently, nationalism has comparatively little to do.

Knowledge, as we all so longingly admit, far from being imposed upon children, ought to be treasure which they find in their forlorn search after the wonderful and the beautiful; they should seek knowledge on the run, and find it with an exulting shout, as they find flowers in the woods in spring. This noble and simple ideal demands the abdication of the adult as the sovereign of the schools; it demands in the adult, whether teacher, parent, or taxpayer, a spirit of faith and humility far beyond what any of us, I think, yet possess, or can even imagine without such a sense of absurdity, as many husbands used to feel when they contemplated, or tried to contemplate, their wives running for office. It means the actual bold application of freedom to the majority in the schools to govern them themselves. Can we look upon this possibility, fellow-adults, without the fear clutching at our vitals more or less, lest these riches of knowledge we want to bequeath to the children, they should not care to take? I own that I cannot. That fear clutches often at my vitals. I am afraid, in fact, that my present little prophecy may be consigned to the first bonfire the children hold on their

school playground when to run themselves.

But then I say to myself: "The teacher, too, must be free. The children surely won't want any other kind of teacher than he who freely and gaily teaches what he loves to teach. Must not the schools of the future be an association between equals, a free and pleasurable association of kindred minds? Let us draw a long breath and take our chances. I sanguinely hope there will be some teacher, and some children, in those days, who will like these notions, and try them and expand them and—well, yes—improve them."

Thomas Henry Huxley

Edward Clodd recalls in the same journal the great days of the religio-scientific battles when Huxley was a doughty champion of science. The writer tells of a memorable duel between the scientist and Bishop Wilberforce at the meeting of the British Association at Oxford in 1860.

The atmosphere was electric; the bishop was up to time. The vacant place of argument in his speech was filled by declamation, and the declamation became acrid. He finished his harangue by asking Huxley whether he was related on his grand-mother's side or his grandfather's side to an ape.

"The Lord hath delivered him into my hands," whispered Huxley to a friend at his side as he rose to reply. And this is what he said. "I asserted and I repeat that a man has no reason to be ashamed of having an ape for his grandfather. If there were an ancestor whom I should feel shame in recalling, it would be a man of restless and versatile intellect, who not content with success in his own sphere of activity plunges into scientific questions with which he has no real acquaintance only to obscure them with an aimless rhetoric and distract the attention of his hearers from the real point at issue by eloquent digressions and skilled appeals to religious prejudice."

Regarding the reception accorded to Darwin's "Origin of Species," we read:—

Herbert Spencer was an evolutionist before Darwin. Huxley said he was prepared to go to the stake if needs be in support of the book.

"Punch" found in Darwinism material for jokes, so did writers of light verse and squibs. Mr. Courthope made fun of it in his "Paradise of Birds," of which this is a sample:

"Eggs were laid as before, but each time more and more varieties struggled and bred, Till one end of the scale dropped its ancestor's tail and the other got rid of his head. From the bill, in brief words, were developed the birds, unless our tame pigeons and ducks lie."

From the tail and hind legs, in the second-laid eggs, the apes—and Professor Huxley."

Huxley's motto was that of the great Strafford, "Thorough." Darwin hesitated, but Huxley went breast forward. It could be said of him, as was said of Luther in his relation to Erasmus that he hatched the egg that Darwin laid. Sharpening

beak and claws, he opened the campaign in 1860 in a series of lectures to working-men, followed by one to the Philosophic Institute of Edinburgh. These were published in a volume called "Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature," which appeared in 1863. It pushed Darwin's theory to its logical conclusion in extending the processes of evolution to man, thus including him in a universal order of development whose continuity is unbroken. The gist of what he said is in this quotation from the book.

"In view of the intimate relations between man and the rest of the living world and between the forces exercised by the latter and all other forces I can see no excuse for doubting that all are co-ordinated terms of nature's great progression from the formless to the formed, from the inorganic to the organic, from blind force to conscious intellect and will. I have endeavoured to show that no absolute structural line of demarcation, wider than that between the animals which immediately succeed us in the scale, can be drawn between the animal world and ourselves, and I may add the expression of my belief that the attempt to draw a psychical distinction is equally futile, and that even the highest faculties of feeling and of intellect begin to germinate in lower forms of life."

Of Huxley the man we get some glimpses.

He had his share of bereavements, which brought out the tenderness and sympathy of his nature. In a letter to Lord Morley he says, "The great thing one has to wish for as time goes on is vigour as long as one lives, and death as soon as vigour flags." Then he adds a human note which awakens quick response. "It is a curious thing that I find my dislike to the thought of *extinction* increasing as I get older and nearer the goal." No one insisted more fully on the limitation of our faculties; none more deeply on the mystery which environs us. The known is a narrow fringe round the unknown. We talk glibly of evolution, but we are ignorant as to its cause. Apparently we are as far as ever from any solution of the origin, nature, and, if there be any, of the meaning of life. In brief, of origins we know nothing; of processes we catch only glimmerings; although in this matter more light is slowly coming. As a wise man has said, "Because science is sure of nothing, it is always advancing."

Of Darwin it is stated:

On the twenty-sixth of April, 1882, Darwin was buried in Westminster Abbey.

In the world which he left "old things had passed away, all things were become new." Theologians of the liberal school, from bishops to curates, accept the proof supplied by an ever-increasing number of discoveries that man was not specially created. In their attempts to save the church from shipwreck, they have jettisoned nearly all the cargo of beliefs which were held to be "essential to salvation". The courageous Dean Inge represents a growing body of clergymen who have "relegated miracles to the sphere of pious opinion" and who accept "the development of life from the non-living as a fact". How much further they will go in rejection of the remaining "essentials" it will be interesting to see.

Life and Art.

In the same review, Alexander Black observes:—

Whatever may be figured as the impulsions of art in the past, art consciousness in the future will draw closer to life. Havelock Ellis has been speaking of dancing as "the lofliest, the most moving, the most beautiful of the arts, because it is no mere translation or abstraction from life: it is life itself." No right to esthetic joy is withheld or diminished in significance by the insistence, as by Mr. Ellis, that the esthetic sense is a social necessity. It is a social necessity for reasons resting in its social origin. That beauty needs life is part of the imperative that life needs beauty. Life and the artist need each other desperately. Life is still appallingly ugly. Art still has selfish futilities. Like formulated religion, like co-ordinated government, it will learn that keeping close to life is a condition of survival. Life's blunders in trying to get along without its committees because government has been bad, without religion because churches have been ineffectual, without art because certain artists have wanted a separate god, lifts no responsibility from the shoulders of men and women capable of a devoted leadership.

"The Astrology."

To the same review, Ellsworth Huntington contributes a thought-provoking article on "The New Astrology." He begins by telling us:—

The ancient alchemists dreamed of transmuting baser metals into gold. They failed, but their work led to chemistry. The modern chemists have almost accomplished the purpose of the alchemists. They have proved that one metal, radium, is actually transmuted into various others, ending with lead. So far-reaching is this discovery that many workers in the border-land between physics and chemistry believe that all the chemical elements are ultimately composed of the same kinds of ions or electrons. If we knew enough, they say, we might reduce any element to ions and recombine these into other elements according to our choice. Or, by breaking up the atoms, we might release almost infinite supplies of energy. Alchemy, under the guise of radio-activity, is fast becoming a reality; and the reality is more wonderful than the early dream. Will astrology run the same course? Ancient astrologers sought to read the future in the stars. A few hundred years ago almost every one believed that the Biblical writer was expressing a fact when he said, "The stars in their courses fought against Sisera." If men believed this, it was certainly worth while to study the stars assiduously. The ancient astrologers failed, but their work led to astronomy.

To-day astronomy is harking back to the idea that the heavenly bodies control man's destiny. Here are the steps in this new kind of astrology: man's health, prosperity, achievements, and happiness are greatly influenced by the weather. Not only is this true to-day, but it was true in the past. The glacial period, for example, was one of the most powerful factors in producing the present

ances of men, with their varying capacities and talents. The weather depends to a considerable degree upon variations in the sun's activity. Sun-spots are the most familiar evidence of solar activity, but there are many others, including prominences, faculae, flocculi, and electro-magnetic disturbances. A considerable number of eminent scientists have concluded that many of the solar variations depend somehow upon the relative positions of the planets. If the planets affect the sun, the stars might do likewise, if they were near enough. Each year the astronomers discover new evidence of the vast amount of matter scattered in space, and of the enormous size, brilliancy, complexity, and activity of some of the stars. Thus there arises a possibility—as yet it is no more—that the stars in their courses may disturb the atmosphere of the sun and thus bring about changes in weather and climates, and hence in human life.

After elaborating his reasons, he concludes that "the new astrology may not be wholly a dream."

Mlle Curie

Children of the great are not always great—books have been written about it. But the daughter of Mme. Curie—famous French scientist, discoverer with her husband of radium—seems to be following firmly in her mother's footsteps. Mlle. Irene Curie recently read a thesis in the Sorbonne, looking toward the degree of Doctor of Sciences, which was promptly granted her. Her lecture, the result of ten years' work, was on the Alpha Rays of Polonium—with other big scientific words oppressive to the layman. The thesis was dedicated "to Mme. Curie by her daughter and pupil."—*The Woman Citizen*.

Wanted a Gospel of Scientific Unity

The unity of nature is the gospel that should be preached at the present day, thinks Dr. Edwin E. Slosson. It would be well, he believes, if there were injected into modern science something corresponding to the spirit of fierce monotheism that the Jew and Mohammedan injected into theology, to counteract the tendency of the specialist to set up his own ology as an independent god and make all the other ologies bow down to it. Here, he says, is the opportunity of the teacher of science. In the high school are fresh brains which have not yet been partitioned off into the idea-tight compartments for segregation of the several sciences. Teachers have a chance to give young men and women "a vision of the promised land from a Pisgah peak before it has been divided up among the twelve jealous tribes."—*The Literary Digest*.

What White Colonial Servants Should Not Be Taught!

The Living Age writes:—

The Netherlands is indulging in a lively controversy over the reported offer of certain wealthy concerns having property interests in the Dutch East Indies to endow a school for training colonial

servants at the University of Utrecht. Hitherto the aspirants for that service have been trained at the University of Leyden, which has a faculty of six professors of high repute to deal with different aspects of colonial administration. Business interests, it is said, are finding fault because the Leyden professors give undue emphasis to questions of ethics, and their teachings on the responsibility of foreign capitalism to the natives are liable to misinterpretation. The result, it is said, is to encourage 'a revolutionary atmosphere against Dutch rule among the natives,' and in general an attitude hostile to big capitalism.

We wonder if there has ever been any such controversy in Britain over the question of suitable education for "Indian" civil servants.

Occult Powers

Mr. H. Travers, M. H., says in *The Theosophical Path*:—

There is a universal craze for occult powers; and any mention of the phrase is sure to attract attention. Nor is it surprising that there are plenty of people ready to take advantage of this desire, and to offer to show us the way to attain such powers. But how often do we find what we really want? Who are the self-appointed teachers, who undertake by lectures and books and lessons to initiate us into mysteries and set our feet on the path of power?

Still we have to remember, in connexion with occult powers especially, that all is not gold that glitters. Gold is tested by a touchstone; and there is one sure touchstone in the matter of occult powers; and that is the question of motive. Is conscience at the bottom of our aspirations, or is personal desire?

Personal desire is our great bane, by which we let ourselves be attracted to all kinds of objects. Desire is insatiable and grows by feeding, like a fire. To gain additional powers, while the force of personal desire is still unconquered, merely puts weapons into the hands of our chiefest foe.

Desire may be harmless in the beasts; but in man there takes place an unhallowed alliance between desire and intellect; and it is this which is the cause of his trouble. Hence it is taught that, before occult powers can safely or rightly be attained, we must purify our character by eliminating the selfishness from it. In other words, we must cultivate *spiritual* powers. The student of Occultism who is on the right path strives to live a life of service to others, and, instead of being ambitious for powers, he tries to get rid of that ambition, knowing that it is his chief obstacle to progress on the path he has chosen.

Child Marriages in America

The Woman Citizen of New York observes:—

It is a great shock to most women to learn that the legal minimum marriage age is twelve years for girls and fourteen for boys in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Louisiana, Virginia,

Florida, Maryland, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Colorado, Idaho, Maine and Mississippi, and that marriage licenses are still being issued in large numbers to children of twelve, thirteen and fourteen.

According to a report recently published by the Russell Sage Foundation, there are 6,67,000 married persons in the country who were married when they were under sixteen years of age. In many states a girl can be legally married when she is too young to become a wage-earner.

The report urges in its program for State legislation that the minimum marriageable age for girls should be at least sixteen, that five days' advance notice of intention to marry should be given: proof of age of applicants required, either birth or baptismal certificates or some other form of documentary evidences; that both applicants for marriage licenses should appear in person; that the different State laws should be made harmonious and that the minimum marriageable age should not be lower than the minimum working age or the compulsory school attendance age.

Lord Curzon.

Thus writes *The New Republic* on Lord Curzon's Indian career:—

As Viceroy of India Curzon devoted inexhaustible energy to the perfecting of an administrative machine that was already outworn. His policy and temper stimulated Indian nationalism, and thus prepared the land for Gandhi. His most considerable executive act (the division of the Bengal provinces) was impressively revoked by George V at Delhi and the India of his administrative mechanism was swept away by the Montagu constitution of 1919. As Foreign Secretary Curzon simply did not count. He was obliterated by Lloyd George from the opening of the Peace Conference until the closing of Genoa. When Lloyd George was removed, Curzon was beaten and humiliated by Poincaré. At Lausanne he was punctured by Ismet and completely worsted by Mustapha Kemal. East and West alike, the ruin of his diplomacy had to be redeemed by Ramsay MacDonald.

Foreign Landownership in Japan

We read in *The Literary Digest*:—

A Disposition of Friendliness in the matter of landownership by foreigners in Japan is to be found in some sections of the Japanese press and arises from the fact that a bill for landownership by foreigners has been laid before the Diet by the Government and is now being examined by the House of Peers.

Should this bill become law, Japan would be able, with greater consistency and cogency, to protest against racial discrimination against her in America.

Encouragement for the Amateur Scientist

The Living Age writes

Sir Oliver Lodge, who after all is a physicist of immense distinction as well as a student of spooks, comes forward as a champion of the amateur in scientific research. His point is not that the amateur is a better scientific worker than his professional colleague, but merely that he can and often does do good work, and that he possesses the valor of ignorance which sometimes leads to discoveries like the airplane. These utterances are called forth by a proposal to place amateur wireless research under the control of a government department. Sir Oliver, however, having a very wholesome distrust of government departments, points out that, though some regulation may be necessary, it should be reduced to an absolute minimum.

As the Scientific Correspondent of the *Times* points out, the amateurs have a good many scientific discoveries to their credit, the reason being that they rush in where angels fear to tread. An example of this profitable 'rushing in' is the work of the Wright brothers in open defiance of everything then known of aerodynamics. Moreover the practical flying men,—the aces and pilots,—who are usually quite innocent of science, have discovered aerial manoeuvres which a theoretical student would have declared impossible.

Even in zoology the extraordinarily far-reaching Mendelian theory of heredity is the work of a Catholic priest who was indubitably an amateur even though his name will live forever in the history of biology. This does not mean, of course, that all the doctors of science must be instantly expelled from their laboratories and their experiments put in charge of the charwoman. What the amateur finds is usually developed and carried on by the professional worker who also has a number of discoveries of his own to his credit. None the less, the amateur must be treated with a little more respect than he has ordinarily received.

Invisible Light

The same journal records:—

The famous Hindu botanist, Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose, who made a worldwide reputation through his investigation of plant-sensitiveness, has perfected an astonishing new instrument which he calls the 'super-retina.' By means of it he can detect what he calls 'invisible light'. The new light consists of short electric waves which have much the same properties as ordinary light, but can be detected by the eye. Through their means objects which are ordinarily opaque can be made transparent, whereas water becomes opaque.

Pacifism and Private Defence

In *The World Tomorrow* Mr. John Haynes Holmes tells readers that in opinion and conviction, and so far as he can strive

in practice also, he is a non-resistant. And he writes as such:—

Thus, "What would you do if a brute attempted to kill your children or attack your wife?" Invariably ask some member of an audience to which you have been appealing for an attitude of uncompromising pacifism toward the abomination of international war! Being myself a non-resistant, I am able to answer that I believe it unnecessary to resort to force in a case of this kind. Familiar with instances in which attack has been overcome or turned aside without violence, I confess to the opinion that I ought to discipline myself to similar achievement. But suppose I am not, and do not want to be, a non-resistant in this sense. Suppose I am ready to meet force with force in the case of those I love. Suppose as a matter not of impulse but of moral conviction that I am willing to coerce or bind, or strike, or disable, or even kill the assailant of my family. What has this got to do with war, or my attitude toward war? Where is the similarity, much less the identity, between using such force as may prevent a man from committing a personal assault upon myself or somebody else, and the mobilization of vast engines of destruction for the slaughter of unnumbered thousands of men innocent of any injury, or any intention of injury, against me and mine?

To get anything like a parallel case here, we would have to imagine my killing the invader of my home whether such killing was necessary or not for purposes of protection; then killing his family and friends, his acquaintances and neighbors, all the inhabitants of his village; and keeping on with this work of murder and rapine until I had sated my lust for revenge, and extorted reparations to soothe my injured feelings, and incidentally line my purse. But we do not have to imagine a horror of this kind for we have it right with us in the actual conduct of modern nations. What happens when a missionary is assailed in a remote portion of the world, or an Italian boundary commissioner set upon in Greece, or an Austrian archduke assassinated in Bosnia? Armies are mobilized, artillery unlimbered, ships of war set in motion, battles fought, cities burned, harvest fields destroyed, women raped, and with their children driven homeless into unfamiliar places, men murdered by the thousands, or, in the case of the arch-duke, by the millions. This is war! But what has it to do with the duty of those associated with the missionary or the arch-duke, or a woman attacked, to intervene with force against assailants, and to pursue and punish these assailants if they are successful in their assault? The two things have nothing to do with one another.

India in Western Films

Cinema films are one of the means by which India is degraded in the eyes of foreigners. Writing on this subject, *Industrial and Trade Review for India* observes:—

In our issue of February 1st we pointed out the danger to us from these films that only show either the gorgeous jewelry of the Princes which is perpetuating the fiction in Europe that India is a very rich country, or, on the other hand, the most disgusting and depraved scenes of dirt and bar-

barism in order to justify the present system of European imperialism and Christian missions. We are glad to find that our view is shared by a German writer in the *Reichsfilmblatt*, the official organ of the Association of German Cinematograph Theatre Owners, in which the writer quotes our *Review* and asks:

Will the Emelka dare to give us a picture of the real India? If it does it will have a mission to fulfil. But it will then have to struggle with many obstacles of which the ordinary German has not the least idea. At the very moment when the Emelka wishes to produce the projected film as a film of the real India, its permission to travel in India will be cancelled. Automatically the English order will come into operation by which no German can enter the Dominion—except missionaries."

There is not the least doubt that the political difficulties referred to by this German writer play a considerable part in affecting the actions of those Germans who have hitherto received permission to go to India for the production of films. Among them may be mentioned Dr. Willi Wolff, of the Ellen Richter Film Co., who was recently in India and is now exhibiting in Germany a film entitled "A Flight Around the World", in which certain scenes are shown to which objection may be taken.

One of the scenes which Dr. Wolff asserts was taken in India, shows a woman cleaning her nose with her finger. Undoubtedly such scenes occur in India, as indeed they occur also in Berlin. But instead of regarding this as a mere incident in the entire picture, this particular scene is dwelt on and one cannot avoid the impression that it is done with disparaging intention. Another picture which, however, was taken in Berlin, and in which a German comic actor dressed in Indian clothes, figures in a railway scene in India, shows how an Indian railway official kicked this alleged Indian with the remark "Coloured men at the back", while on the other hand, he displays servility towards two Europeans. There is also another scene in which a woman is engaged in the act of removing lice from the head of a child, in a railway compartment. Dr. Wolff's defence is that these scenes were intended as jokes! And, further that he had shown good pictures of scenery which he regarded as good propaganda for India! He also made the very significant remark to his Indian interviewer, "Your Government in Calcutta helped us very willingly and thanked us", to which the Indian very rightly replied.

"But that is not an Indian government... We have no Government of our own."

It would take up too much space to describe the many films of a similar character in which nothing but disgust can be aroused against Indians, but almost the entire American and European film world is guilty of this unpardonable crime. In the case of Germans, such actions are particularly inexplicable for surely they have sufficient experience of lying Anglo-Saxon War propaganda about their barbarism, their brutality, and their "Unkultur", to be able to sympathise with the feelings of other insulted nations.

"The Little Clay Cart"

Mricchakatika or "The Little Clay Cart" is being played in the Neighborhood Play-

house, New York, in an English version. "Its theme is of all times and all nations, and the ancient Hindu conventions with which it is played simply make it the more delightful." *The Woman Citizen* also informs us that "the play is so popular that only standing room is sold night after night."

A Woman Inventor.

The same journal states:—

VASSAR'S INVENTOR

Taisia Stadnichenko, instructor in chemistry at Vassar College, has brought fame to herself by the invention of a micro-thermal furnace which will eliminate much waste in oil refining. This furnace makes possible an accurate observation of the disintegration of petroleum, enabling scientists to determine the exact nature of the byproducts formed—a feat scientists had declared impossible.

The National Research Council has granted Miss Stadnichenko \$7,000 to continue her research in Washington.

The Present Economic Condition of Germany.

M. Ludovic Naudeau writes in *L'Illustration*:

Let me cite a few facts bearing on this point.

Before the war Germany consumed annually 150,000 tons of copper. To-day she uses 250,000 tons. The number of unemployed is constantly decreasing. Strikes are rare. Savings-banks deposits are rising. In Berlin alone they amounted to 11,370,000 gold marks in October and 13,400,000 gold marks in December. The new savings accounts opened in that city during a single month were 6251. The number of failures is rapidly diminishing. There have been marked reductions in the prices of coal, gas, electricity, and in railway freights and postal charges. The salaries of civil servants have been raised. Liberal pensions are paid to ex-army officers. For example, Ludendorff receives 17,600 gold marks a year. A captain's pension is 4000 marks. This is equivalent to 18,000 francs, or exactly the maximum pension that we pay to our retired ambassadors. Simultaneously taxes are being reduced. For example, the sales tax has been successively cut from two and one half per cent to two per cent, then to one and one half per cent, and now—since January 1, 1925—to one per cent. The amount of coal mined in the Ruhr is at least as large as it was before the war. In 1913 the quantity raised was slightly over 9,602,000 tons. During the first ten months of 1924 it was 9,265,000 tons. Meanwhile there has been a considerable increase in the coal output of Upper Silesia. We witness the same prosperity in foreign trade. To cite one illustration, in 1913 Germany's exports to Argentina were valued at 61,000,000 gold pesos; in 1924 they passed 80,000,000 pesos.

Recollections of Tennyson.

Willingham Franklin Rawnsley has contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* and *After* some delightful recollections of Tennyson from which a few bits are culled below:

I should like to have written that. The sound of a line of poetry (for poetry, to be fully understood, should be read aloud) was very much to him and he certainly was unmatched in his use of vowels and in the melody of his verse. In speaking of Browning, he once said to me; 'I don't think that poetry should be *all thought*: there should be some melody'; and he carried his objection to a jingle so far that when, after publishing his first four *Idylls of the King*, he learned that 'Enid' was properly pronounced 'Ennid,' he changed his line beginning 'Had wedded Enid' to 'Had married Enid,' the jingle of 'wedded Ennid' was to his ear quite impossible. He instanced to me as fine-sounding lines and some of his best (and he made them all the finer by his magnificent way of rolling them out) the lines about the burial of Elaine:—

The maiden buried, not as one unknown

Nor meanly, but with gorgeous obsequies

And mass and rolling music like a queen.

I might add that Wordsworth said of Tennyson; 'I have been trying all my life to write a poem like his "Dora," but in vain.' It is pleasant to hear words of genuine praise from one real poet of another, and Tennyson spoke from his heart when he said: 'Read the exquisite songs of Burns, each perfect as a berry and radiant as a dewdrop. There never was an immortal poet if he be not one'; while of Keats he said to me: 'If Keats had lived he would have been the first of us all.'

The *Four Idylls of the King*, which came out in 1859, gave us a fine poetic rendering of the version of Malory, but about the *Holy Grail* volume, which was published in 1869, Tennyson wrote to my father: 'I send you my new volume. Arthur is mystic, and no mere British prince, as I dare say you will find out: Arthur is the soul.' The poet pointed out to me that an idyll was only a picture, but he was very particular that it should be pronounced 'idyll,' as the Greek word from which it is derived.

He said: 'A poet's work should be done by the time he is sixty. If I am to do anything more it must be in the next six years.' I replied that the best play of Sophocles was written when he was seventy; and as a matter of fact, in spite of his age, the next twenty years saw the production of no less than eleven new volumes.

He lived three years after the *Demeter* volume came out. The Tennysons were a long-lived family. Frederick gave me his last volume, *Poems of the Day and Year*, written when he was ninety. Cecilia lived to be ninety-two, and I talked with Matilda when she was ninety-eight, when I said, 'I suppose you get out for a drive on fine days?' she replied with some spirit, 'I go out everyday for a walk and take the dog.'

Some of his best stories were told him by his neighbor in the Isle of Wight.

Most generous of all Ultramontanes Ward, and he liked to hear them over again.

"Tell me again," he said to me, 'that story of the two Irishmen.' It was this, and told to me as a fact by an old pupil of mine living in West Meath:—

"Two men asleep in one room were roused by

an alarm of fire. One hastily pulled on his trousers, wrong side foremost, and jumped out of window. The other, more cautious, shouted from the window:—

'Pat! Are ye kilt entirely?'

'No. I'm not kilt entirely, but—looking down on the bulge of his trousers in front of him—I'm fearfully twisted.'

He spoke of Gladstone and how he had ventured to remonstrate with him on his attitude toward Canale, saying, 'But if you follow a course like that, you will have the colonies cut themselves adrift'; and Gladstone answered, 'I wish to God they would.' Tennyson thought such an attitude for a great statesman was quite incredible, and vehemently disagreed with him. Times and opinions have indeed changed since then! We could not find Browning's letter; but, sitting side by side on his big sofa, we had much interesting converse, and I having thoughtlessly used the only too common adjective 'awful,' he reproached me with, 'You have used that word twice, and I can't bear it.' I said, 'Yes, but I have used it each time in its proper sense; still, I admit I had better not have used it at all.'

He was very sensitive to criticism, but always took his wife's opinion as final.

He complained to me: 'The critics won't allow me any imagination. They take a line like "Moanings of the homeless sea" and say: "Moanings," Horace; "homeless," Shelley," and so on. But of course the same things are seen in all ages, and naturally described in the same language. In my last volume, in "The Progress of Spring" I said, "The startling claps his tiny castanets." The other day I saw it in a recent novel. They will say I borrowed it, and I wrote that line fifty years ago; but they won't believe that.' Another real dread he had was the being made into a school book, and he appealed to me as a school-master: 'Don't let them do that. The boys will hate me.'

Electoral Reform and Organized Christianity in England.

The second article on electoral reform and organized Christianity in England appears in the March number of *Political Science Quarterly*. We can make room for only one extract.

The attitude of the "High Church Party," concerned in the "Oxford Movement", to the liberalism of post-Reform Bill days, is set forth clearly in a tract published in 1840, wherein most of the reform schemes of the period are ascribed to the devil's efforts to bring about an apostasy of the Church of Christ. The tract contains such paragraphs as the following.

"He promises you civil liberty; he promises you equality; he promises you trade and wealth; he promises you remission of taxes; he promises you Reform. This is the way he conceals from you the kind of work to which he is putting you. He demands you to rail against your rulers and superiors.....he offers you knowledge, science, philosophy, enrichment of mind. He scoffs at times gone by: he scoffs at every institution which reveres them." (*Tracts for the Times*, no. 83, pp. 13 and 14.)

These "vain promises" were said to be characteristic of the "times of Anti-Christ" to which the Oxford Movement was unalterably opposed.

Prospects of Republicanism in Turkey.

Mr. Edward Mead Earle remarks in the same quarterly that "war or the threat of war has been a powerful motivating force in the accomplishment of so-called 'reform' in Turkey." He then lays bare the causes which led to the "reforms" in 1856, 1876, and 1908.

In each of these cases the progressives of Turkey were liberals in their desire to introduce Western standards of administration into a tottering imperial regime, nationalists in their desire to achieve reform before it was forced upon them.

There are certain distinctive differences, however, between the present republican reform in Turkey and former half-hearted reforms in the Ottoman Empire. The revolt of Mustapha Kemal against the Allies was not, like the shifty maneuvers of Abdul Hamid or the precipitate acts of the Young Turks, designed to maintain Turkish hegemony in non-Turkish territory; it was primarily concerned with preserving a Turkish homeland against Pan-Hellenistic expansion and Allied imperialism. Under the Sultans and to a lesser degree under the Young Turks the passion for reform waned as foreign pressure became less severe; under Mustapha Kemal the most significant revolutionary changes—namely, establishment of the republic, abolition of the Caliphate, and adoption of a democratic constitution—came after a signal victory at Smyrna and a conspicuous diplomatic victory at Lausanne, when foreign intervention was little to be feared. Before the war "reform" in Turkey, as elsewhere, was interpreted in a narrowly political sense, so that the forms of liberalism were mistaken for the substance of racial progress; the new regime in Turkey is founded upon fundamental reforms, such as the separation of Church and State, of which the constitution is but a necessary expression. The edicts of 1856 and 1876 were administered under the tender mercies of a reactionary, incompetent and corrupt bureaucracy, and the constitution of 1908 fell victim to an unscrupulous triumvirate; the present constitution has an even chance, at least, of being carried out by men who are admittedly inexperienced, but who seek to divorce themselves from Byzantinism and evil Ottoman traditions.

The writer adds:

Whatever may be the ultimate fate of the constitution and of the republic, a new social and economic order has been established in Turkey. Fifteen years of almost uninterrupted war—with their concomitants of disease, famine and massacres have dealt a blow to the productive man-power of the nation which cannot be overcome without the introduction of agricultural and other machinery. The exigencies of war assisted in the emancipation of women from many of their former disabilities and compelled, as in other countries, a re-adjustment in the relationships between the sexes. The massacre and deportation of hundreds

of thousands of Greeks and Armenians have stripped the country of most of its intelligent and prosperous middle class, whose place will be taken but slowly by Turks lacking in education and experience. The forcible detachment of the non-Turkish portions of the Empire should divert to economic channels much of the intelligence and energy which formerly was dissipated in the maintenance of excessive military forces and a far-flung civil administration. It is as difficult to conceive the return to Turkey of the Osman dynasty and the Ottoman system as it is to imagine the return to Russia of the Romanovs and their Tsarist regime.

British Snobbery in Science.

A rumpus—albeit a rumpus of the decorous scientific sort—has been stirred up in England by the news that the Prince of Wales has accepted the presidency of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which is to hold its 1926 meeting in Oxford. The British Association is, as

everybody knows, one of the most famous scientific organizations in the world, and the annual address of its President is always looked forward to as one of the important scientific pronouncements of the year. Almost invariably, therefore, the President has been a scientific man of great eminence.

Among the few exceptions have been the Prince's great-grandfather, Prince Albert, who presided over the Association on its Aberdeen meeting in 1859. At another Oxford meeting Lord Salisbury presided. However, these noblemen were not quite in the same position as the Prince of Wales. Prince Albert had some scientific pretensions, however mild. Lord Salisbury, assisted by Lord Rayleigh, actually did write and deliver a scientific lecture. The Prince of Wales, however, knows nothing of atoms and electrons, or fossils or insects or anything of the sort, and pretends to know nothing.

Consequently, controversies rage between one school of scientific men who have a fine old crusty distaste for amateurs, and the other party, which has a very British and very human liking for princes.

—*The Living Age.*

THE MAN WHO SAVED IRELAND : LIFE ROMANCE OF GENERAL RICHARD MULCAHY (II)*

By St. NIHAL SINGH

I

UPON the conclusion of the Anglo-Irish Agreement of December 6, 1921, General Mulcahy, then Chief-of-Staff of the Irish Republican Army, found himself in an exceedingly difficult position. He knew that that instrument did not give his people all they demanded but it did give them the freedom to reconstruct Ireland according to their own wishes, and to manage their affairs (excepting coastal defence) without let or hindrance from any outsider. He further knew that the British Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George) had openly threatened to resume the Anglo-Irish war and to prosecute it to the bitter end if the Irish delegates did not append their signatures to the document which was placed before them as representing the utmost the British would give. If the treaty was not ratified Britain would have no option but

to carry out that threat as it afterwards transpired, a scheme for raising 100,000 men for the purpose of crushing the Irish rebels had actually been framed. If war eventuated, he, as the chief technical executive of the Army, would be called upon to organise such fighting strength as was left in the nation to continue the conflict.

In the estimation of Mulcahy—the man who could speak on these matters with greater authority than perhaps anyone else in the Sinn Fein ranks—his people had not come quite to the end of their military resources: they could easily have carried on the struggle for a time. We knew, however, that the ability to remain steadfast and to show confidence is any policy which the small band of men who were directing affairs might choose to frame was not inexhaustible. If, instead of clinching with the offer which the Treaty contained they insisted upon entering upon another period of struggle which, once begun, might drag on for a long time, he was apprehensive that a

* The first article appeared in the *Modern Review* for November, 1924.

serious breakdown might occur in the moral of the people, or of their representatives which, *even if it were only partial, would be disastrous*, and there might even be a serious revulsion against persons who had laid themselves open to the charge of being "irreconcilables."



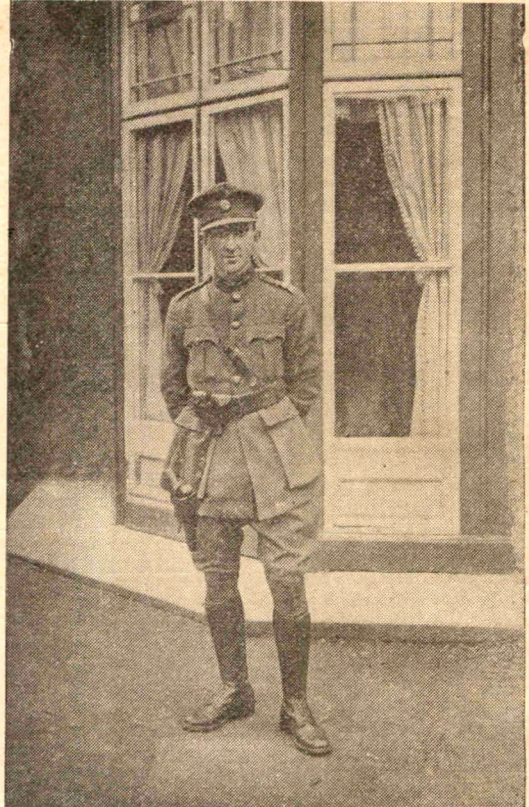
Mr. Erskine Childers, one of the "Irregular" leaders, executed by the Free State authorities

In order to ascertain the actual position, Mulcahy, a few days after the signing of the Treaty, put to De Valera who still continued to be the President of Saorstát Éireann (the Irish Republic) this proposition:

Ordinarily the General charged with responsibility for war should be clear not only as to the military policy to be pursued, but he should also know something of the political forces that were going to be at play in the situation in which military action really formed only a part. Such knowledge was very desirable in the case of an officer commanding forces which had the element of a military success in them. It was infinitely

more important in the case of one who accepted the responsibility for war with a machine which did not contain the elements of a purely military success.

Mulcahy submitted to De Valera his opinion as to the capacity of the available forces for military activity and operations, as he clearly saw that they had not the elements of a purely military success in them. Having



General Richard Mulcahy, outside his home, Lisbonfield House, near the Portobello Barracks, Dub in

done so, he asked what the plan was upon which general political operations were to be carried out, of which, obviously, the military operations were only to be a part.

De Valera declined to discuss that matter on that occasion and at no time subsequently would he discuss it.

II

Mulcahy's ideas on the Treaty were quite clear. "While it did not concede to us all that we demanded," he said in talking with me, "it did give us absolute control over our national resources, absolute control over our administration, absolute control over the making of our laws dealing with the



General Mulcahy and General Hogan raising the Tricolour upon taking over "Collins Barracks", Dublin, from the British

utilisation of our resources—for the building up of our country. It took the Englishman out of Ireland's business and, therefore, out of a position in which friction was inevitable between the Englishman and the Irishman. We realised the possibility of being absolutely friendly with the English people as distinct from English officials who interfered with our business.

"In this respect," Mulcahy continued, "I am reminded of Thomas Francis Meagher's narrative of his penal voyage to Tasmania. He had just escaped the gallows at the hands of English officials here in Ireland at the time he wrote:

'As for the officers, they were fine, generous, gallant fellows. Owing to the restrictions imposed by the Home Office our intercourse with them, as you may easily suppose, was extremely limited, but limited as it was, we were soon led to conceive the truest esteem for them. England may well feel proud as long as she has such brave, upright noble hearts to serve her. Their frank, generous, warm nature, their manly, gallant bearing form a striking contrast indeed to the cold, cramped rigidity of some of the officials here.'

That talk showed to me that Mulcahy was not an "irreconcilable"—that he was not a hater of the British—only a lover of his own people—that the motive spring of his life was not venom for the alien, but devotion to his own country. He wished to deprive the British of the control they had acquired over Irish affairs; but having done

so, he desired to live in peace—and, if possible, in friendliness—with them, his next door neighbours.

Realising the disaster which would result from an internecine fight, Mulcahy sought to find a way by which the factions into which the Treaty had split the active Sinn Féin workers could be made to sink their differences and form a "joint plan of co-operation". After a fortnight's vain effort, he intervened, on December 12, 1921 in the debate on the Treaty which had commenced in the Dail on the 14th instant idem, and spoke his mind plainly. "None of us" said he, "want this treaty. None of us want the Crown. None of us want the representative of the Crown. None of us want our harbours occupied

by enemy forces; none of us want what is said to be partition and we want no arguments against any of these things."

An alternative to that Treaty was, however, necessary, Mulcahy emphasised. Much had been said about a document (officially known as Document No. 2) which had been put forward by the President at a secret session of the Dail, and to which he permitted no direct reference during the public debates until such time as he chose to introduce it in such form as suited him. He personally saw no alternative to the acceptance of this Treaty. That instrument secured to Ireland the control in Ireland with full executive and administrative powers, and the Executive in Ireland responsible to that control." He asked his fellow-Deputies.

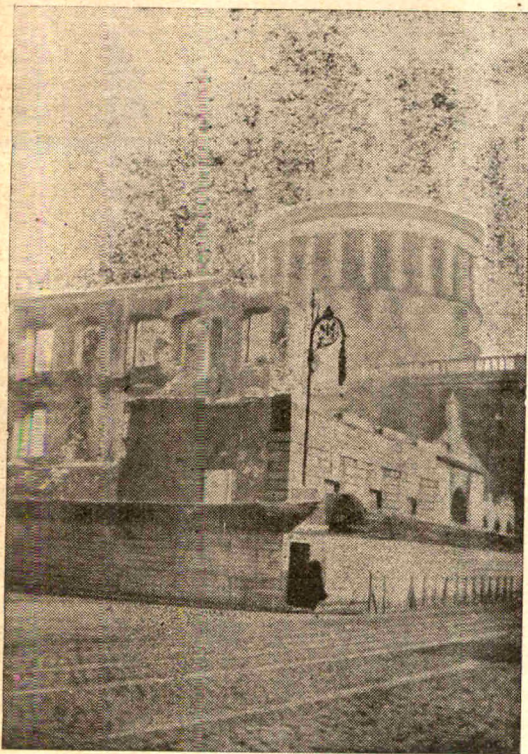
"Are we going to choose, in the next onward march of this nation, the weapons which will give us dead in our country the Crompton-Smiths of England and the Potters of Ireland; or, are we going to take our own resources and grow to manhood, in friendliness and with some chance of avoiding that polarisation of mind and polarisation in antagonisms with the English people that we have been forced into at the present time?"

This fine appeal was lost upon De Valera and his anti-Treaty colleagues. On January 7, 1923, when the Division was taken, 64 Deputies (including Mulcahy) voted in favour of the ratification, and 57 against it. On the 10th idem, Arthur Griffith was elected President, and nominated Mulcahy as the Minister

for Defence, in addition to continuing as the Chief of Staff.

III

Within a month of the ratification of the Treaty and the setting up of the Provisional Government, the evacuation of the British troops began. The Beggar's Bush Barracks (in a Dublin suburb) were taken over on Feb-



The Four Courts, the handsomest structure in Ireland, after bombardment by Free State guns to dislodge the Irregulars who had made it their stronghold, and who, on leaving, completed the work of destruction by exploding a mine under the building.

ruary 1, 1922. Some fifty men, led by Captain Patrick Daly with Lieutenants Joe Leonard and Patrick O' Connor—many of whom had taken part in the Rebellion of Easter, 1916—marched through streets lined with a cheering excited throng to the Barracks and relieved the British of their first military stronghold in the capital.

"Did the British impose any conditions?" I asked the General on one occasion.

"There were no conditions of any kind," he replied. "It would not have been reasonable for the British to impose any. When we took over any barracks for occupation, their responsibility ceased and ours began". Soldiers

who were opposed to the Treaty managed to take some of the barracks over from the British and dug themselves in—particularly in southern and south-western Ireland. In mid-summer, when the differences between the opposing wings of Sinn Féin culminated in the bombardment of the Four Courts in Dublin and the destruction of that noble structure, the finest in Ireland, and almost immediately the flames of internecine warfare flared up in the country. They constituted a perplexing problem for Free State.

IV

Hardly had the campaign opened when General Collins, Head of the Provisional Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Free State Army, was shot dead not far from his birth-place in county Cork and the responsibility of saving the life of the new State fell upon Mulcahy. In the oration which he delivered at the grave-side of his friend and co-worker he revealed his own soul. He said in Gaelic:

"Unless the grain of corn that falls into the ground dies, there is nothing but itself in it, but if it dies it gives forth fruit."

That sentence, containing the quintessence of Gaelic civilisation—of all civilisation—constitutes the corner-stone of Mulcahy's philosophy and is the lodestar of his life. Without such a philosophy to inspire him he could not have carried to a successful conclusion a campaign directed against his former comrades. Only a highly-developed sense of stern duty could give a man the determination to take action which, in another circumstance, would nauseate him.

The military problem, in itself, was highly complicated. Some of the best Army officers had "gone irregular"—a significant phase, characteristic of the Irish genius—and taken away with them nearly all the best soldiers. They had not only managed to occupy some of the best barracks in the country, but had succeeded in effectively arming themselves by plundering a British vessel which under an insufficient guard, was carrying large quantities of arms, ammunition and equipment out of Cork Harbour. The Free State had to improvise an Army, as also to import and to distribute arms, ammunition, and general equipment, before it could operate against the "irregulars" who held the country south and west of a line drawn from Waterford to Limerick.

The military problem was, however, complicated by other causes. The anti-Treatyites

looked upon the men who remained faithful to the Dail as renegades. Some of them did not hesitate on December 7, 1922, to open fire upon the Deputy-Speaker (Padraic O'Maille) and Deputy Sean Hales, while they were riding in an open car near the quays in Dublin on their way to attend the Assembly. The latter died up on the spot, while the former lay for months in hospital and survived only because he possessed a powerful frame.* The evening newspapers of the next day announced that four of the "irregular" prisoners in the hands of the military—Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Joseph McKeley and Richard Barrett—had been executed in Mountjoy Jail that morning "as a reprisal."

As the Minister for Defence who had to sign these warrants which authorised these executions, Mulcahy explained to the Dail, on December 8th, reasons which had prompted him to take such drastic action. "The action that has taken place" he declared, has not taken place because a man "has been assassinated whom we held in honour," but "because forces more vicious, more insidious" was striking "against representative Government in Ireland" than any employed by the British. After disclosing the fact that the Speaker of the Dail had received a threatening letter from "the armed leader of the destructive forces in Ireland" and referring feelingly to the assassination which had taken place the previous day, he pointed out that the fabric of Government rested on the Deputies elected by the people "to design their laws and to regulate their lives." The Army Council "responsible for their safety to the people" was determined to see that "the representatives of the people can meet here in council, can walk through the country freely and unmolestedly and discharge to the people the very onerous and responsible duties that the people have put on them." Exceptional and drastic

action had been taken because the assassination of Deputy Hales was the beginning of a policy on the other side to finish off the Dail. He then continued:

"If, when our work is done, we do leave as a result of it an Irish people behind us, they may blame us, if they wish, for any stains, alleged, that our actions leave on the fair name of our country or on what were our own fair names, but we shall leave an Irish people behind us. In recommending to the Government that this morning's action should be taken, we did not



The late Army Council of the Irish Free State. The figures from left to right are: Gen. McMahon, General Mulcahy, Lt. Gen. O'Hegarty, Lt. Gen. O'Sullivan, and Lt. Gen. O'Muirthuille

recommend that the lives of men should be taken who had nothing to do with the policy that was being pursued to-day. We did not recommend that action be taken as a punishment or action as vengeance, or that action be taken in anger, or that action be taken under temptation. We have too long borne the responsibilities that are on us to give way to such temptation. We have too long held our hands and our hearts and our minds sacrificially in the flame, like the warrior of old and gone steadily and straightforwardly through our duties, to act in anger, to know very much about temptation. The action that was taken this morning was taken as a deterrent action—taken to secure that this country shall not be destroyed and thrown into chaos by the toleration of any group of men acting together for the destruction, one by one, or in groups, of those single representative people that are the keystone of our Government and of our society here." (The italics are mine.)

There spoke a man who possessed the will to dare anything—to do anything—no matter how difficult, dangerous or repellent,

* For further particulars the reader is referred to the author's article entitled, "The Dail or the Irish House of Commons," in the August issue of this Review.

so long as he believed it was required of him to save his people. That is the quality of which heroes and martyrs are made—that is the quality which enabled Mulcahy to win through the period of the Anglo-Irish war and the internecine struggle.

That policy has, however, given offence to many persons—exposed him to severe criticism, especially from that section of the people who do not see eye to eye with him politically, and who accuse him of breaking the pledge he had solemnly given to keep the Army "Republican." The executions horrified the people in general, and left a bitter memory behind. "Fight, Mulcahy! Don't murder", ran an inscription crudely painted in large letters on the wall surrounding Trinity College, Dublin. Those words accurately reflected the attitude of a considerable section of the community.

V

By the time (December 16, 1923) I arrived in Ireland, Mulcahy, aided by capable and loyal officers and men, had practically finished the latter job. Armed resistance to the Free State had broken down completely. Open fighting had ceased. The "Irregulars" had given in or had taken to the hills and were "on the run". With the exception of a few places in the south and south-west, the military had handed over the responsibility of maintaining peace to the *Garda Síochána*, the civic guard, organised on a purely civilian basis, to take the place of the semi-military police maintained during the British regime.

Mulcahy, at the time of my arrival, was engaged in demobilising the Army. It was, however, necessary to carry through the work of weeding out men, who, though quite useful in a time of crisis, were not good enough for a standing army, and particularly of sending away men who had held high rank, or of reducing them in rank, either because they were not fit for the rank they held, or the necessity for doing so had disappeared. It hurt materially—and what was still worse, it hurt the pride of the persons affected. It was, therefore, bound to rouse human passions. In the peculiar circumstance in which the country was placed, owing to the dislocation of economic life and the consequent unemployment which prevailed, it whipped up a storm.

The need of the nation was, however, undeniable. The cost incurred upon putting down the Civil War had exceeded £28,000,000.

The reparation which would have to be made for the destruction to life and property would amount to as much or more, and would cripple the present generation.

Impelled by this goad, Mulcahy reduced the Army from 50,000 to about 13,000 officers and men. When his reorganisation scheme had gone through fully, the standing army would for a time be 15,000 strong, and would cost about £3,000,000, a year.

Just when task was nearing completion, a group of officers who had been opposed to Mulcahy's policy and programme mutinied. The Minister for Defence and Commander-in-Chief suddenly found his hands tied in dealing with the matter, by dissensions in the inner circle of the Government (the Executive Council).

The crisis involved his own resignation, that of another Member of that Council (the Minister for Industry and Commerce), and the retirement, forced or otherwise, of the three members of the Army Council and many officers, some of them holding high rank. The President assumed, for the time being, the Military portfolio, General Eoin O'Duffy, was placed in supreme command as the General Officer Commanding the Forces, and Major-General (raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General) Paedár MacMahon, was appointed the Chief of Staff.

The explosion which removed Mulcahy from office served also to demonstrate how well he had done his work. The fabric which he had built held together, though shaken to its foundation. The Army, instead of breaking up into factions, or seeking to usurp power by a *Coup d'Etat*, remained true to the civil authority and silently accepted the changes inaugurated in the higher direction.

VI

As a private member of the Dail Mulcahy stands perhaps even higher in the estimation of his fellows than he did as an Executive Councillor. He has not permitted a single word about the late crisis to escape his lips which would show that he had been embittered or was thinking of himself even for a moment—his thought, at any rate the thoughts to which he has given expression, have invariably been of others—his former colleagues, and above all, of the nation. Though still belonging to the Government Party he is a formidable critic of the men in power.

Freedom from responsibility which he shouldered for ten years without break,

except such as was afforded by incarceration in prison and the internment camp, will give General Mulcahy's mind and body a measure of rest which they should have had long ago. He has, for the first time in years, a little leisure to spend with his family and friends, who until recently saw practically nothing of him. With his wife and four children (Padraig, 4, Elizabeth 3, Risteard 2 and Maire 4 months) he still lives at Lissonfield House, where I first saw him, though the Military Guard is no longer at the gate to challenge anyone who seeks to enter.

VII

I often wonder what Mulcahy's future will be. That he has a great contribution to make to the progress of his people, I have not the least doubt. In what capacity, however, military or civil?

If Mulcahy has further opportunity of guiding the destinies of the Irish Army, he will, I am sure, accomplish great good. His ideas on military training and organisation are unique. In conversing with me late one evening he frankly told me that he knew very little of general military science in so far as it was a thing divorced from his native intelligence and common sense. He possessed books of various sizes and descriptions relating to military matters—yes, books had gathered round him in various ways. They were written by ambitious men who had made a thorough study of the problems with which they were dealing. He had found, however, that for his people, whose problems were on their own doorstep, and were very pressing, their range was too far and too wide and, therefore, they were much too absorbing and seductive, so much so, indeed, that ordinary military books had the effect of blunting men's minds to the simple problems of life. For the simple tactics that alone could be effective for the type of warfare carried on in Ireland he and his colleagues had set themselves to produce a small series of books, each running into 30 or 50 small octavo pages, and embodying cardinal points of common sense to be read and re-read until fully mastered. He attached great importance to a somewhat thorough

mathematical education, tending, as he said, in the "straight line" direction, Euclid, Mechanics, Graphic Statics, and Machine Drawing, seemed to him to be an adequate substitute for the study of military science.

A man with such ideas is needed to superintend the military organisation of a small nation which does not possess the possibility—practically unlimited resources in men and money—to carry on such organisation on the elaborate basis evolved by Sandhurst and other similar institutions.

For my own part, I should like to see Mulcahy at work developing the potential wealth of the country. He has a constructive type of mind—possesses a magnetic personality and the driving power which enable a man to get things done. His speeches in the Dail and his talks with me, have convinced me that if his ideas in regard to



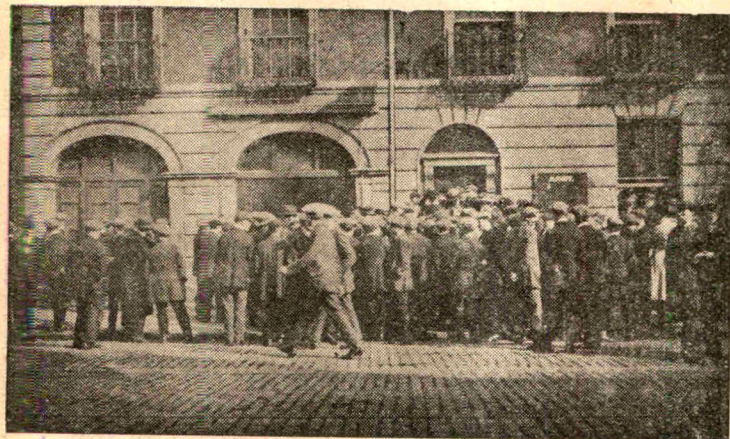
Funeral Procession of General Michael Collins, Killed in Ambush by the Irregulars in 1922.

[Photo by courtesy of Dr. H. G. Smith, Dublin.]

the improvement and extension of communications, arterial drainage, and the reconditioning of agriculture and industry, were carried out, the unemployed in Ireland could be easily absorbed, and the way paved for Irish prosperity.

Two years ago, Mulcahy, then serving as the Minister for Defence and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, submitted to the Dail a scheme of development which, if adopted, even in a modified form, might have prevented the Army crisis by absorbing the soldiers as they were demobilised, and would, in any case, have done the country an incalculable amount of lasting good. He proposed that the country should be divided into zones, and a

survey made of the economic improvement needed and of the number of unemployed to be absorbed in each zone. Attention should be directed particularly to reconditioning the roads and building better ones, in his opinion, for roads radiating from the important ports to various parts of the country, and a number of other trunk roads, were especially needed. Provision for housing was also an urgent necessity, because he feared that "better wages and greater leisure on the part of the workers with bad housing may give rise to as serious a situation of social unrest as bad hours or bad wages. He further suggested the carrying out of important works to train rivers and drain low-lying, boggy land, and thereby bring waste or practically waste areas under tillage.



Recruiting for the Free State Army at Recruiting Headquarters, Great Brunswick Street, Dublin.

[Photo by Courtesy of Dr. H. G. Smith Dublin.

These schemes, Mulcahy pointed out, would soon pay for themselves. That was particularly the case in regard to roads, the money spent upon which, he believed, would be saved to the country in two or three years, even if the saving only came about through doing away with the expensive motor repairs falling upon the traders. As to drainage, it was proposed to drain a particular area in accordance with a scheme worked out by the Agricultural Department several years before—a scheme which would put money into the pockets of the people.

The speeches which Mulcahy made in the course of the debates on the Budget estimates this year, particularly the estimates of the Education Department, were exceedingly suggestive in nature. On one occasion he

asked his fellow-Deputies not to be stingy in fixing the scale of pay of teachers, especially those in the secondary schools. To show them the folly of making £200 per annum the minimum pay, he compiled a long list of persons who earned as much or more. The list included draughtsmen, electricians, bricklayers, cabinet-makers, carpenters, joiners, coach-builders, plumbers, gas-fitters, plasterers, bakers, table hands, oven men, butchers, switch board attendants, tin-smiths, sail-makers, tent makers, and upholsterers. "You are starting off," he warned the Deputies, "whatever may be said about what as done in the past, or whatever may be said about what led up to the present situation here...with new hands upon the educational system, and a new outlook and new hopes. You

want to attract the young men leaving the universities to the ranks of the secondary teachers' profession. I think it would be unfair in the start that we hope to make now, that there should be fixed simply a scale of salaries without any reference to pensions."

On another occasion Mulcahy suggested that the Education Department should "set up a special establishment for training teachers, coming from districts where, despite British efforts, Irish was still a living language, through the medium of that language, so that they would serve as leaven in the general mass of the people. He was anxious to prove

that it was possible to bring to the task of teaching the young, highly educated men and women who had received their training and education through the medium of the Irish language, and who had the self-confidence and poise and full and proper expression that teachers who deserve to be called teachers should have. He believed that if something definite was not done to rear up young teachers in an absolutely Irish atmosphere, they were neglecting a most important matter "judged from the abstract and comparative point of view."

The plea which Mulcahy made on still another occasion for assigning to physical culture its true place in the scheme of education and making adequate arrangements for such teaching, rang with sincerity and earnest-

ness. "At a time when we have our own police forces and our own army machine," he said, "I think that a little consultation with the Police or the Army authorities, and a little consideration of the position in their training schools on the part of the Minister, could provide for systematic physical training in the schools." With assistance and guidance of the Irish physical instructors in the Irish police and Army forces, a systematic effort could be made to deal with gymnastics

and physical education in the primary schools, with resultant reactions on the health of the people.

A man of such versatility and genius, of high national ideals, possessing tireless energy and great driving force, can be put to almost any national task which may be crying out to be performed. A nation which can produce such a man has cause to feel secure in regard to its future.

NOTES

Earl Winterton on Assam.

Earl Winterton has taken credit in the House of Commons for the great improvement that has taken place in Assam during the past four years with regard to the reduction of opium consumption. This is unfair. The consumption of opium during the years 1875-1920 only very slightly varied according to the yield of the harvest, or the opium consumption in 1920 was about the same as that in 1875. To give credit to the Government for the reduction of 875 the consumption was 1748. In 1920 it was 1748. He said that Mahatma Gandhi had after the effect of the

Non-co-operation movement was felt, the consumption has gone down so rapidly and steadily that today it stands at 884 maunds. That is to say, it is today only half what it was 5 years ago. But the chief credit for this is surely due to the Non-co-operation movement, which the Government did its utmost to suppress by sending nearly one thousand workers to jail for picketing the opium shops.

C. F. A.

The Government's Breach of Faith.

The American delegate at Geneva declared as clearly and pointedly as he possibly could, that the British Government had been guilty of a breach of faith with regard to the Hague Convention of 1912 relating to the opium traffic. Lord Robert Cecil complained bitterly of this accusation which he said was 'very wounding indeed'. The American delegation went still further and charged the British Government with sordid financial reasons for not keeping to their contract. Lord Robert Cecil said that if a private individual had talked to him in such a tone as that, he would have nothing more to do with him, and urged the American delegate to withdraw his wounding accusation, but



Opium Smoking in Assam

the Americans did nothing of the kind. They continued to assume that Great Britain had neither fulfilled its obligation under the Hague Convention, nor was it really intending to do so. At last, when a simple proposal, that within 15 years opium smoking should be suppressed at Singapore and other places, was rejected by Lord Robert Cecil, America withdrew from the Conference under orders from President Coolidge. This situation is told in the plainest possible language in the report of the proceedings of the Geneva Conference, which is now at hand. How far the American position is justified may

be seen from the article which is printed in this number of the MODERN REVIEW. A further point has recently been brought forward to justify the British position. It is stated that the Hague Convention was never finally ratified before the European War, and that during the European war nobody ever thought much about it. Therefore, the writer states, a technical breach of the Hague Convention has never been committed. But this argument is the argument of a man of business using hard business methods, and not the argument of a statesman and a humanitarian. Great Britain professed in the loudest possible terms at the Hague Convention, that she was

actuated by the highest considerations of humanity in her opium policy in the Far East. Those who are thus actuated by humanity, and humanity alone, do not use quibbles, or stick merely to the letter of a solemn engagement, without keeping the spirit of it. They go at once beyond the letter, in order to show the spirit of humanity which actuate them.

C. F. A.

Lowlands in Kenya.

A Memorandum has recently been published by the National Liberal Federation stating very forcibly the reasons why the Government of India should not send any officer to Kenya to explore that part of the Lowlands which might be offered to Indians as a compensation for the agricultural lands in Highlands, which have now been exclusively appropriated by the white settlers. The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association has also published a statement which records my own impressions of the 'conversations' in

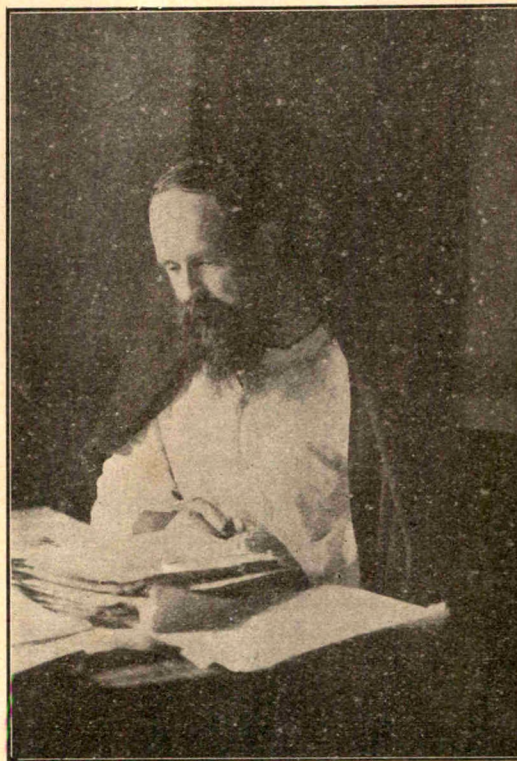
London with regard to Kenya in 1923. I have received, from one who intimately knows the country, the following answer to a question, as to whether there are really empty lands in Kenya, such as Indians might take up without any danger of expropriating the African natives. He writes to me as follows

"1. I wish to answer say about land in country Indians. I wish en fri po

m th K la ct

of it has been tested. The been tested is, that it is all without irrigation. And large rivers in Kenya, I prest is impracticable.

"2. The only area to which description does not apply is the Valley. It is not a large area, be irrigated fairly easily. The the last 20 years has halved population, so that there might b for Indians. But this area is v



Mr. C. F. Andrews

"3. All Indian agricultural immigrants to Kenya would have to do their own cultivating. There are no African labourers available."

I have just come back from Assam, where large areas of fertile vacant land are still waiting for occupation. Apart from all other considerations, it would seem to me the height of folly for Indians to go over to a new country, which is very malarial and would need irrigation, and would seriously hamper the native population if it again increased in numbers, instead of taking up land in their own country which is crying out for settlers. The injustice in the Kenya Highlands was not in the refusal to Indians of Crown Grants of land for colonisation, but in the entire prohibition of open sales and transfers of land between Indians and Europeans, even when the latter wished to sell their land to Indians.

C. F. A.

Prof. Sten Konow on India of To-day

Professor Sten Konow's articles, which we have reproduced elsewhere from *The Chicago Daily News*, are dated from Santiniketan, and he is introduced to the readers of that paper as "a visiting professor in Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's university." To prevent any possible misconception, it is necessary, therefore, to state that as Visva-bharati, the name by which Rabindranath Tagore's university is known, is not a political institution, its authorities do not enquire into the political opinions of those whom they invite to teach and deliver lectures there. It is neither liable to blame nor does it take credit for the political views of its teachers. For ourselves we are prepared to congratulate Dr. Sten Konow on the truth of most of his observations, and where we differ, to give him credit for honesty of purpose; though we do not think he is free everywhere from unconscious bias.

In fairness to Dr. and Mrs. Konow it should be stated that Indian names were rightly given them by the university in token of love and respect.

"Oriental Mentality"

We do not quite follow Dr. Konow when he says that bolshevism is "more akin to Asiatic than to European ideas". Bolshevism rose in European Russia. It is no doubt rightly considered a menace in other

countries; but every "peril" is not necessarily Asiatic, like the so-called "yellow peril"!

Moreover, the Orient is so vast a region that it is rather risky to speak of "the oriental mentality" as some single entity equally characterising, *e. g.*, the Japanese and the Chinese at one end and the Jews and the Arabs at the other. Europe covers a smaller area than Asia. Yet we have heard and read that the Nordic races have a mentality different from that of the Mediterranean races. Even in the small country called Great Britain the Celts and Saxons are said to have different mentalities.

But assuming that there is such a thing as "oriental mentality" characteristic of all Asiatics, it seems to us that it is not anything quite peculiar to Asia. Rabindranath Tagore, who has travelled much and "surveyed mankind from China to Peru", says that he does "not believe in any characteristic which is exclusively Oriental, bearing no intimate relation to the Western mind."

Dr. Konow observes:

The oriental mentality can perhaps nowhere be more clearly grasped than in India and especially in Indian art. There one does not meet with individual features, but with types and more or less general ideas. And in a similar way Indian religions aim at emancipating man from the fetters of individual limitation and not generally at individual happiness and bliss.

What the professor says of Indian art is only part of the truth. His observation is true only of some forms of Indian art in some provinces and ages. But even in the oldest Indian paintings, as in the Ajanta and Bagh caves, as well as in paintings of the Mughal, Rajput and Kangra schools, there are very many specimens in which individual character is to be found in the features, gestures and poses. Individual characters to be found also in large numbers of modern Indian works of art. On the other hand we have found in many old Italian madonnas and other conventional pictures, not individual character, but "types and more or less general ideas".

Nor do we think that Prof. Konow is quite correct in describing the aim of Indian religions in the way he has done. Indian religions and their subdivisions are many and the aim of all of them is not exactly the same.

But taking his description to be correct, what is the object of "emancipating man from the fetters of individual limitation"? Certainly, it is the attainment of bliss by the individual. In the Upanishads *Brahman*

is spoken of as *Rasa* (*Raso vai sah*), that is to say, as full of that quality which gives joy; and it is also said that by realising *Brahman*, man becomes "blissful" (*amandi bhavati*).

The aim of all devotees in all Indian religions is not to be merged in the Infinite after emancipation from the fetters of individual limitation. As the Sakta saint Ram-prasad puts it tersely, "Chini hote chai na Ma, chini khete bhalobasi", "Mother, I do not want to be sugar; I love to enjoy sugar."

If the object of human life according to the Indian religions were totally unconnected with individual happiness and bliss, the national genius would not have blossomed into so many different kinds of literary, plastic and other arts. Even the Buddhist monks who are popularly supposed, particularly in Christian countries, to lead a joyless, colourless life, did not find it inconsistent with their spiritual aim to dwell in such beautifully decorated abodes as the Ajanta cave temples, which surely helped to make them happy and blissful.

In the Hindu scheme of life, of the four *asvayas*, or periods or stages of existence, the *garhasthya asrama*, that of the householder or family man, is said to be the pivotal one—that on which the others depend for their existence and fruition. And it is well known that the Hindu calendar is dotted with numerous religious festivals, meant for spiritual improvement as well as recreation.

The attainment of *chatur-varga*, namely *dharma* (right living), *artha* (riches), *kama* (objects of desire), and *moksha* (liberation) is a Hindu aim. This aim is not unconnected with the promotion of individual happiness and bliss.

In Mahayana Buddhism, many Bodhisattvas vow not to accept *nirvana* for themselves so long as a single individual is left in pain. It may be assumed that the object aimed at, indirectly at any rate, is the happiness and bliss of individuals.

Professor Konow says that the bolshevists' theory "is based on a different conception of man and man's right which is more akin to Asiatic than to European ideas" and that Asiatic ideas or "the oriental mentality can perhaps nowhere be more clearly grasped than in India". This is calculated to indirectly convey the impression that bolshevism may find a congenial soil in India. And the professor does, in fact attempt to show that the Indian nationalists have imbibed bolshevist ideas and also swallowed bolshevist money.

Let us look at the matter from a different angle. Perhaps the Hindu socio-religious organisation gives more tangible indications of Hindu ideas and Hindu mentality than theories deduced from interpretations of Indian art and Indian scriptures. The Hindu socio-religious organisation is, however, built on foundations far different from bolshevist theory and practice. Bolshevism stands for proletarian dictatorship; it does not stand for the predominant power and influence of the nobility and the intellectual classes. But what is the Hindu social theory followed in practice? At the top are the intellectual class of Brahmanas and the ruling and military class of Kshatriyas. All the other castes, forming the vast majority or the proletariat, are at the bottom. This is the reverse of the bolshevik plan.

Of course, wherever there is political or social oppression or both, bolshevism may gain adherents; and there is such a possibility in India, as in many other countries. But this is far different from suggesting that Indian art and Indian religions give indications of India's peculiar fitness for the reception of bolshevism.

Using the Koran for Propaganda, Turkey, China, Afghanistan.

What Prof. Konow writes in relation to using the Koran for propaganda may be based on correct information; we do not know.

His observations on what Mustapha Kemal Pasha has done, we believe to be based on truth.

What Dr. Sten know writes of the behaviour of the bolsheviks in the Caucasus is to the best of our knowledge, founded on fact. He appears also to have correctly described the general aims, methods and policy of the bolsheviks.

We cannot say how far his information about China is correct. But we know that he is in a position to be well informed about Afghanistan.

Bolsheviks and Indian Nationalists

It were much to be wished that Professor Konow had, for the sake of his own reputation, not indulged in vague sweeping allegations of the bolsheviks having connection with Indian nationalists. We would not object to properly qualified statements capable of proof. Any politically-minded Indian who wishes his people to be masters in their own house, more or less, is a nationalist. Mahatma.

Gandhi, Mr. C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir Surendranath Banerji, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Lala Lajpat Rai, Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Mohammed Ali, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Annie Besant, Mr. Jinnah, etc., etc., and their colleagues and followers are all nationalists. The professor says:

Similar considerations have induced the soviet authorities to seek connection with Indian nationalists. There can be little doubt that Russian money has been placed at the disposal of Indians.

Dr. Konow speaks of "Indian nationalists" and "Indians" without any qualifying or limiting adjective. One is, therefore, curious to know whom the professor charges with receiving Russian money and how he would propose to prove his indictment. Subsequently, no doubt, he refers to the Indian independentists, but he does not say that they alone have received Russian money.

And speaking of independentists, the present writer confesses that he is a dreamer of that sort, but regrets that no stream of gold has yet found its way to his empty treasury-vaults from the overflowing bolshevik coffers.

We do not "hear the praise of bolshevism sung by people who are themselves far removed from its underlying ideas"; it is possible, however, that some brainy Indians, whom we do not know, took Prof. Konow into their confidence, not suspecting that the chiel was taking notes; but faith! he's printed them!

History of Indian Unity.

Dr. Sten Konow observes that "the idea of an Indian nation has not come as a natural consequence of the historical development of the Indian people". He probably means that the idea of an Indian nation is not a purely indigenous growth unconnected with foreign conquest and rule, but that it is due to and "came as a reaction against the foreign domination".

But does the historical development of a people necessarily exclude foreign influence, exercised either through conquest or by some other means of contact? We do not know of any great people whose historical development owed nothing to foreign contact. The unity of the different peoples of Great Britain owed much to the Norman conquest; the nationalism of Italians was in part born of a reaction against Austrian rule, German

unity owes its origin in part to the pressure of France, Norwegian nationalism owes something to the pressure of Danish rule and Swedish predominant partnership, and so on and so forth. But even if Indian nationality were a peculiar and extraneous product, it would not necessarily be less valuable to the people of India than national unity is to other peoples. After all, it is the thing that matters most, not how it was born, or how we came by it—so long of course as it is a reality, not a sham.

We do not know, nor would we guess, with what object, if any, the Professor has discussed the genesis of the idea of an Indian nation. We want to treat it as a mere academic discussion and offer in that spirit some remarks not unconnected with the subject.

Independent nations have written their own histories to suit their own purposes. They have slurred over or entirely omitted to refer to their own internal divisions and differences and described very briefly those periods of their history during which they lived under subjection to foreign people, so as to create the impression that they have been almost throughout their histories independent and invincible and one people with common aims and interests. We do not want any such falsification of India's history. But we cannot at the same time overlook the fact that owing to our history having been written for the most part by interested foreigners, conquests and invasions and difference of race and language, etc., run larger than they ought to, and periods of Indian independence and peaceful development almost disappear from view.

The degree and extent of unity and community of aims and interests which existed in ancient India, are also lost sight of. We think there was some such unity, though it might not have been political or administrative unity for long periods. When Prof. Konow says that "to a great extent the whole population came under the influence of Aryan civilisation," he implies some such unity; though it cannot be denied—and we have no disposition to deny—that "the caste system became a hindrance to the development of the feeling of unity". We know, too, that there were other obstacles which stood in the way of unity. But it cannot be admitted to be historically quite true that in ancient India "all attempts at establishing a common empire failed". The empire of Asoka or that of Samudragupta was a real empire,

not less extensive than the British Indian empire, so long as either lasted. No doubt, neither was permanent. But the Roman empire or the Macedonian empire and some other empires of antiquity had also limited spans of existence. So the historical truth seems to be that ancient Indian empires were real empires, though they were not as long-lived as some other empires of antiquity.

We do not refuse to give due credit to the British people for what they have done—it may be in their own interests—to unify India. But we cannot at the same time ignore what Indian empire-builders achieved in ancient times.

The long periods during which Indians have suffered from disunity and foreign domination, are calculated to produce a feeling of despondency which our opponents cannot be expected to dispel. One remedy lies in the study of history. Let us, for instance, turn to the history of Italy. We read in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, eleventh edition:—

"The difficulty of Italian history lies in the fact that until modern times the Italians have had no political unity, no independence, no organised existence as a nation. Split up into numerous and mutually hostile communities, they never, through the fourteen centuries which have elapsed since the end of the old Western empire shook off the yoke of foreigners completely: they never until lately learned to merge their local and conflicting interests in the common good of undivided Italy. Their history is therefore not the history of a single people, centralizing and absorbing its constituent elements by a process of continued evolution, but of a group of cognate populations, exemplifying divers types of constitutional developments."

Our difficulties are, no doubt, not the same as, and in fact they may be greater than, those which the Italians had to face and overcome—the problems of no two countries can be exactly the same. But if the Italians could be free after fourteen centuries of foreign rule, it is not beyond the range of probability that India, too, would be free, seeing that her subjection has not been of such long duration.

"Some Results of World War"

Some of the results of the world war described by Prof. Konow bear witness to his powers of correct observation. They are to be found in the last eight paragraphs or so of his second article.

"Proud of Belonging to the Ruling Nation"

Doctor Konow states that there was a time when "to a great extent the educated Indian looked upon himself as a British citizen and was proud of belonging to the ruling nation". We also have read such published profession of pride. But during our life of sixty years we have not heard a single Indian politician of any political party say in the course of private conversation that he was proud of belonging to the ruling nation.

Who Want Home Rule?

Dr. Konow says:—

The strengthening of nationalism in India, with the consequent claim for home rule or independence, has been brought about by the educated classes. The people at large have had little or no share in the movement.

This statement is to be read with the subsequent statement that

The soil is gradually becoming prepared for the spread of the nationalist movement among the Indian masses. To a certain extent the movement has already made its way to them.

This process is not peculiar to India. In many another country it is the educated classes alone who have at first striven for political change. It is in Russia that the greatest proletarian revolution has been brought about. But there, too, it was the students and other educated people, who at first worked in the villages, to prepare the people for the change; and Lenin, the greatest leader of the revolution, was a university man and a lawyer. He did not belong to the masses.

The professor says that at present to a certain extent the nationalist movement has already made its way to the Indian masses. When he was in India sixteen years ago, if he had any experience of Bengal, he might have noted that the movement was even then far from being confined to the educated classes.

Is Gandhi's View not Political?

Dr. Konow holds that Gandhi's view is religious and not political. We cannot subscribe to this opinion. Our opinion is that Gandhi is above all a politician, but a politician who wishes to reach his political goal by religious and spiritual means. He

does not, so far as his main activity is concerned, like Buddha teach the people the way to *nirvana*, nor like Christ tell them of the heavenly kingdom to be established hereafter, nor like some Hindu sage of yore dwell on the path which leads to *moksha* or spiritual liberation; the burden of most of his speeches and writings is how to win earthly Swaraj.

Gandhi and Bolshevik Revolutionaries

Professor Konow is right in pointing out that Mahatma Gandhi differs fundamentally from the bolshevist revolutionaries. As the Mahatma's teaching of *ahimsa* has found a more congenial soil in India than it could have found anywhere else, it shows by implication that India is far less likely to welcome real bolshevism than many other countries.

Vitality of National Idea Doubted

Dr. Konow doubts whether the national idea would have any vitality if the home-rulers succeeded in making India independent of Great Britain. The future, of course, can never be predicted with absolute certainty in any matter in any country; but our doubts regarding the vitality of the national idea are not as grave as the professor's. And one reason why they are not so, is that making India independent of Great Britain would necessarily depend so much on the national idea being deep-rooted in the minds of all classes and communities, that after it had become so widely imbibed and deeply rooted the chances of its dying out would not be great.

Hindu-Moslem Relation

Regarding the strained relations between Hindus and Moslems, Dr. Konow observes that it is scarcely to be hoped that those relations will become better if the British cease to exercise control over the country. It would not become us to assume the role of the prophet. But all political parties in India have good reasons to believe that the strength of the British position in India lies partly in communal rivalries and dissensions, that the Government takes full advantage of these rivalries and dissensions, and that many Government servants, whether instinctively or in pursuance of a secret settled policy foment communal jealousies and conflicts.

If this belief be well founded, as we believe it is, the disappearance of a third and controlling party—a party which directly or indirectly promotes and profits by communal disunion—may in course of time partly conduce to better Hindu-Moslem relations. It is not, of course, a fact that the British Government is the only or chief cause of strained relations between Hindus and Moslems:—there are other causes. But well-authenticated facts prove that British policy has made those relations worse. For instance, the idea that Moslems should claim and have separate representation in the legislative bodies originated with Lord Minto. On the eve of the enunciation of the Morley-Minto Reform Scheme, it was at Lord Minto's private suggestion that a Moslem deputation waited on him to claim separate communal representation. Lord Morley in his "Recollections" tells Lord Minto with reference to this move, "you started the Moslem hare. In his Coconada congress presidential address Maulana Mohamed Ali characterised that deputation as a "command performance". It is well known that the separatist Moslem claims have gone on widening and increasing, so that Moslems now demand a separate and fixed share of seats in *all* representative bodies, including village unions and the university senates and syndicates, and a fixed proportion of appointments in the public services. In provinces where the Moslems are in a majority, they want a proportionate majority share, and where they are in minority, they want a share in excess of that to which their numbers would entitle them to. These separatist claims have given rise to endless and bitter wordy warfare and sometimes indirectly to blows and bloody strife.

Landlords and Tenants

Dr. Sten Konow describes with grave apprehension the conflicting interests of landlords and tenants and the landlords' tyranny. His fears are not entirely groundless. But his picture may convey the impression that the landlords are all Indians, and it is they alone who oppress the tillers of the soil. Such however, is not the case. The Government is the landlord in many provinces. Rack-renting is practised by the Government as well as by some Indian landlords, the rent being increased at each successive settlement. Indian peasants are for the most part poor, ignorant and disunited. In spite of that fact, however, in Kaira district in Gujrat, for

example, the tenants, a few years ago, refused to pay rent to the Government, because it had been fixed at an exorbitantly high rate. The struggles and sufferings and final triumph of the passive resisters of Kaira are well known to all students of contemporary history. Similarly, in the Champaran district in Bihar there was, a few years ago, a struggle between the European landlords, who were indigo-planters, and the cultivators followed by passive resistance. The Government felt obliged to appoint a committee, of which Mr. Gandhi was a member. The cultivators gained their points. In Bengal in the last century there was terrible oppression of the tenants by the European indigo-planters. Hurrish Mookherjee took up the cause of the cultivators in his *Hindoo Patriot*. At last, even the pacific Bengali ryots turned. A picture of those days is to be found in Dinabandhu Mitra's play *Nil-Darpan*, for publishing an English translation of which the Rev. Mr. Long was sent to jail.

We mention these facts, not in defence or exculpation of the conduct of oppressive Indian landlords, but to rectify the one-sided impression which the professor's article may convey. He says that cultivators are rack-rented in spite of all Government regulations. That may be true in some places and cases. But all well-informed Indian publicists know that the Government has not done all that can and should be done. The rent payable by the cultivators should be fixed in perpetuity or for a long term of years, say 50 or at least 30, and peasant proprietorship should be extended to all provinces as rapidly as practicable. Above all, arrangements should be made immediately for the universal free elementary education of children and for universal adult education. This would directly and indirectly protect the cultivators against oppression. But the Government has never initiated or even encouraged any schemes for universal education. It was left to the late Mr. Gokhale to fight for it; but he was defeated. After more than a century and a half of British rule, ninety-four Indians out of a hundred are illiterate.

Oppression of the Poor

We do not desire in the least to absolve from blame all those among our countrymen who oppress the poor. On the contrary, we have more than once drawn their attention to the warning which the fate of the aristo-

cracy and the intelligentsia in Russia conveys to all oppressors. But the Norwegian professor's picture appears to produce the impression that the Government has done all that is possible for the protection of the poor and it is the Indians who are solely to blame for the lot of the poor. That is not a correct impression.

For decades, nay generations, coolies in the Assam tea-gardens lived in a state of practical slavery and often received inhuman treatment. It is Indian publicists who have at great risk exposed these abuses. Even after some improvements, only recently large numbers of coolies left some of these plantations, which resulted in many tragedies. But the Government has not yet amended the laws to secure such terms for the coolies as would enable them to live like human beings.

The horrors and miseries born of indentured labour abroad are also due to British rule and British exploitation.

In regard to the exaction of forced labour also, the professor speaks as if the Government and Europeans in general are entirely blameless. But who does not know that in places like Kumaon *begar* and *uttrar*, forced labour and the forced supply of provision, have been enforced according to laws made by the British Government? "This kind of oppression is sometimes resorted to in the name of the highest British officials." Yes, but these officials know, and connive at such oppression for their own comfort and convenience.

Similarly the Government knows that "the Indian police are underpaid, with the result that bribes are taken or extorted," and there is much resulting oppression. This is one principal cause of discontent against British rule. There are two chief remedies. One is to educate the masses and improve their economic condition, the other is to pay the police adequate salaries. Both should go together. But education and economic betterment will stiffen the backs of the masses and make them assert their rights not only against Indian oppressors but against foreign domination, exploitation and oppression also. That is one reason why the Government and non-official Europeans have always fought shy of mass education, and many altruistic honorary educators of the poor have been deprived of their liberty as political suspects. As for giving adequate salaries to the police, how can money be found for such a purpose after lavish military expenditure and the payment of higher salaries and other emoluments to civil and military

European officers than what similar State servants receive in some of the richest countries in the world?

The professor tells many stories which Indians have told him. As no Indian has told us these or similar stories, we are not in a position to comment on them. It is particularly noteworthy that we read even the story relating to "this neighborhood" for the first time in the Doctor's article. It is possibly because the present writer is a political recluse that such stories do not reach his ears.

And one can easily see how dangerous it is when some nationalists who are themselves supporters of the ancient Indian society, pose as bolsheviks. Sooner or later, the depressed classes will learn to understand that bolshevism is not merely nationalism but a social gospel, which is bound to make a strong appeal to them. And some day political agents will come from abroad and enlighten them still more.

We do not say that this danger is beyond the bounds of possibility. But we should like to know who are the nationalists who pose as bolsheviks.

There lies the real bolshevik danger for India. Provisionally bolshevism is to most Indians only a vague idea which the nationalists fancy they can use in their struggle against the British. But what about the day when it becomes a reality?

A Gloomy Foreboding

The professor concludes his last article with the following paragraphs:—

If the masses can be organized and disciplined by leaders with strong will and settled aims they will some day rise, not against British rule, but against their oppressors, the wealthy Indians and the upper classes generally. And there will come a cataclysm which will make an end of the ancient Indian society and to Indian civilization. And millions of those who rose in rebellion will themselves die the death of starvation, because it is, as the soviet republic has taught us, so infinitely more difficult to build up than to pull down.

If such an upheaval should come after the Indians had succeeded in turning out the British, nothing would be able to keep it down. The firm hand of the British ruler alone could succeed in averting the disaster.

Dr. Konow implicitly believes in the Anglo-Indian (old style) claim that it is the upper classes who are the oppressors and the Europeans are the protectors. But he does not know or ignores the fact that speaking generally, most measures and movements for the amelioration of the condition of the masses owe their inception to these upper classes; there is no room to give details. He himself states that Gandhi has devoted his

life to a disinterested fight for those who are exploited and depressed. But the Mahatma does not stand alone. He has had forerunners in such work, he has contemporaries and co-workers, and he will have successors. They may not all be as eminent as he, and their work may not also get as well advertised as his; but they have been, they are, and they will be.

To Doctor Konow the British empire is a great and the greatest beneficent agency in Asia. We do not want to say that it is satanic: single epithets and brief characterisations must be inadequate and unjust, either way. It is only point by point, item by item, that the claims of the British Government can be examined.

In the professor's opinion "the British administration in India has been of a high order, and the individual Briton will exert himself to the utmost of his power." We have in the past shown again and again, and others, too, have done so, that the British administration is efficient mainly, if not solely, for its own purposes and interests, and the individual Briton (barring a few real philanthropists) exerts himself to the utmost of his power chiefly, if not wholly, for promoting British interests; what benefits have accrued to Indians have been generally by-products.

The poverty of the masses, which the writer contrasts with the wealth of some Indian persons of the upper classes, has been due not a little to the ruin of indigenous Indian trades and industries and the destruction of Indian shipping brought about in the earlier periods of British rule; and the process still goes on. That some Indians are getting rich is also a by-product of British methods of administration exploitation and self-aggrandisement.

Europeans in India have been at least as great oppressors and impoverishers of the masses as the wealthier countrymen of the latter. The contrast between the wealth of the Europeans and the poverty of the masses is greater than that between the wealth of the Indian upper classes and the penury of the people. Under the circumstances we fail to see why there is greater probability of the masses rising against their own countrymen than of their rising against British rule;—we do not want them rise against either. Of course, we know that our British rulers always pose as the protectors and benefactors of the masses and try indirectly to poison their minds against the classes. But may

we ask, what, compared to what has been accomplished in far shorter periods in Japan and the Philippines, the white rulers have done for the education, wealth, housing and economic betterment of the masses in India?

The professor speaks of the 'contingency of a rising of the masses *after the Indians had succeeded in turning out the British*, and takes it for granted that this rising would be against the upper classes of their own countrymen. But does he not see that the British can be turned out only by the masses and the classes making common cause against the British? Will anybody tell us how else the British can be turned out—assuming of course that the majority of Indian political parties want to do so, which is not true?

The masses can be made to have confidence in and combine with the classes only by putting an end to social tyranny and agrarian and capitalistic oppression. Every student of the contemporary situation in India knows that attempts are being made by some persons belonging to the upper classes to put an end to all such tyranny in every direction. Success in such an endeavour would also be tantamount to averting the upheaval apprehended by the professor.

Of course, bolshevist and even British propagandists may try to incite the Indian masses against the classes. We should, therefore, try our utmost constantly to avert any such catastrophe.

Forced Labour in Kenya

A revolt against the British Parliament has evidently taken place in Kenya carrying still further the labour policy of the late Governor, Sir Robert Coryndon. The Acting Governor made the following speech which was reported in *The Times* newspaper on March 20th. :—

"There is the strongest possible moral obligation on the part of the Government of the country to give the fullest assistance it can in securing to the European settler in this country the benefit of the developments which he has created to the lasting advantage of the Colony. I wish to make it perfectly clear that such is the policy of the Administration and that Government expects every administrative officer to give all possible encouragement to the labour within their district to work on the lands which have been opened by the settlers....."

The Under-Secretary of State in London immediately denied the implications of the Acting Governor. But meanwhile, the white settlers, filled with delight at the words of

the Acting Governor, made all kinds of admissions which showed quite openly what kind of a spirit was in them. If they had known how soon the Acting Governor's words would be contradicted in England, perhaps they would not have spoken so openly. But the temptation was too great for them, and we have a series of remarks, entirely of one character, which show that the idea in Kenya is fixed, that the one function of Government must always be to provide forced labour for the white settlers themselves.

Lord Delamore began as follows :—

Many officials were excellent friends to civilisation (he said), but there were a lot who were out of sympathy with their own people. Some of them were at present put into native areas, they should be put into white areas and come in contact with their own race. Such a contact would teach them the facts of the case. Those young officials who were stationed in the reserves did not understand the native temperament and they became a menace to civilisation."

After him, Captain Montagu continued as follows :—

"The Administration was certainly not playing the game...In this country young university men saturated with democratic and socialistic ideas were being introduced, and had become a menace to the prestige of the white man."

Captain Schwartz supporting Lord Delamore declared that he thought,

"That the whole problem could be solved by disciplining the Junior members of the Administration. The Government was anxious to help, but was constantly hampered by those young officials who laughed at, or ignored the Government's policy."

Upon this, someone named Mr. Harper went still further and said as follows :—

"Until the Civil Service was *combed out*, the present unsatisfactory state of affairs would exist. The Junior officials whose views had been distorted by debating societies and who were inspired by the anti-white ideas and Bolshevik tendencies were defying the Government."

And Mr. Hawtroy ended this edifying and clarifying debate with the following amazing utterance :—

"The Government should regard the European farms as a training ground for the native population...as a Kindergarten...and compel the natives to leave the reserves and work. It was necessary to conquer the Nonconformist conscience in England, which held that a native must not work. The Government was controlled by Downing Street and could not insist on compulsion."

I have been reading, month by month, the *East African Standard* which is the leading paper of Kenya. This policy of compelling the natives to come out of the reserves and to work for the white settlers

being continually advocated as the ultimate policy of all white settlers. A great debate is promised in the House of Commons on the subject at the end of May or early in June. Dr. Norman Leys' book on Kenya will probably come in for scathing criticism from the very large conservative land-holding section in the House of Commons; but the facts that can be brought forward are damning, and whatever might be said about the book itself, the policy which Dr. Norman Leys sets forward is likely to be carried through. The white settlers will not have their way. The House of Commons has just been cordially congratulating H. R. H. the Maharajah of Nepal for his action in doing away with domestic slavery. It would be inconceivable for the same House of Commons to defend the system of forced labour in Kenya itself.

C. F. A.

Robbing the African Natives in Kenya

"It has been proved by competent authorities that the area of good agricultural land in Kenya is exceedingly small, and that there is hardly sufficient even now for the expansion of the native races." So, if the confiscation of 10,000 square miles of territory from the natives for being granted to the white settlers was an initial crime and blunder, leading to serious mischief, "it is obvious that the confiscation of another 10,000 square miles from the natives in order to give it to the Indians, would be a still more serious evil." But this is what has been proposed. With respect to this proposal, it is stated in the memorandum on the Kenya lowlands proposal, prepared by Mr. C. F. Andrews and issued by the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association

In spite of the fact that in London, 1923, the whole suggestion of a compensating area being given in the Lowlands to Indian settlers was rejected, there is a tendency here and there among certain Indians in East Africa not to reject it, but to accept it. But I think it can be said without hesitation, that the foremost Indian leaders are still wholly against the proposal and feel that it would be a fatal compromise, such as would put the Indian claim for equal justice among the natives on an entirely wrong basis. Among these foremost leaders I would mention the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri and Mahatma Gandhi.

Let me in conclusion argue out the case a little from the Indian point of view:—

(1) To accept a large slice of territory exclusively for Indians in the Lowlands would be a definite and formal renunciation of the Indian claim in the Highlands.

(2) The policy of accepting territory in the

Lowlands would certainly involve a weakening of the present Indian friendly relations with the African natives. Indians are living in Kenya to-day on terms of friendship with the natives and not on terms of hostility. But to take this large slice of territory from the natives would inevitably lead to hostility growing up between the Indians and the natives.

(3) The policy of accepting land in the Lowlands would mean the beginning of an imperialism which would be unlike any form of Indian emigration in the past. It would not mean the occupation by Indians, as colonists, of lands that were entirely useless and never likely to be occupied by the natives of the country; because it has been proved by competent authorities that the area of good agricultural land in Kenya is exceedingly small, and that there is hardly sufficiently even now for the expansion of the native races. It would mean a definite expropriation of the native and as such would be an endless source of mischief, aggravating an evil situation.

(4) To accept territory in the Lowlands, would be a reversal of the whole Indian claim: for, as I have shown, in 1923, the Indian deputation definitely rejected such a suggestion and equally definitely declared that their only wish was to recover the legal right of open sales and transfers of land anywhere in Kenya Colony. This position, which was taken up by us all formally in 1923 would obviously be thrown on one side; and it could never be taken up again if once the compromise had been made.

These, then, are some of the main reasons why such a false step should not be taken by the Indian Government with the consent of the Indian people. The essentially moral character of Indian citizenship is at stake. Indian leaders to-day are speaking as strongly as possible against the evil spirit of Western imperialism, which has been so crushing to themselves in India and also in other Eastern countries. They assert, that this form of forcible subjection and dispossession of other people from their own territory by a foreign power is wrong in principle and must not be carried out any further, but rather be undone.

For India to be a partner of Great Britain in imperialistic crime would be a great moral disaster and would bring other evil consequences in its train.

Independence and Swaraj

In his presidential address at the Faridpur session of the Bengal Provincial Conference, Mr. C. R. Das said in part:—

Independence, to my mind, is narrower ideal than that of Swaraj. It implies, it is true, the negative of dependence; but by itself it gives us no positive ideal. I do not for a moment suggest that independence is not consistent with Swaraj. But what is necessary is not mere independence, but the establishment of Swaraj. India may be independent to-morrow in the sense that the British people may leave us to our destiny but that will not necessarily give us what I understand by 'Swaraj'. India presents an interesting but a complicated problem of consolidating the many

apparently conflicting elements which go to make up the Indian people. This work of consolidation is a long process, may even be a weary process; but without this no Swaraj is possible...

Independence, in the second place, does not give you that idea of order which is the essence of Swaraj. The work of consolidation which I have mentioned means the establishment of that order... To my mind, Swaraj implies, firstly, that we must have the freedom of working out the consolidation of the diverse elements of the Indian people; secondly, we must proceed with this work on national lines, not going back two thousand years ago, but going forward in the light and in the spirit of our national genius and temperament. Thirdly, in the work before us, we must not be obstructed by any foreign power.

What then we have to fix upon in the matter of ideal is what I call Swaraj and not mere Independence, which may be the negation of Swaraj. When we are asked as to what is our national ideal of freedom, the only answer which is possible to give is Swaraj. I do not like either Home Rule or Self-Government. Possibly they come within what I have described as Swaraj. But my culture somehow or other is antagonistic to the word 'rule'—be it Home Rule or Foreign Rule. My objection to the word Self-Government is exactly the same. If it is defined as government by self and for self, my objection may be met, but in that case Swaraj includes all those elements.

We have no desire to quarrel with words. But it must be pointed out that Mr. Das takes into consideration only the derivative meaning of "independence." He, no doubt, takes care to say that he does not for a moment suggest that independence is not consistent with Swaraj, but what he actually does is to assume that the contents of Swaraj are not found in the connotation of independence.

The full meaning of independence is not confined within its derivative sense. The derivative meaning is merely negative—the absence of dependence. But surely when the Americans fought their war of independence they did not fight for a mere negation. That they acquired something very positive by their success in that war is proved by the political, economic and cultural position of the United States among the free countries of the world. The independence which they won has given them the power to gradually 'consolidate' the conflicting elements in the American population and to establish 'order.' Take another example. Czechoslovakia won independence in consequence of the last world war. The solidarity, prosperity and enlightenment of that country show that in their case, too, independence is not a mere negative thing. Of course, there may be independence in the sense of a mere absence of dependence. But we must look facts in the face, not confine our attention

to the first meaning of a word given in dictionaries.

It should also be borne in mind that we Indians do not use the word "independence" in our vernaculars; we speak of "Swadhinata" or "Swatantrya," whose meaning is not negative.

In the case of Swaraj, Mr. Das assumes that it can have only that meaning in which he understands it. But are there not Indian Moslems who think that they had Swaraj when Aurangzib was emperor? Are there not Panjabis who think that they had Swaraj when Ranjit Singh reigned over the Land of the Five Rivers? Are there not Marathas who think that they had Swaraj under some Peshawa or other? But can it be said that in the days of those potentates there was Swaraj in Mr. Das's acceptance of the word—that there was 'consolidation' and 'order', for example, in the sense in which he understands them? Mr. Das cannot name any Sanskrit or other dictionary in which the meaning of Swaraj is so defined as to prove that these Moslems, Panjabis and Marathas are wrong in their use of the word and that he alone is right in his interpretation of it.

Mr. Das practically assumes that independence does not mean sovereignty of the people and that Swaraj necessarily means such sovereignty.

He assumes that under Swaraj within the British Empire, the people of India are quite likely to have every opportunity for self-realization, self-development and self-fulfilment, and if they do not get such opportunities they would carve out Swaraj outside the Empire. What the chances of our getting such opportunities are may be judged from the fact that though the Canadians are of European extraction there is even now "after the War," a movement for independence there. It is not likely that we who do not belong to any European stock would obtain such ample opportunities as to extinguish for ever in our souls any desire for independence. In South Africa, too, men of European race are supreme. But there also there is even now an independentist movement.

On the other hand, not a single independent country has ever sought or now, "after the War," seeks, "Dominion status" (or Swaraj) within the British Empire. Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, etc., are among the smallest countries of Europe. But none of them would exchange their independence for the advances of "Dominion status" within the British Empire.

Not that we consider "Dominion status" like that described by Mr. Das valueless;— it is very much to be preferred to our present condition. What we object to is Mr. Das's attempt to prove by special pleading and word-jugglery that Swaraj within the British Empire is better than independence. To prove his thesis he supposes that "India may be independent tomorrow in the sense that the British people may leave us to our destiny." But the fact is, the British people mean to stay on and will not leave us to our destiny unless they are compelled to do so by some sort of struggle, as many of their leading men have declared. And to carry such a struggle to a successful close would necessitate just the kind of consolidation and order which Mr. Das speaks of.

that India's interests will always coincide with those of Great Britain? It cannot be so, considering that our histories, cultures, racial stocks and geographical positions with all that they imply, are different. So our interests will clash, as they do even now and have ever done so since the beginning of the British connection with India. In consequence of such conflict of interests, is there the least possibility of India as a part of the British empire ever being free to ally herself, if necessary, with any nation which is inimical to Great Britain? There is none.

Inter-dependence is a great ideal. But it can be truly realised only by independent nations and only so long as they are independent.

"No Nation can Live in Isolation"

In order to prove the value of the Dominion status, Mr. Das observes:

It is realised that under modern conditions no nation can live in isolation and the Dominion status while it affords complete protection to each constituent composing the great Commonwealth of Nations called the British Empire, secures to each the right to realize itself, develop itself and fulfil itself, and therefore it expresses and implies all the elements of Swaraj which I have mentioned.

It is true that under modern conditions no nation can live in isolation. But how do the nations (not the subject peoples) of the world actually manage to maintain their individual and separate existence? No doubt by inter-dependence. But the parties to this inter-dependence do not always remain the same. According to circumstances and according to the interests of the different parties, the groups vary in their constituent elements. There was a time when France and England belonged to opposed groups; now they are, externally at least, allies. Once upon a time Britain was an ally of Russia. But there is no alliance between them now. During the earlier years of this century Japan fought Russia and defeated her. Later also, during the world war, there was little love lost between them. But now they are allies. From before the war there was an Anglo-Japanese alliance. But in spite of that fact Japan has sought and obtained the friendship of Russia. Examples may be multiplied. What we drive at is that independent nations maintain their existence by choosing their friends according to varying circumstances. Is there the least possibility

"Equal Partners"

Many British and Indian politicians speak of the ideal of Britain and India being equal partners in the British commonwealth of nations. But have they seriously dived deep enough to discover the implications of such equality?

When equality is the thing to be discussed, no one, we hope, will object to our examining in the first place the name itself of the commonwealth. In the British Empire Indians outnumber by far the white population. Therefore, as there is to be no racial superiority or inferiority, the commonwealth should be named the "Indian commonwealth of nations" after the majority of its inhabitants. Would the white citizens of the commonwealth agree to this? They would not. Well, as they have been masters so long, they may not agree to the total obliteration of their names. Would they then agree to the commonwealth being named the Indo-British commonwealth by way of a compromise? That also is hardly likely.

In the next place, why should the capital of the commonwealth be situated in a small island, which is not inhabited by the majority of the commonwealth citizens? If the capital ought to be situated in a region which contains a majority of the population, it should be located in India. If it should be situated in the biggest slice of the earth's area comprised within the commonwealth, it should be located in Australia. What do the equal partnership men say to this? It is not right that the majority should have to send their representatives to a place which is nearest only to the habitations of the minority.

The next question to be decided is whether there is to be monarchy for ever. Of course, if the commonwealth is to become a republic, the president and other leading men may belong to any of the countries and peoples comprised within it. But if monarchy is to continue, why should the kingly office be for ever confined to a royal house of purely British or European stock. When there is a British reigning king, should he not be required by some constitutional law to marry an Indian woman, and when there is a reigning queen, should she not be similarly required to marry an Indian man? Otherwise there cannot be "equality". It must not be supposed that it is absurd to limit by law the choice of mates by kings and queens. The British constitution does lay down that a British queen or a British King must be protestant by faith.

And then why should the monarch reside in great Britain, which is inhabited by the minority? He should either live in India or be peripatetic.

In order that equal citizenship may be real, there should be a commonwealth parliament to which all the peoples living within it are to send representatives. All representative bodies tend roughly to conform to the principle that the number of representatives should be proportionate to the number of electors. Adult universal suffrage is also coming to be more and more the rule. So in the proposed commonwealth parliament the Indian representatives would far outnumber the representatives of all other parts. Can the white citizens view such a prospect with equanimity.

It is easy to talk glibly of equal partnership, but it is not at all easy to face the idea in its real concrete form. We would welcome real equal partnership, but white men cannot do so.

The British Empire Not an Organic Unity

The British Empire is in fact a huge mass, having no common life. It has no organic unity, and cannot have any. In the human or any other animal body, the pain or pleasure, health or illness, strength or sickness of one part affects or influences the other parts. No such thing is found in the case of the British empire. India and Britain have been joined together for more than 150 years. During this period, Britain has made great strides in wealth, health, sanitation, education, enlightenment, acquisition and

exercise of civic rights, etc. Have we advanced with the progress of Englishmen in all or any of these respects? Whenever Englishmen have obtained any rights have we obtained the same automatically or even by striving?

On the contrary, the fact is that in many matters, Britain's progress has been at our expense.

Things which are not held together organically by a common life cannot have a lasting connection. Therefore the British empire is bound to disintegrate, even if it be called a commonwealth.

Moreover, the days of the dinosaur, the megalosaurus and other huge animals are gone. Man is a much smaller creature, no doubt; but he is finer and of a higher type. Similarly the days of huge and unwieldy empires are also numbered. Standardised and uniform life is no life. The days of small States with their distinct achievements, cultures and outlooks are in sight. They may and ought to be friendly to and co-operate with one another, but of free choice and independently.

Of course, in being a part of the British empire we have some advantages. For instance, in the matter of defence and protection, India has not to shift for herself. But in reality it is not an unmixed advantage. It has been progressively dwarfing our manhood, and absorbing also a much greater proportion of our revenues than it ought to, thus preventing or retarding progress in sanitation, education and material development.

The Case against Violence

We are against the use of violent methods for progress towards our political goal, which can be nothing else but freedom and independence. We do not know how or when we shall reach the goal, but we cannot agree to call any other objective our goal; though we would accept "the Dominion status" as a sort of half-way house.

Many of Mr. Das's objections against the method of violence are quite sound. But when he speaks of the method of violence being hardly in keeping with our life and culture, it is difficult wholly to agree with him. It is true that "violence is not a part of our being as it is of Europe." But in a country where from time immemorial the socio-religious system of caste has given an honoured place to warriors, where many

avatars belonged to that caste and waged war and where one avatar's preaching of war is the central theme of a revered sacred book, it is unhistorical to claim non-violence as the sole or principal feature of its life and culture, "the special psychology of the Indian mind", though that may have been and is the ideal of individual men. China may with greater justification claim non-violence as in consonance with its life and culture, as the military profession is not held in honour there.

Mr. Das considers armed revolution impossible in India and even in England today. Knowing nothing of the art of war or of the strategic possibilities of different parts of India, we cannot express any opinion on the subject. But we should be prouder to be non-violent in spite of armed rebellion being practicable; it would be humiliating to feel that we were non-violent, because there was no help for it.

Mr. Das's next argument against the method of violence runs as follows:

Violence is sure to be followed by more violence on the part of the Government and repression may be so violent that its only effect on the Indian people would be to check their enthusiasm for Swaraj. I ask those young men who are addicted to revolutionary methods, do they think that the people will side with them? When life and property is threatened, the inevitable result is that the people who suffer or who think they may suffer recoil from such activities. This method therefore is impractical.

It cannot be denied that there is some truth in this. But why does not this sort of fear deter Mr. Das from inculcating the duty of mass civil disobedience, if necessary? Says he:—

The atmosphere for civil disobedience is created by compelling the Government to raise money by the exercise of its exceptional powers; and when the time comes we shall not hesitate to advise our countrymen not to pay taxes which are sought to be raised by the exercise of the exceptional powers vested in the Government.

In the few cases of civil disobedience in small areas which have occurred, the Government has not remained non-violent. There is nothing to show that civil disobedience on a larger scale will convert it to the cult of ahimsa.

Repression and Revolutionary Movements

Mr. C. R. Das has been able to prove by a detailed narrative of events and dates that

Repression was followed by revolutionary movement which again was followed by further repression, and that even when the British Government allowed measures which may be described as benevolent, they were always attended by others of a repressive character.

The Catholic Hierarchy in China & Opium

We are glad to read the following in *The Catholic Herald of India*:—

... Drastic action has already been taken by the Catholic Hierarchy of China against all Catholic Chinese who should cultivate, manufacture, or traffic in opium making the offence punishable with the refusal of the sacraments. Similar action may be expected in South America against growers of the cocoa plant.

Sir Bamfylde Fuller on the British Services in India

The Amrita Bazar Patrika quotes the following opinion of Sir Bamfylde Fuller on the British Services in India:—

"Young British officials go out to India most imperfectly equipped for their responsibilities. They learn no law worth the name, a little Indian history, no political economy, and gain a smattering of one Indian vernacular. In regard to other branches of the service, matters are still more unsatisfactory. Young men who are to be police officers are sent out with no training whatever, though for the proper discharge of their duties an intimate acquaintance with Indian life and ideas is essential. They land in India in absolute ignorance of the language. So also with forest officers, medical officers, engineers and (still more surprising) educational officers"

Exploiting Rabindranath Tagore's Name

Great men have often to pay a penalty for their greatness in various ways. One is that "enterprising" men exploit their names without their knowledge and permission for making money. The following extract from the *Gazette*, Montreal, Canada, dated Feb. 28, 1925, will explain what we mean:—

SPREAD PHILOSOPHY OF YOGIS IN U. S.

"Rabindranath Tagore Announces Plans for Founding of College

"Calcutta, February 27.—America is to have a college for imparting instruction in the philosophy of the Yogis of India, Rabindranath Tagore, famous Asiatic poet and philosopher, announces here. His cousin, Pundit Jogi Narayan, several other prominent Brahman priests and a number of wealthy United States citizens now touring the world aboard

the Canadian Pacific Steamship "Empress of France," including W. E. Clarke, Chicago, Dr. W. J. W. Copeland, Elmira, N.Y., and Charles de Rouville, Albany, N.Y., and Carl F. Boetticher, Evansville, Ind., are responsible for the plan. Should it be found impossible to establish the college in America, these men will open it at Benares."

We have the Poet's authority for saying that he knows absolutely nothing about this College and has no cousin named Pandit Jogi Narayan. It is to be hoped that his friends abroad will not be taken in by the announcement of the Canada paper.

Bolshevist Plans Regarding India

The following telegram appears in the daily papers:—

London, May 25.

"The Times" Riga correspondent states that in a speech outlining the Soviet's plans for ousting Imperialists from Oriental countries, Stalin mentioned particularly India, Morocco, Egypt, China and Java.

Regarding India, he said that the revolutionary work there must be aimed at creating an alliance between the workers and the poorer section of the native bourgeoisie, which alone could make the eventual victory of Communism possible.

He emphasized that different tactics would be necessary in other countries where the peculiarities of the movement must be studied and utilized.

Professor Sten Konow's article, entitled "Bolshevism in India Follows Queer Trail," which is reproduced elsewhere in this issue and Yonne Pouvreau's article on "The Heroic Struggle of the Republics of the Caucasus Against the Bolsheviks" in the last July number of THE MODERN REVIEW should be read in this connection.

We have said more than once and say it again that there is no other way to stave off the incursions of bolshevism and prevent it from obtaining a foothold in India than earnestly and unceasingly trying to ameliorate the social and economic condition of the poor and the depressed in a spirit of true brotherliness.

The note which follows shows to what dangers the Hindu community is exposed in another direction.

Intended Mass Conversion of Chamars

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* publishes the following:—

(From a Correspondent)

Lucknow, May 23.

Hearing the intended conversion of 5000

Chamars to Mohammedanism in Budaun district, I, in company of Sj. Shanti Sarup, had been to the affected villages. While at Ujhani we were told that the situation had become normal and the danger of conversion did no longer exist. And on discussing the situation with the Chamar Headmen in the villages, however, it was found that the Chamars were still dissatisfied with the Hindus and might go over to Islam any moment. In fact they were even then negotiating with Mohammedan leaders. The situation is grave and requires to be handled by very influential and reputed leaders. The evil cannot be remedied so long as the Hindus do not meet the just demands of depressed classes in a spirit of truthfulness and benevolence.

Benevolence is very frequently a synonym for patronising and condescending charity. But that is not what will suffice to prevent the mass conversion of Hindus of certain classes to Islam or Christianity for social and economic reasons. Only an active sense of justice and a genuine feeling of human brotherhood can avail to give these classes the help needed and to restore to them the sense of self-respect of which they have been inhumanly deprived for centuries.

Good and wise are they whose conduct towards others is regulated by just, humane and fraternal principles before the pressure of circumstance makes it necessary. Prudent are they who are able to perceive betimes the signs of the times and are just and humane in order to avoid being crushed under the chariot wheels of Nemesis. But foolish and suicidal is the conduct of those who have been so blinded by pride, prejudice or superstition or so lethargised by use and wont that nothing can make them do unto others as they would that others should do unto them. Should we not all try to avoid being classed with the last?

Earthquake in Japan

Japan has again been devastated by an earthquake, though it is not so catastrophic in its consequences as the one which occurred in September, 1923.

The sympathies of all nations go out to Japan in her terrible trials.

States Subjects Conference

In his inaugural address as president of the fifth session of the conference of the subjects of Indian States, Mr. B. S. Kamat

impressed upon the rulers of Indian States the desirability of making an earnest beginning in the direction of the establishment of representative institutions and suggested a Round Table Conference with popular representatives for the purpose. He also demanded immediate grant to Indian States subjects of the liberty of the press and liberty of speech on the same terms as in British India. This, in his opinion, should be the minimum demand of the Conference on behalf of the subjects.

This Conference ought also to consider in what organic relations the Indian States should stand to a self-ruling India.

Mahatma Gandhi's Tour in Bengal

There can be no question that the vast majority of our men and women—particularly our women—require some means of earning a living. Most of those who have some remunerative occupation, need a supplementary source of income. The spinning wheel, though it may not bring in much money, is the easiest of such means to adopt. In the case of our women particularly, it is a means of giving them the power to maintain their self-respect. Therefore, even those who are not charka-enthusiasts like Mr. Gandhi, would be sincerely glad if his tour in Bengal led to the wider use of the spinning wheel in the huts and cottages of Bengal. Those who do not want to make a business of it can, in any case, provide for themselves their own clothes by the work of their own hands. That would result in not a little saving to themselves and to the country at large. And the moral gain, in making the people self-confident, self-reliant, self-disciplined and industrious would be great.

We have always thought that Mahatmaji does not go far enough in what he says regarding the removal of "untouchability". Nevertheless, we should be truly glad if we Bengalis could get rid of the curse to the extent he enjoins, though it is not so bad in Bengal as it is in some other parts of India.

We do not know how far his visit will improve Hindu-Moslem relations. We can only hope against hope.

Above all, we should consider ourselves blessed, if his tour made some of us at least

endeavour to be as spiritually-minded and as unselfish and fearless in our lives as he is.

The Char Manair Case

In a village in Bengal called Char Manair a dacoity took place. The Police arrived on the scene almost at the same time. The villagers mistaking the police to be also among the dacoits maltreated some of them. Then, it was alleged, in order to punish the villagers larger numbers of police-men came to the village, whereupon most of the male villagers fled. It was further alleged that one Musalman male died in consequence of the cruel treatment he received at the hands of the police, and a good many women were ravished and otherwise ill-treated. Dr. Pratap Chandra Guha Ray was among those who made these allegations and he was prosecuted. His trial had been going on, now in this court, now in that, for two years. Recently the Bengal Government has withdrawn the case against him, on the ostensible ground that it was instituted long ago. We do not believe that that is the real cause. If the case were at all strong, the Government would have proceeded with it to the bitter end. To us it seems clear that Dr. Guha Ray has been harassed because he tried to get some policemen punished whom he considered guilty of revolting and lawless conduct. That he has got off even now is a piece of good luck. But we cannot congratulate the Government on the practical immunity which offending policemen enjoy. What is also to be ashamed of is the cowardice of the Hindu and Moslem men of Char Manair who fled from the village, leaving their womenfolk to be victimised by some police underlings.

Calcutta University Post-graduate Education

A committee had been appointed by the Calcutta University Senate to consider and report upon the means of effecting economies in the post-graduate departments and stabilising them. The majority of the members of this committee drew up one report and a minority of four drew up another. After exciting debates in the Senate, lasting for several days, the majority report has been

adopted. This result could be anticipated from the beginning. For, for a number of years, the Senate has consisted of a majority of the followers of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and the committee also consisted for the most part of his followers.

Not having seen either of the reports, we are unable to discuss them on their merits. But one remark we must make in favour of the position taken up by the majority. Lord Lytton, the *pukka* Governor of Bengal, had promised more than once that he would make a grant to the university which would suffice to make up the deficit, after the real needs of the university had been made known to him. He had not definitely fixed the amount of the promised subsidy, nor had he said that the university must effect such retrenchments as would make its own resources suffice for its needs without any State help. The majority, therefore, did not feel called upon to make retrenchment the sole or main object of their deliberations, which is what the minority did. We think under the circumstances, the majority were right.

As regards the grant of three lakhs per annum which the university asks the Government to make, we consider this a moderate demand when the grants made to some other Indian universities are considered. For instance, take the case of Lucknow. It educates a smaller number of students in a smaller number of subjects than Calcutta. But in its report for the year 1924, for a copy of which we are indebted to Dr. G. N. Charkervarti the vice-chancellor, we find it stated in the treasurer's report:—

"The estimates of 1924-25 indicate an expenditure of Rs. 19,09,478 against a possible net income of Rs. 6,85,971 (including Rs. 50,000 expected from subscriptions) and unless the University receives a Government grant of at least Rs. 13,95,000, it is very doubtful if the whole of this expenditure can be entertained. In this connection it may be pointed out that the Universities Economy Committee appointed by the Legislative Council have recommended a block grant of Rs. 7,87,000, excluding the Medical College Hospital, (which will in future be shown under the Medical Provincial Budget). This sum is calculated on five years' averages, and part of this amount has to be kept in reserve for excess of expenditure over the block grant two years hence."

If the Bengal Government and the Bengal Legislative Council had definitely refused to make any grant, it would then have been certainly necessary to think of drastic retrenchments, to the extent of even abolishing the chairs in some subjects. But as the case was not so desperate as that,

one fails to see the necessity of the many motions for lopping off several subjects. It seems to us strange that Pandit Haraprasad Sastri of all men felt called upon to move for the abolition of the study of Pali, which contains so much valuable literature and so many source-books for the study of ancient Indian history, sociology and religion.

We have already said that we have not seen the majority and minority reports, and therefore do not know whether all the existing members of the teaching and office staff are going to be retained.

We have repeatedly given expression to our opinion that there should be no pluralists, that not a single professor should be retained who does *no* teaching, lecturing or research work—we once definitely named at least one such man, that plagiarists should not be encouraged, that disciplinary action should be taken against them, that there ought not to be a superfluity of librarians or secretaries or clerks, etc., etc. But we do not expect that there will be any reform in these directions.

The Proposed Secondary Education Board

It is said, the Bengal Government is going to introduce a bill for the creation of a board which will take charge of the Matriculation and Intermediate Examinations and the classes which prepare students for the same.

The Sadler Commission, no doubt, recommended the creation of such a board. We could not see our way to support this recommendation. But leaving aside the objections which we formerly urged, let us see what conditions were attached by the Commission to the recommendation. One was that the board was to be an independent unofficialised body, uncontrolled by either the Government or the university. But it is said, the board which the Government wants to create would be an officialised body practically under Government control. Another condition was that Government should give a subsidy of forty lakhs for the Intermediate Colleges to be created. This also, we are told, would not be forthcoming.

There is some experience, too, to guide the Indian public. Intermediate Colleges have been now in existence in the Allahabad University for some years. They have, however, been pronounced a failure. *Vide*

for instance, the extract from the *Allahabad University Magazine* given in our last issue, p. 565, on this subject. As regards pecuniary support, if the U. P. Government with its larger revenue could not give enough money for Intermediate Colleges in U. P. how can the Bengal Government with its beggarly income do so?

We do not want any extraneous body to have the strangle-hold on our colleges and University. But practically the proposed Board would have such a hold. Most of our colleges cannot go on without the intermediate classes. Moreover, if the proposed Board insists on passing too few Matriculation and Intermediate candidates, as the University has hitherto insisted for financial reasons on passing a very large percentage of them, how can the University or the majority of colleges go on?

The Madras Vice-chancellor

We congratulate the University of Madras on the selection of Sir Venkataratnam Naidu as its Vice-chancellor. He is a man of high attainments and high character who has spent his life in doing good to society as an educator, a social reformer and a religious teacher.

Some Hindu Resolutions

It is a hopeful sign of the times that the Hindus assembled at Faridpur last month passed the following resolutions:—

Whereas, for want of Vedic Culture among the Hindus and inability to perform religious rites and ceremonies by oneself there has been a gradual degeneration of manliness and spirituality, this Conference requests every male and female member of the Hindu society to read the Vedas and perform the religious rites and ceremonies by his own hand.

This Conference recommends and supports the following means for the removal of untouchability from among the Hindus and does expect every Hindu to observe them in his daily affairs, viz:—

Every one irrespective of colour and creed has the right to read the Vedas.

Every Hindu will have equal rights to access and use of all public temples, schools and water reservoirs.

All Hindus will be able to drink water touched by any other Hindus.

Priests, washermen, barbers, bearers etc., will be entitled to serve every Hindu irrespective of castes and no Hindu should raise any objection in that respect.

While affirming that Brahmacharya should be the ideal of the Hindu widows, this Conference holds that if any Hindu widow remarries, she or her husband should not be outcasted or deprived of any privilege or advantage of the Hindu public.

As many Hindu women are being oppressed and outraged by ruffians and are being compelled to live miserable lives and sometimes to adopt other religions, this Conference requests every Hindu to be determined to prevent such outrages and to keep all outraged women in society and to give them all sorts of help, if necessary.

Whereas the power of organisation is almost extinct amongst the Bengali Hindus and whereas mutual sympathy in case of dangers and difficulties is found wanting amongst them, this Conference resolves that a Hindu volunteer organisation be formed in every district, subdivision, thana and village for help in cases of dangers and difficulties under the Provincial Hindu Sabha. It will be the duty of these volunteer organisations to serve and succour every oppressed and needy person irrespective of caste, creed and religion.

This Conference expects that the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha will try its best for the attainment of health and strength by all classes of Hindus by physical culture.

This Conference expects that the Bengal Provincial Conference will make special efforts so that every Hindu man and woman, reads the Gita.

Whereas in Bengal, due to various factors, the number of Hindus is dwindling day by day and whereas many Hindus have embraced and are embracing other religions it is therefore resolved that in order to consolidate and strengthen the Hindu society the Hindus should take back in their fold those who have forsaken the Hindu religion but are now willing to come back to the Hindu society after performing necessary rites.

All these resolutions are in consonance with the outspoken presidential address delivered by Sir P. C. Roy at the Faridpur session of the Provincial Hindu Sabha

Interdining at Tamil Gurukul

An acrimonious controversy has arisen out of an attempt to make interdining among students of all castes in the Tamil Gurukul compulsory. Much as we are in favour of interdining, we consider it absolutely wrong to make it compulsory. In the Visva-bharati University interdining is optional, the result being that the vast majority of the students and staff interdine.

The Bawla Murder Case

Whether capital punishment should be retained in the penal codes of nations is a question which continues to be discussed.

But as it has not yet been abolished in India, it can be asserted without any hesitation that the men who murdered Bawla, the Bombay Muslim millionaire in the attempt to kidnap his mistress Mumtaz, have been rightly awarded the highest penalty of the law.

But these men were evidently hired tools in the hands of some powerful and wealthy man or men. From the details of evidence published, it is clear that the moving spirit or spirits of this crime is a resident of the Indian State of Indore. Public opinion rightly urges the Government of Bombay to ferret out the offender or offenders and mete out condign punishment.

The Nizam's Ban Against Malaviya

Hitherto the Nizam vented his spleen mostly upon newspapers. Now he has passed an order that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya should not enter that ruler's territories. The Pandit had been invited to preside over a conference of Hindus in the Hyderabad State. When will the Nizam learn wisdom? He is not a minor. His subjects are mostly Hindus, and it is only right and proper that they should have the liberty to set their house in order under the guidance of a man of their choice.

Perhaps the Nizam thinks this sort of policy the best suited to win over the opinion of the Berar Hindus to the restoration of that province to him.

"Separate Budget for Moslem Education"

One of the resolutions passed at the educational conference of Bengal Moslems held at Berhampore under the presidency of Mr. Fuzul Huq demands that there should be a separate budget for Moslem Education.

If separatism is to be just, it ought to be logical. If there be a separate educational budget for a particular religious community, justice would require that that community should not have the benefit of the general educational budget; for no one can justly demand to be served twice, whilst others are served only once. Is that what the Bengal Moslems want? Let them then press for the establishment throughout the country of

primary and secondary schools, colleges and universities for themselves alone, and let them withdraw their boys and girls from all institutions meant for all religious communities without any distinction.

Indians Holding King's Commission

Mr. George Lansbury has learned from the reply to a question asked by him in the House of Commons that in the Indian army 3300 British officers and only 81 Indian officers hold the king's commission. "Indianisation" has reached this stage after eight years. At this rate complete Indianisation would require 326 years! That is jolly good news.

Cow Protection

At a special session of the Cow Conference held in Bombay, Mahatma Gandhi, presiding, laid stress on the point that cow protection meant not merely non-slaughter of cows but also that cows should be properly bred and taken care of. After emphasising the need of educating public opinion in the matter, the Mahatma urged people to help cow protection societies to carry on their work and support the proposed establishment of a dairy in Bombay.

Maulana Shaikat Ali in giving his support to the movement for protection of cows observed that the fact of his being a Muslim did not stand in the way of his looking upon the cow with as much reverence as Hindus.

Sir Frederick Whyte on von Hindenburg

When the German nation chose to have as their political head a military genius like Field-Marshal von Hindenburg, the alarmists of the allied countries sat up and saw visions of fresh wars. It is of course foolish to associate the beginning of wars with Field-Marshal; for Field-Marshal merely carry on wars, while financiers, politicians and *idealists* of a particular class begin them. Although some people would like the world to believe that it was the *militarists* (whoever they might have been) of Germany who started the last war, the world knows a little too

to adopt the prescribed point of view. I know how and why wars begin and do not believe that the election of a Field-marshal to presidency, in itself, could have any such effect.

Sir Frederick Whyte, President of the German Legislative Assembly, interviewed by the Associated Press gave the following opinion on the recent election in Germany.

I see no reason to tremble for the peace of Europe because von Hindenburg is the German President but do have qualms about the future. I think of him vis-a-vis the French in their present frame of mind. It appears that two causes are at work about von Hindenburg's victory:—(1) The German election in Germany showed a decline in the strength of what we may call the "Liberal" party because they had failed to give the average German an either a sense of domestic security or any prospect of returning prestige abroad. The Germans all wanted to feel a firm hand on the reins as the Americans did when they elected Calvin Coolidge or the British electors when they returned a Baldwin Government to power last autumn. Von Hindenburg gained millions of non-aggressive German votes, especially those of women on account. To that extent he is not a portent of revival of German militarism but merely the embodiment of a world-wide desire for stable government after the disturbances of the past years.

Von Hindenburg's principal supporters are monarchists and some of them look to him as the agent of a Hohenzollern restoration. In a measure, therefore, his election is a victory for the Monarchy. But since the monarchical movement cannot win on its own strength we must look for its able allies among those who may despair of the future in any other hands.

Now what has made moderate Germans, who are millions, despair of any appeal except that of force? The bald truthful answer is the French Government. From the occupation of the Ruhr to the latest announcement regarding the conditions on which France will permit Germany to re-enter the League of Nations, each successive French Government from M. Poincaré to M. Painlevé has done its best or its worst to prove to the Germans that the appeal to reason is vain and that they must appeal to force. Most Germans do not want to appeal to force but are being slowly driven to it.

Von Hindenburg's election is, therefore, a danger signal. Moreover, it greatly increases the difficulties of the influence of the British Government. Mr. Balfour has it in his power to deprive the German election of its evil results, but if he is to do so, he will have to be equally firm with both Germany and with France—especially with France.

We quite agree with Sir Frederick in his diagnosis of the reasons which induced the Germans to sway away from "Liberalism" towards "Nationalism." Germany is not the only country in which perfectly sober-minded people are finding it essential to establish a government able to take things well in

hand, drive all nonsense out of national policies and guarantee proper execution of the nation's will. Germany has suffered a lot on account of political slackness. Should we be surprised if Germany tried to go back to her pre-war efficiency and marvellous organisation?

We do not know if Sir Frederick is right in assuming that the Germans "despair of any appeal except that of force," but he is not far off the mark. We do not know if France alone is to blame in driving Germany back to her faith in force. There is a good deal of truth in what Sir Frederick says. The German election may not be a danger signal; but there is trouble brewing in that country. It is for England and France to do a little thinking in between taking all sorts of "action," if they want to avert the consequences of all that they have allowed to take place from the Peace of Paris till yesterday.

A. C.

The Indian Daily Mail vs. Forward

On April 30, 1925, *The Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay published what they have called an exposure of *Forward's* "Audacious Attempt to Bluff Advertisers." The accusation is that *Forward*, a Calcutta daily edited by Mr. C. R. Das, has used a "disingenuous certificate of circulation provided it by a 'Government Certified Auditor'." And that the circulation claimed by *Forward* is three hundred per cent in excess of its actual circulation as calculated by *The Indian Daily Mail*. It is not possible for us to offer any opinion on the controversy. We merely give a summary of the indictment for its topical interest. It appears from *The Indian Daily Mail's* "exposure" that *Forward* used the following document to attract advertisers:

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that I examined the PRINTING of "Forward" with a view to arrive at the REAL CIRCULATION of the paper on three days by paying SURPRISE VISITS and found that the average is 38,770 per diem.

This document is signed by one Mr. Sen-Gupta who is a Government Certified Auditor. *The Indian Daily Mail* commenting upon this "precious document" says:

The methods which a Government Certified Auditor ought to adopt to discover the "real circulation" of a newspaper are thoroughly well-known. They consist in the examination of the accounts of

the newspaper, not of "the printing"—whatever that means.—No man—leave alone an auditor—in his senses will examine the "printing" of a newspaper to find out "the real circulation". The ore is as different from the other as chalk is from cheese.

There is not a sentence in the "certificate" that will bear the slightest examination for a moment. But, on the strength of it, "Forward" claimed a circulation of 38,000 copies.

Turning to the Profit and Loss Account of the Forward Publishing Co. for 1924, copies of which reached shareholders in Bombay a few days ago, we take the following figures of revenue:

Agency Sales	...	...	61,615	6	0
Subscriptions	...	...	34,149	13	3
Cash Sale	...	...	68,588	6	3

Total 164,353 9 6

Thus Rs. 1,64,353 represent the total sum received by the company by the sale of the paper in one way or another for the entire year. The cheapest way of buying "Forward" is to pay a year's subscription. It is Rs. 20 per month (sic.) *without postage*. The figure of Rs. 1,64,353 includes postage and the higher rates received for monthly, quarterly and half-yearly subscriptions. If, therefore, the sum of Rs. 1,64,353 is divided by Rs. 20, we obtain the largest number of people who could possibly have purchased "Forward" daily in 1924. That is only 8,219.

Mr. Sen-Gupta's certificate is dated August 28, 1924. If we assume that that is correct, the least revenue which "Forward" ought to have received from subscriptions and sales alone during the six months between July 1 and December 31, 1924—not the whole year—would have been Rs. 3,80,000. But the total revenue of "Forward" from all sources, including advertising, for the whole year was only Rs. 3,34,627.

There is also another way of arriving at a calculation of the correct net daily sale of "Forward." Newspapers in India pay a discount of twenty-five per cent. to sales-agents. Let us assume that all copies of "Forward" in 1924 were sold through agents and that the figures in the profit and loss account represent net receipts at the rate of three pice per copy. Rs. 1,64,353 are equivalent to 10,518,592 pice, which divided by three will give the total number of copies sold in the year. The result is 3,506,197 copies, or, assuming 300 publishing days, 10,000 copies per day.

The Indian Daily Mail attempts yet another way of arriving at an estimate of *Forward's* circulation.

The total value of the paper consumed in 1924 were Rs. 1,17,300. That represents a monthly expenditure of Rs. 9,775. Whatever else may be possible, it is quite impossible to produce more than a third of 38,770 copies of the "Forward" newspaper at a cost of Rs. 9,775 per month. We are assuming normal import prices, but the Directors state in their report, "We were obliged to buy paper locally at about double the cost of foreign paper, involving us in heavy loss.....We have now placed orders for paper both in Sweden and in Central Europe at satisfactory prices."

So that, if *Forward* had to pay higher prices than usual they must have printed

even a lesser number of copies than as by *The Indian Daily Mail*.

We reiterate our inability to express opinion on this delicate matter. We however like to say something in favour of *Forward*. From their "document" one does not get any idea of the *Real Circulation* assumed or otherwise, of the *Forward* certificate states that the average "price per diem" was 38,770. It does not say whether the "printing" was carried *throughout the day*. That would have been in violation of the Factory Act. As that a day consists of 24 hours *an working day* at the *Forward* Press hours, the "Printing" done at the "average rate of 38,770 per diem" should give "real" "printing" of 12,923.3. copies does not go much against the estimate by *The Indian Daily Mail*. Auditors are people who habitually like to state things mathematically. If, as a result of training they end up by making things clear to the uninitiated, should we grumble? A.

Britain's Wealth

The report of the Commissioners of Revenue for the year ending March, 1924 that 89,000 persons paid £62,500,000 super a total income of £510,000,000. One hundred thirty-four persons had incomes of over £ a year.—*Reuter*.

From the above one gets an idea of the number of extremely wealthy people in Britain possesses. It shows that the 89,000 people in Britain who have an average per capita income of over £5730 85,950 per annum. One hundred and four persons had incomes exceeding 100,000 lacs per annum.

The Calcutta School of Architecture

India has been from centuries past a land of wonderful buildings. Her architectural art evoked admiration in other lands and the building art of India has attracted the attention of students all over the world as in many other fields, Indians themselves have been the most backward in the appreciation and the revival of architecture. The builders' art in India suffered along with all other arts as a result of the degeneration that had set in with the loss of her political independence.

s is demonstrated by the large number of south and hybrid constructions that offend the eye whenever one has occasion to traverse the streets of any city or town in India. People have forgotten their own architectural ideals and have not made any serious study of foreign architecture. The result is the nameless jumble of walls and roofs which is such a constant source of irritation to the aesthete.

Fortunately for us the Swadeshi movement although primarily a political movement started a sort of Renaissance in India. Under the stimulus of Indian Nationalism every branch of Indian life has seen development and progress. Architecture has been no exception. It is pleasing to find in post-Deshi and specially in post-war buildings revival of the ideals of Indian architecture. Most modern buildings (when constructed by the right men) combine Eastern æsthetic with Western science. For the execution of his ideal type of work, we require the services of men who have studied both art and building engineering thoroughly. At present there are not many places where one can get proper training in this line. We are glad to note that Mr. V. V. Vadnerkar, B. A. (London) who has been for a long time attached to the Visva-bharati has started a school of architecture in Calcutta. The premises of the school are at No. 226 A Bazar Street, Calcutta and the name of the school is the Calcutta School of Architecture. Mr. Vadnerkar is arranging the courses to suit every class of students. We wish the school every success. Intending students should apply to Mr. Vadnerkar for particulars.

A. C.

A Ghastly Incident which Hides a Ghastlier Truth

We reproduce the following from daily papers.

A sentence of death was passed yesterday by Mr. Justice Page, presiding over the High Court Criminal Sessions, on Jogendra Nath Khan, who was charged with the murder of his ten-year old daughter Lilabati.

The girl was married to Jogendra two years ago but lived with her parents, who are sweetmeat-sellers in Sankaritolah Lane, Calcutta. On January 9, Jogendra came to Calcutta to take his place in his place in the Midnapore District, but the next five days were inauspicious, the girl's parents asked him to wait a few days and he refused. For the first two nights the couple slept in a room set apart for them but on the third

night the girl refused to sleep in the same room with her husband and slept with her mother instead.

On the night of February 12, Jogendra having asked for some *pan*, his mother-in-law sent the girl to his room with it. Jogendra closed the door and, shortly after, the mother and the neighbours heard the noise of two successive blows followed by groans. The mother rushed into the room and found her daughter lying face downwards on the floor in a pool of blood. A stone pestle besmeared with blood was found near her head, which was so badly smashed that her brains had come out.

The story is one which will sicken every decent man. The fate of the poor girl will rouse pity in every heart. The brutality of the man, whose execution is hardly enough of a punishment for him, will fill all minds with disgust and fury. But these are not the only things one is made conscious of when one goes through the gruesome tale.

The whole incident should be charged to the criminal system which allows extremely young girls to be handed over as full-grown women to the tender mercies of men whose instincts are no more under control or polished than those of wild animals. (It would be only right to say that the instincts of animals are far more true to reality and are never so feverishly morbid as those of men. A wild animal knows if its mate is fully grown and does not attempt to treat a female cub as a mature beast.) The guilt also rests upon the Government which boast of their benign nature and calmly leave malignant systems to work the degeneration of the nation. They would excuse themselves by proclaiming their policy of non-interference but everybody knows that wherever interference helped their own ends, they have interfered. They do not want to displease people unless it paid them to do so. In the case of the child wives who are subjected to the worst torture and some time to murderous assault, so that husbands may satisfy the cravings of their diseased minds, the Government would lay the blame on Indian society and get busy where it is useful. We do not for a moment support Indian society or say that it is not to blame; but we must say that the Government are scandalously slack in stamping out filthy systems and barbarous customs. They ought to make the life and honour of Indian womanhood safe from brutal assault and rape (and their various side-issues) by both scoundrels and husbands. The League of Nations or all civilised nations should

stimulate the British Government to move in this matter, if they do not wake up to their duty by themselves. In the story given above, it is palpable how the girl was forced to sleep in the bed of a full-grown savage when she was merely a child of ten. Her refusal to surrender to this arrangement so infuriated the husband that he murdered the child rather than give up what he considered to be his rightful claim. Are the government going to proceed against the parents of the girl as persons who helped the terrible process?

One word for the leaders of orthodoxy in Hindu India. Some of them fight so hard for the retention of the system of handing over children as wives that to their audience Hinduism appears as a glorification of sexual crime. No sincere man credits them with honesty of conviction as well as with educated minds. Throughout the ages reactionaries have exploited the average man's prejudice against change. Our reactionaries are no exceptions. The average man sees nothing unusual in the usual, be it ever so injurious. If religious sanction (either true or perjured) is added to the customary strength of an evil, it becomes doubly difficult to wipe it out. Tales of horror and shame, such as the above, which are not at all rare, should penetrate the religious hide of our reactionary big men and reach their conscience.

A. C.

More Bolshevik News

One of the most regular items in the columns of British journals is the news of Bolsheviks conspiring against the British Empire. Since ages ago, we have been served with the news of Bolshevik leaders proclaiming their intention of helping "Indian Revolutionaries," (whoever they are) to the last bullet or to the last Russian coin of the lowest denomination. Perhaps the British papers forget to send copies of the various resolutions the Bolsheviks pass to the movers of the same; or why should there be so much resolving and so little doing? Even Bolshevik leaders may err through ignorance. We reproduce one more below.

Among the resolutions passed at the enlarged plenary session of the Executive of the Third Internationale recently held in Moscow, says the *Morning Post*, is one proposed by Zinovieff himself which insists on the necessity of supporting the demands of the Indian Nationalist organisations and

the creation of an "Independent Democratic Republic" in India after "the Indian people have overthrown the British yoke."

The resolution also demands that the Comintern and the Soviet Government shall "accord the maximum of support in their power to the leader of the Indian revolutionary movement, directed towards the overthrow of the British Empire."

We hope Zinovieff subscribes the *Morning Post*.

A. C.

Sir Purushotamdas Criticises Budget Calculations

Interviewed by the *Bombay Chronicle* Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas expressed his views on the recent announcement of the Government of India's loan policy and currency policy to the effect that he considered it rather extraordinary that the Government should find it unnecessary now to borrow in order to balance the budget in view of the fact that it was but two months ago that the Finance Member was persuading the Assembly to pass the Finance Bill. He naturally infers from this that the Finance Member could not foresee even two months back a saving of 12 crores. In his opinion a budget that could go wrong by twelve crores in two months must be a budget based on very loose figures. He hoped the Government would make this strange situation clear by giving details of the sudden and unforeseen improvement which enabled them to do away with the necessity of floating a loan of twelve crores said to be required by the Government two months back. He also criticised the Government as follows:

When members of the Assembly asked for remission of taxation either in the postal rates, in the salt duty, or in regard to the Cotton Excise Duty, the Finance Member pleaded that any tinkering with the proposed figures on ever so urgent or important grounds would enable the Government of India to disown their responsibility for the Budget. Perhaps the Finance Member then did not realise that the result of the wrong currency policy he was persisting in might, before sixty days had expired, compel him to modify his own calculations to the extent of twelve crores.

Sir Basil Blackett may take consolation in having collected till now enough money to do away with the necessity of borrowing twelve crores of rupees this year for capital expenditure and to that extent the rates for Government securities may appreciate, but the prosperity of the country as reflected in the condition of trade and industry would be found to be extremely low. To this extent Government will find they have purchased better credit for themselves in the financial market at a dear price. Whether that is a consolation to the

ent or not remains to be seen. It certainly a consolation to those who are anxious country advance in all directions, since no doubt that the state of commerce and at the present time in India is far from y and cheerful, and the buying power of e as a whole has been sadly low. One result of this is terrible unemployment of le classes.

are awaiting a Governmental reply to ashottamdas' criticism.

A. C.

Appreciation of Settlement Officers

Ganga Ram giving evidence before the ic Enquiry Committee said that he think it worth while to carry out an e survey as suggested by the Com- because Zemindars never gave correct tion. He was in favour of ascertaining tentialities of the land in regard uction; but he did not advocate the ture of money for the purpose. I not say how one was going to required information without spend- money. Sir Ganga Ram in answer lit Hari Kishan Kaul said, "The ent Officers can never get at the the statistics of Settlement Officers are orth the paper on which they are "

er on another witness Mr. Townsend, ssioner of Jullundar opined that there he no difficulty in getting information the value of production under agri- ; in fact, this information was contained lement Reports. There appears to be erence of opinion between Sir Ganga id Mr. Townsend.

cs for Railway Material Go Abroad

er since protection for Iron and Steel to the Indian mind, one of the chief that people hoped for or feared ing to their interest) in that connection e injury that it was expected to inflict the iron and steel trades of Great We have, of course, never thought oment that Britain will suffer in any account of the sort of "protection" that en given to the Indian trade. The news below proves nothing but has some as evidence in support of the view of who think that the present scheme of

protection is a method of disbursing revenue and will not help the proper development of the indigenous Iron and Steel industry in India.

London, May 13.

The Barsi Light Railway Company has ordered 5,000 tons of rails and also steel sleepers from the United Steel Companies Limited of Workington for the extension of the lines to Miraj. Orders for fishbolts and nuts will be placed with Messrs. Guest, Keen and Nettlefold. It is hoped that subsequent, valuable orders for new locomotives, rolling stock and other equipment will be placed with British firms.—*Reuter's Special Service.*

A. C.

English Sportsmen Join In

England always boasts of her sportsmen and of their strict adherence to the principles of fair play and broad-mindedness. Recently at Cambridge two Indian players, both old blues refused, to play for the university because Mr. Lezard, who is junior to both of them, was elected captain and they were passed over. It is the customary thing in the University Lawn Tennis Club to elect the seniormost blue as Captain. Messrs. Rutnam and Hadi, the Indian blues, were passed over in spite of their seniority on account of some metaphysical "difficulties" that were expected to arise from the election of an Indian to the captaincy. The nature of the difficulties is of course not divulged and many people have associated the same with mental condition of the electors. If race prejudice creeps in into the field of sport also, it will indeed be a tragedy. Many pens have got busy since the refusal of Rutnam and Hadi to take the insult lying down and brave Englishmen have already told the world that they had a right to please themselves and manage their own affairs in their own way. One gentleman, an ex-member of the Cambridge University Lawn Tennis Club, has even gone into politics in this connection. This is not the first occasion that English sportsmen have failed to live up to their principles. We remember other cases of passing over Indians when captaincies or college colours were at stake. We admire the courage of Rutnam and Hadi in standing up against this sort of meanness. They will have to suffer a lot of jeering and sneering, but they shall have the pleasure of having done the right thing.

A. C.

